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JAMES W. BRIGHT
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PUBLICATIONS
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VOL. XVI, 1.

NEW SERIES, VOL. IX, 1.

I.—THE SOURCES OF *TITUS ANDRONICUS*.¹

In any examination of *Titus Andronicus* the student is immediately confronted with the questions: "Are we really to regard Shakspeare as the author?" "How did he happen to choose such repulsive material?" Or, again, if we assume that he but touched up an old play, there is still the question: "Just how great was this revision?" In other words, *Titus Andronicus* interests most readers not for its real worth as a drama, but only for what it may or may not represent in the history of Shakspeare's dramatic career. For this reason it seems essential to give, first of all, a brief account of previous opinions as to the authorship of this tragedy, so that we may better understand the importance of determining its sources.

At the very outset we encounter such diametrically opposite assertions as the following: "As to *Titus Andronicus* only the most narrow-minded critic can yet maintain that its

¹ I desire here to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Kittredge and Professor Baker of Harvard University for the kind encouragement and valuable counsel which I have received from them during the preparation of this paper. To Mr. C. N. Greenough I am also indebted for the considerable task of copying the Dutch play, *Aran en Titus*, and for several useful suggestions; to Mr. R. H. Fletcher for helpful criticism.

authorship does not belong to Shakspeare,"¹ and "No one among sane English critics believes the play to be Shakspeare's."² Hence it will be impossible, within the scope of this article, to trace the history of previous opinion in any detail. But, broadly speaking, we may group the views of scholars under three main heads. First there is the theory upheld by comparatively few critics—chiefly Germans—that every line of the play is Shakspeare's own. The champions of so outspoken an acceptance of *Titus Andronicus* fortify themselves by citing, throughout the play, passages which have a decidedly Shaksperian ring, and by adducing two pieces of evidence which *prima facie* seem almost unimpeachable: (1) the testimony of Frances Meres, who, in 1598, recorded *Titus Andronicus* as one of several dramas which had exalted Shakspeare's fame to a level with that of Plautus and Seneca,³ and (2) the inclusion of the play in the First Folio. But their chief reliance seems to be the idea that Shakspeare was little more than an impressionable youth when he composed this, his first production, so that the play naturally appears typical of the time rather than of the man. Perhaps the most enthusiastic advocate of this view was Franz Horn. "What, as a man," Horn urged, "was possible to him in *Lear*, the youth could not accomplish."⁴ And though in lines, scenes, and scattered characterization, Horn found a faint suggestion of the later Shakspeare, it was never-

¹ Cohn, *Athenæum*, 1851, p. 22.

² Fleay, as quoted by Ward: *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, London, 1899, vol. ii, p. 55.

³ "As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines, so Shakespeare among ye English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy witnes his Gentlemen of Verona, his Errors, his Love labors lost, his Love labours wonne, his Midsummers night dreame, and his Merchant of Venice; for Tragedy his Richard the 2. Richard the 3. Henry the 4. King John, Titus Andronicus and his Romeo and Juliet." *Palladis Tamia*. See *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse* (New Shakspeare Society), London, 1879, p. 21.

⁴ *Shakespeare's Schauspiele Erläutert*, Leipzig, 1823, vol. i, p. 304.

theless Shakspeare in the early eighties that he insisted on,—Shakspeare the chameleon rather than the self-reliant dramatist. Verplanck¹ and Knight,² some years later, went over much the same ground. Both refer to Shakspeare as the “boy-author,” hinting that he may have been still a minor. There remain to-day, so far as I am aware, only a very small coterie of scholars whom we may put in this first category. Of these Kurz,³ Creizenach,⁴ Brandes,⁵ and Herford⁶ adopt Horn’s theory, while Schröer,⁷ Sarrazin,⁸ and Brandl⁹ modify it to extent of emphasizing the traces of Shaksperian characterization. All of these recent critics, too, favor a somewhat more conservative date of composition, namely, from 1587 to 1590.

Among the advocates of a second and directly opposite view,—that Shakspeare had no connection whatever with *Titus Andronicus*,—it is interesting to note the name of Dr. Johnson. Thus Johnson observes that “all the editors and critics agree in supposing this play spurious. I see no reason for differing with them; for the colour of the style is wholly different from that of the other plays, and there is an attempt at regular versification and artificial closes, not always inelegant, yet

¹ *Shakespeare’s Plays*, New York, 1847, vol. iii, Introduction to *Titus Andronicus*, p. 7.

² *The Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare*, London, 1838-42, vol. containing T. A., p. 57.

³ *Zu Titus Andronicus*, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, v, pp. 82 ff.

⁴ *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten*, Berlin, 1889, Introduction to *Titus Andronicus*, p. 4.

⁵ *William Shakespeare*, translation by William Archer, London, 1898, vol. i, pp. 36-41.

⁶ *The Works of Shakespeare*, London, 1899, vol. vii, p. 292. It has been my experience to find that conservative critics, almost without exception, shy at *Titus Andronicus*; they seem loath to champion any one theory. It has been necessary, therefore, in this classification to accept as his the theory which a critic manifestly prefers, even though he does not commit himself to it in so many words.

⁷ *Über Titus Andronicus*, Marburg, 1891.

⁸ *William Shakespeare’s Lehrjahre*, Weimar, 1897, pp. 50, 51.

⁹ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1891, pp. 708 ff.

seldom pleasing. The barbarity of the spectacles, and the general massacre which are here exhibited, can scarcely be conceived tolerable to any audience; yet we are told by Jonson that they were not only borne but praised. That Shakespear wrote any part, though Theobald declares it incontestable, I see no reason for believing."¹ As in the case of the first view, there are in recent days few so outspoken against *Titus Andronicus* as Johnson. Gerald Massey,² Fleay,³ and Grosart⁴ will serve as good examples of the outspoken kind. The arguments of all three centre in an insurmountable prejudice against ascribing to Shakspeare anything so revolting as the blood and horror in which this play is steeped. All three fail to find in its unpleasant nature any similarity to Shakspeare's other plays,—sufficient proof, they think, that it is not his.

But it is with the third view that the great majority of critics have identified themselves,—that Shakspeare merely touched up an old play here and there. This opinion first gained authority from the testimony of a dramatist who came nearly a century later than Shakspeare. In 1687 Edward Ravenscroft published a revision of *Titus Andronicus*, in the preface to which he said: "I have been told by some anciently conversant with the stage that it was not originally his [Shakspeare's], but brought by a private author to be acted, and he only gave some master-touches to one or two of the principal parts or characters."⁵ To this statement

¹ *Shakespear*, London, 1765, vol. vi, p. 364.

² *Shakspeare's Sonnets and his Private Friends*, London, 1866, pp. 580 ff.

³ *The Life and Work of William Shakspeare*, London, 1886, p. 282.

⁴ Was Robert Greene substantially the author of *Titus Andronicus*? *Englische Studien*, 1896, pp. 389-436.

⁵ *Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia, Acted at the Theatre Royall, A Tragedy. Alter'd from Mr. Shakespear's Works by Mr. Edw. Ravenscroft*. London, 1687.

In this prologue Ravenscroft goes on to say: "The success [*i. e.*, of his own revision of *Titus Andronicus*] answered the labor, though it first appeared upon the stage at the beginning of the pretended Popish Plot

critics have continually harked back, attempting thereby to explain the presence of a few lines in *Titus Andronicus* which seem to them Shaksperian. The evidence of Frances Meres and of the First Folio they would reconcile with Ravenscroft by supposing that the popularity of the drama in its revised form may have led to its being commonly known as "Shakspere's *Titus Andronicus*" as distinguished from the earlier version, until at length it got to be generally regarded as one of his original productions. On such a theory, Shakspeare's connection with *Titus Andronicus*, it will at once be observed, is a question rather of a few scattered passages than of a

[1678]. . . . In the hurry of those distracted times the prologue and epilogue were lost. But to let the buyer have his penny-worths, I furnish you with others." After giving Ravenscroft's own account of his motives in this prologue it is only fair to quote from a contemporary of Ravenscroft who has spoken out very decidedly about Ravenscroft's motives in general and in particular with reference to his avowed connection with *Titus Andronicus*. In his *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, Oxford, 1691, pp. 417-22, Langbaine says of Ravenscroft, "A gentleman now living . . . one who with the vulgar passes for a writer; though I hope he will pardon me, if I rather style him in the number of wit-collectors; for I cannot allow all his wit in his plays to be his own: I hope he will not be angry for transcribing the character which he has given of Mr. Dryden and which *mutato nomine* belongs to himself. 'Tis not that I anyways abet Mr. Dryden for his falling upon his Mammamouchi, but that I may maintain the character of impartial, to which I pretend, I must pull off his disguise and discover the politick plagiarism that lurks under it. I know he has endeavored to show himself master of the art of swift-writing, and would persuade the world that what he writes is *ex tempore* wit and written *currente calamo*. But I doubt not to show that though he would be thought to imitate the silk-worm that spins its web from its own bowels, yet I shall make him appear like the leech, that lives upon the blood of men, drawn from the gums; and when he is rubbed with salt spues it up again. To prove this I shall only give an account of his plays; and by that little of my own knowledge which I shall discover, 'twill be manifest that this Ricketty-Poet (though of so many years) cannot go without others' assistance." And p. 464 he says, as to *Titus Andronicus*: "'Twas about the time of the Popish-plot revived and altered by Mr. Ravenscroft. In the preface to the reader he says: 'That he thinks it a greater theft to rob the dead of their praise than the living of their money.' Whether his practice agree with his protestation I leave to the comparison of his works with those of Molliere;

thorough-going revision of a given story, such as for instance we know occurred in the case of most of his other works.

Thus far there is a concurrence of opinion on the part of all who uphold this theory. But from the Psyche-like task of sorting out Shakspeare's lines from the rest, difficulty and disagreement have arisen. Perhaps Morley has gone farthest in the amount of retouching which he imputes to Shakspeare's hand. Thus he would include a meagre mending of old verses and the insertion of some new ones, beside a slight recasting of the old material here and there.¹ It is not necessary, however, to record the exact lines variously claimed as Shaksperian. It is enough to say that they represent a very small percentage of the whole. How very small indeed,

and whether Mr. Shadwell's opinion of plagiaries reach not Mr. Ravenscroft I leave to the reader. 'I,' says he ingeniously (Preface to *Sullen Lovers*), 'freely confess my theft and am ashamed on't; though I have the example of some that never yet wrote a play without stealing most of it: and (like men that lie so long till they believe themselves) at length by continual thieving reckon their stolen goods their own too; which is so ignoble a thing that I cannot but believe that he, that makes a common practice of stealing other men's wit, would, if he could with the same safety, steal anything else.' Mr. Ravenscroft, in the epistle to Titus, says 'that the play was not originally Shakespear's,' etc. Afterwards he boasts his own pains and says, 'that if the reader compare the old play with his copy he will find that none in all that author's works ever received greater alterations, or additions; the language not only refined but many scenes entirely new: Besides most of the principal characters heightened, and the plot much increased.' I shall not engage in this controversy . . . but to make Mr. Ravenscroft some reparation, I will here furnish him with part of his prologue, which was lost, and, if he desire it, send him the whole:

'To-day the poet does not fear your rage,
Shakespear by him reviv'd now treads the stage:
Under his sacred laurels he sits down
Safe, from the blast of any critic's frown.
Like other poets, he'll not proudly scorn
To own that he but winnow'd Shakespear's corn;
So far he was from robbing him of's treasure,
That he did add his own to make full measure.' "

¹ *English Writers*, London, 1893, vol. x, p. 45.

may be judged from the words of Dowden: "The great majority of English critics either altogether reject the play . . . or accept as true the tradition of Ravenscroft, that it was touched by Shakspeare, and no more."¹ "He may have retouched it here and there," writes Mabie; "he can hardly have done more."² Again, to quote from Rolfe, "The verdict of the editors and critics is so nearly unanimous against the authenticity of the play that the burden of proof clearly rests with the other side."³ Indeed, how near this third view may come to coinciding with that which entirely rejects the drama we may see from Verity's words: "*Titus Andronicus*, I believe, was written by a fifth-rate playwright . . . and then Shakspeare gave the work half an hour's revision and—far more important—his name."⁴

From this cursory history of opinion it will be seen that critics of to-day, with half-a-dozen exceptions, are inclined to believe that Shakspeare had no hand whatever in *Titus Andronicus*, or,—what for our purposes will amount to the same thing,—to hold that he is responsible for only a few scattered passages; and further, that those who do accept the play, relegate it to the colorless period of what has been termed "Shakspeare's apprenticeship." Moreover, we are forced to admit that the contention as to authorship can never be decided on purely æsthetic grounds, nor yet from external evidence alone, since, as we have seen, this in a measure contradicts itself. Obviously then, agreement can only come from more definite knowledge of the origin of the play,—for example, of its sources. If we could only discover *them*, we should then be admitted to the author's workshop,—and there is surely no better place to study his identity.

It has long been thought that an old story of Titus Andronicus, perhaps taken over from the Spanish or the Italian, was common property in England as early as 1567.

¹ *Shakspeare: Primer*, p. 61.

² *Outlook*, June 2, 1900, p. 293.

³ *Titus Andronicus*, New York, 1892, pp. 15-16.

⁴ *Shakspeare*, Irving ed., London, 1890, vol. vii, p. 259.

Thus in the introduction to the *Variorum Shakspeare* of 1803 the statement is ascribed to Steevens that Painter in his *Palace of Pleasure*, volume II, speaks of Titus Andronicus as well-known and that he mentions particularly the cruelty of Tamora.¹ Until recently Steevens's statement has gone unchallenged. It seems, nevertheless, to rest on error.² But though no novel³ of Titus Andronicus appears to have

¹ *Variorum Shakspeare*, London, 1803, edited by Johnson and others, vol. i, B. 2, v^o. The first edition of *Palace of Pleasure* appeared in 1566-7.

² After searching vainly for such a reference in Painter, my attention was kindly called by Dr. Rolfe to Mr. Herford's note in the Eversley edition of *Titus Andronicus*, vol. vii, p. 290, where this error of previous generations is cited and corrected.

³ There is, however, still extant an old ballad, entitled, "The Lady and the Blackamoor" (*Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. ii, pp. 48 ff.; printed, also, in *Evans' Old Ballads*, vol. iii, pp. 232 ff., with the title "The Cruel Black"), which may be indirectly connected with the sources of *Titus Andronicus*. Chappell, in the *Roxburghe* collection, gives the following note with regard to it: "The ballad appears, from incidental notices in plays, to be as old as the reign of James I., and yet no one of the above-named extant copies can be dated earlier than the reign of Charles II." But though Chappell is unable to trace this ballad back to an earlier period, its agreement in several points with the play of *Titus Andronicus* is nevertheless significant: (1) The scene is Rome; (2) the trouble starts in a hunting expedition; (3) there is a blackamoor bent on revenge; (4) his brutality is relentless and appalling; (5) he beguiles his master of his nose in much the same way that Aaron gets the hand of Titus; for instance, he promises to save the lady's life if her lord will cut off his nose;—this done, out of pure villany, he throws her down from the wall and kills her.

After connecting this ballad with the Titus Andronicus fable I discovered that I had been anticipated by Emil Koeppel who, in *Englische Studien*, 1891-2, vol. xvi, pp. 365-374, not only observed the similarity of the ballad in several respects to the play but traced it back to the year 1569-70. He found for example in the *Stationers' Register*, between 22d July, 1569, and 22d July, 1570, the following entry: "Rd. of Ryc. Jonnes, for his lycense for pryntinge of a history intituled a strange and petiefull novell dyscoursynge of a noble Lorde and his Lady, w^{ch} thayre tragical end of them and thayre II cheldren executed by a blacke morryon . . . IIII^d." See *Extracts from the Register of the Stationers' Company of Works entered for publication between the years 1557-1570*, with Notes and Illustrations by J. P. Collier, London, 1848 (Shakespeare Society), p. 211. In this article Koeppel also shows the practical agreement of the extant ballad with *Bandello*, Part

existed prior to the play, yet when we recall the origin of most dramas of that time, it is natural to suppose that the main outlines of the plot were not invented by the author of the extant text.

Acting upon this supposition, let us for a moment examine some material which bears upon *Titus Andronicus* and which has caused a good deal of speculation. In the first place, there is a German play entitled, "Eine sehr klägliche *Tragedia* von *Tito Andronico* und der hoffertigen Kayserin, darinnen denckwürdige *actiones* zubefinden."¹ This is contained in the first edition of *English Comedies and Tragedies*, a collection of adaptations from English plays that were carried into Germany and performed there by English actors about the year 1600. The degenerate condition in which these dramas remain to us has led to the belief that they must have suffered a good deal from the rough and ready manner in which they were adapted to the needs of the German stage. Thus the dialogue, which at first was probably spoken in

III, 21st Novel: "Uno Schiano (battuto dal Padrone) ammazza la Padrona con i figliuoli, e poi se stesso precipita da un' alta Torre." With regard to this story, as Koeppel observes, Bandello says: "Saperete anchora questa Historia essere stata latinamente descritta dal gran Pontano." The writings of Pontano, however, according to Varnhagen (*Englische Studien*, xix, p. 163), who has been at great pains to examine them, do not seem to bear out Bandello's statement. Varnhagen, nevertheless, in an old ms. (No. 234 of the Erlanger Library) dating from the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, has discovered an exemplum which in substance he believes to be closely related to Bandello's story.

It ought, also, to be noted in this connection that G. Sarrazin (*Archiv. f. n. Sprache*, 1896, Bd. 97, pp. 373 ff.) has gone somewhat beyond Koeppel's theory. Besides Bandello's novel he considers, as a possible source of the fable, the old Germanic story of Wayland. Thus he would make Aaron correspond to the captive, crippled Wieland (Völundr), Titus Andronicus to Niðuðr, and Lavinia to Böðvildr. Sarrazin says it is a question whether this story of the Moor's vengeance was incorporated into our play from the Italian version, or from a popular form of the saga, which must at that time have been current in various parts of England. Little weight is to be ascribed to these guesses.

¹ See Albert Cohn's *Shakespeare in Germany*, London and Berlin, 1865, pp. 161-236.

English, was deemed less important, it would seem, than the action; for it was essential that the audience should understand the story with their eyes if not with their ears. As a consequence, according to the usual opinion, the dialogue may have been cut short or slighted. Furthermore, the mutilated state of some of the plays seems to indicate that they were pirated, or, in other words, taken down by reporters and filled out as well as might be from memory. After undergoing such treatment, they represent, according to Cohn, no more than the framework of their English prototypes.¹

The German *Titus Andronicus*, for example (which for convenience I shall designate as G in contradistinction to S, Shakspeare's *Titus Andronicus*), is much shorter than S, is cruder in construction and dialogue, and lacks some of the important episodes of S. In this particular instance, however, two things have made critics hesitate to infer that S was the prototype of G: (1) the great divergence of G from S in numerous details, and (2) the mention in Henslowe's diary on April 11, 1591, and several times after that, of a play (now lost) entitled "tittus and Vespacia."² The preservation of this title has rendered the problem more complex, for it so happens that in G also two of the principal characters go by these same names. Albert Cohn long ago faced this enigma. In his *Shakespeare in Germany*, he remarks, "Now in our German *Lamentable Tragedy* we have the play in all probability, in a form copied from the first design.

¹ Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany*, p. cv.

² See *The Diary of Philip Henslowe* from 1591-1609, ed. by J. P. Collier for Shakespeare Soc., London, 1845, pp. 24-30. The play is sometimes entered as "tittus and Vespacia" and sometimes "titus and Vespacia." Henslowe's spelling is so capricious that we are obliged to judge of his meaning by the spirit and not the letter. Thus on what amounts to about one page of his diary he allows his own name to be spelt in four different ways—none of them right: Henslow, Henschloe, Hinchloe, Hinchlow; see pp. 158-9. He also writes "palaman and arset" where he clearly means "Palamon and Arcite." This capriciousness of Henslowe's pen has made it rather easy for critics to believe that by "tittus and Vespacia" Henslowe meant Titus and Vespasian.

But the coarse feeling, which was interested in the mere external action alone and not in the dramatic development, has prevailed in the treatment of this as well as of almost all the other pieces in the collection, for the principal object has evidently been to reduce the piece to the smallest possible compass. . . . We cannot make the original piece responsible for these absurdities, but if we disregard them, the original form of Shakespeare's tragedy . . . may still be distinctly seen to glimmer through."¹ Then, merely on the strength of the agreement of *Titus and Vespasian* in Henslowe with the two names in G, Cohn reasons: "We may safely assume that this Vespasian, like all other characters of the German piece, was taken from the original *Titus Andronicus*, and thus we should have to acknowledge that *Titus and Vespasian* was the original on which Shakspeare's play was founded." This theory, it will be noted, was advanced tentatively and not as the result of careful scrutiny; for a few lines above we read: "Whether Shakespeare found the piece already in existence and produced a new version of it, or whether he was the first to treat this subject at all, is a question . . . which probably will never be decided." It is difficult to make out from Cohn's language whether or not he regards *Titus and Vespasian* as a production of Shakspeare's which he afterwards retouched into the present version of our play. Such may be his meaning, since some years previous to this he was convinced that Shakspeare wrote *Titus Andronicus* and later revised it.² Kurz³ and Schröer,⁴ so far as they commit themselves, likewise favor *Titus and Vespasian* as the prototype of G. According to their way of thinking, however, *Titus and Vespasian* was a later piece than the first draft of S, which Shakspeare, somewhat later, probably revised. The *Titus and Vespasian*, then, they suppose was the same as this first draft, except that it was altered by a rival company in some minor details

¹ *Shakespeare in Germany*, p. cxii. ² *Athenæum*, 1851, p. 22.

³ *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1870, pp. 99 ff.

⁴ *Über Titus Andronicus*, p. 18.

("Lucius" to "Vespasian," for instance), to avoid the charge of plagiarism. Dowden,¹ Morley,² Lee,³ Sarrazin,⁴ and Brandl,⁵ also, find in G a translation of *Titus and Vespasian*. Creizenach,⁶ Verity,⁷ Herford,⁸ and Grosart,⁹ on the contrary, take exception to so flimsy a theory. As Herford remarks, "The structure of hypothesis thus erected is of perilous frailty, and quite incapable of supporting any conclusions," since, as he goes on to say, the mere title *Titus and Vespasian* would seem to indicate a play dealing with the two Emperors, so-named. All of these last four critics prefer what seems to them the safer assumption that G is a free and degenerate adaptation from S. So Grosart insists: "Throughout, besides, the successive speeches distinctly echo *Titus Andronicus* and prove that our *Titus Andronicus* was present to the translator. . . . It seems mere unreason to create another *Titus Andronicus* out of *Titus and Vespacia*." A slightly modified form of this statement represents the opinion of conservative critics to-day, who feel that in the absence of more persuasive evidence to the contrary the safest course is to call G a free and pitiable version of S.

Before entering into a minute discussion of G, however, it will be profitable for our purposes to examine another piece of extant material, which at first glance appears to be strikingly analogous in its origin to G. There still exists an old Dutch play by one Jan Vos, glass-maker, entitled¹⁰ *Aran and*

¹ *Shakspere: Primer*, p. 62.

² *English Writers*, 1893, vol. x, p. 43.

³ *A Life of William Shakespeare*, London, 1898, p. 65.

⁴ *William Shakespeare's Lehrjahre*, Weimar, 1897, pp. 50-51.

⁵ *Gott. Gel. Anz.*, 1891, pp. 709-10.

⁶ *Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten*, 1889, Introduction to T. A., p. 5.

⁷ *Shakespeare*, Irving ed., vol. vii, p. 258.

⁸ *The Works of Shakespeare*, London, 1899, vol. vii, p. 287.

⁹ *Englische Studien*, 1896, p. 398.

¹⁰ *Aran en Titus, of Wraak en Weerwraak*, Amsterdam, 1641. According to Cohn (*Shakespeare in Germany*, p. cxiii) not less than eleven editions of this play had been published by the year 1661. Some of these must have been pirated, for in the fifth edition, printed in the year 1656, we find the

Titus, or Revenge and Counter-Revenge, the first edition of which appeared in 1641. This preserves, with a few modifications, the Titus Andronicus story of Shakspeare; but what its direct source was we lack the means of determining. That our knowledge on this last point is so meagre seems odd, considering what a furore the play at once created in Holland. Vos was hailed as the coming genius, not only of his own age but of all ages. The great Vondel cried out, "It is a man of wonderful understanding."¹ Caspar van Baerle, a famous Latin scholar and Vos's patron, concluded a long eulogy in verse with: "Is Sophocles risen from the dead? Has Aeschylus returned to us again? Or is it Euripides that makes this unwonted furore? No, it is a tradesman, an unlettered soul who now outdoes the whole chorus of Helicon. He who has never sat at a Greek or Roman feast now shows the world what a tragedy is. Athene read this play and declared, 'I will never write again, for he, who lightens us with glass, puts the fame of all of us in the shadow.'"² And these are only samples of the many extravagant plaudits with which Vos was overwhelmed.

Not to enter at too great length into the almost unparalleled reception accorded to *Aran and Titus*, I may add that the play continued to be popular with the Dutch far down

publisher, Jacob Lescaille, saying: "Inasmuch as this tragedy has several times been badly printed without the author's knowledge by gainseeking men, . . . let everyone know that the author does not recognize any copy as his except that printed by Jacob Lescaille" This fifth edition, the only one accessible to me, I have had collated with the first edition, which is contained in the British Museum Library. The play is composed in Alexandrines—often truncated—and to the first four acts choruses, consisting of a "Zang," "Tegen-zang," and "Toe-zang," are subjoined.

¹ See W. J. A. Jonckbloet's *Geschiede der Nederlândischen Literatuur*, Leipzig, 1872, vol. ii, p. 281. Here, there is the following quotation from a letter written, December 15, 1641, by Caspar van Baerle to Huygens: "Audivit Vondelius, et portentosi ingenii virum dixit."

² See H. E. Moltzer's *Shakspeare's Invloed op het Nederlandsch Tooneel der Zeventiende Eeuw*, Groningen, 1874, pp. 8, 9; also Introduction to the fifth edition of *Aran en Titus*.

into the eighteenth century and that even in the middle of the nineteenth it had not wholly disappeared from the stage. Beside a Latin translation, which van Baerle¹ seems to have prepared for presentation by the boys of his school, one Danish² and at least three German³ versions of the story, according to general acceptance, owed their existence to Vos. In short, *Aran and Titus* appears to have been immediate and far-reaching in its effect. As to the important part which it played in the history of the Dutch drama, it need only be said that into the old Senecan tragedy, which was at that time so popular on the Dutch stage, *Aran and Titus* instilled a romantic ferment sufficient to hasten on a new era.

The question how Vos obtained the Titus Andronicus fable has not been seriously treated, so far as I know, by English critics. They seem to have taken it for granted that *Aran and Titus* (which I shall designate as D, as a symbol for Dutch) was freely adapted from S. It has remained, therefore, for Dutch and German scholars to attempt to decipher the connection between these two plays. Bilderdijk, who first called attention to their intimate relation, firmly believed that Vos used S directly, though, owing to the many points of difference, he conceded that Vos might have employed a somewhat curtailed manager's book.⁴ Half a century later

¹*Aran en Titus. Mutua vindictio, interprete schola Thielana. Thilae, Apud Gosuinum à Duym, Bibliopol. Anno MDIOCLVIII.* See J. A. Worp, *De Invloed van Seneca's Treurspelen op ons Tooneel*, Amsterdam, 1892, p. 53.

²*Schauspiel von Tito Andronico und der hoffärtige Kayserinn und dem Mohr Aran.* This play was performed in Copenhagen by German comedians in 1719. See *Die Schauspiele*, etc., Introduction, p. 15.

³In a ms. of the 17th century which contains a collection of German dramas, Creizenach found under number 11: *Titus und Aran*; and in the Weimar index of dramatic works under number 94: *Der mörderische, gotthische mohr sampt dessen Fall und End.* See *Die Schauspiele der Eng. Kôm.*, Introduction to T. A., p. 15.

There, also, survives a *Titus und Tomyris* by Hieronymus Thomae, published at Giessen in 1661 and said to be an adaptation of *Aran and Titus*.

⁴*Bydragen tot de Tooneel-poëzy*, Leyden, 1823, p. 19.

Loffelt¹ and Jonckbloet² advanced the same theory, though without any mention of the prompt-book (that convenient refuge of embarrassed speculation). Vos's inability, however, to read a foreign language, which is well established from his own boasting of this ignorance as well as from contemporary testimony, seems to render this view a trifle hazardous.³ Cohn, about the middle of the nineteenth century, without giving his reasons and without indicating the source of G, ventured the assertion: "Thus, the Dutch *Aran en Titus* is undoubtedly of the same origin as that of *Titus Andronicus* in the English Comedies and Tragedies of 1620."⁴ About this time, also, van den Bergh⁵ hazarded the guess that Vos had seen the English actors on the stage and had adapted his play from their performance. Moltzer⁶ fancied that, besides G, there must have been another adaptation of S which appeared in Holland and furnished Vos with the material for D. Worp⁷ at first agreed with this, but Creizenach⁸ insisted on a modification. According to the latter's view, G and D could not possibly have emanated from the same English text. "For," he observes, "while the German adaptation

¹ *Nederl. Spectator*, 1870, p. 293.

² *Geschichte der Nederl. Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 289.

³ "No!" he says, "knowledge of languages creates scholars, but not poets; it is a bridge which one must cross to borrow a foreign wisdom so that he may publish it as his own. Poetry is not the daughter of foreign languages, but the child of a rich spirit, which gushes forth in his thought." See Jonckbloet, *ibid.*, p. 292.

In the edition of 1656 of *Aran en Titus*, among a number of recommendations, occurs the following by Vechters: "Readers, whoever you are, come and see of what might a soul may be, although he has not been educated in school. A glass-maker, who knows no language but his mother-tongue, bedims the fame of nearly all the poets."

⁴ *Athenæum*, 1850, p. 738.

⁵ *s*Gravenhaagsche Bijzonderheden, 1857; cited by J. A. Worp, *Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1886, No. 41, p. 342.

⁶ *Shakspeare's Invloed*, etc., pp. 30-42.

⁷ *Academisch Proefschrift*, Groningen, 1879, pp. 51 ff.

⁸ *Berichte der philol. hist. Classe der König. Säch. Gesell.*, etc., 1886, p. 97.

without doubt went back to the play mentioned in Henslowe's diary under the date of 1591,—in which Titus's son . . . bears the name Vespasian,—this son with Vos, as in the modern edition of Shakespeare, is called Lucius." "Now it is not inconceivable," he goes on to say, "that Vos used an adaptation which stood nearer to Shakespeare than the German adaptation." But, acting upon this supposition, Creizenach was embarrassed by the preservation in D of a number of points that are not included in G, such as practically all of S, act iv, scene 1 (where Lavinia alludes to the story of Tereus and Philomela in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), and act ii, scene 3 (the reference to Diana and Actaeon). "This kind of thing," according to Creizenach, "could scarcely have come from an adaptation for the use of the wandering English actors, whose practice it was to drop from their crude and limited repertoire the little niceties calculated for distinguished hearers." One point cited by Creizenach as the only one common to D and G, but not in S (namely, the confidence entrusted to the audience that Tamora, out of infatuation for Aran, has killed her first husband), he explained as a mere coincidence. He found no cogency in the objection that Vos understood no English, since in translating the original he may, like other Dutch poets (particularly Isaak Vos in his use of Spanish), have sought help. After reading Creizenach's article, Worp altered his previous opinion. Speaking of D and S he says: "It seems to me that the difference in the two tragedies is too great to indicate a direct borrowing. Had Vos been familiar with Shakespeare's version, . . . he would have adhered more closely to his original. That, indeed, copies of Shakespeare existed in the middle of the seventeenth century is shown by the version of *The Taming of the Shrew* (1654)."¹ He dismissed the possibility that D rests on an adaptation of S, introduced into Holland by the English Actors, with the remark, "this tragedy of Vos's seems to me too good in form and too skil-

¹ *Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1886, No. 41, pp. 341-2.

fully put together to have used as its source a mutilated libretto of the English Actors." Worp then risks another conjecture,—that Shakspeare and Vos drew from the same source. What the source was he admits he does not know, though he hints at an Italian novel which, like the story of *Fortunatus*, may have been known alike in Holland and England; he thinks, therefore, that it may have been used by Vos and Shakspeare independently. Not wholly convinced by this theory, Worp quotes the following from a Dutch poem of 1652 called "The spirit of Mattheus Gansneb Tengnagel, in the other world with the Dead Poets:" "And her father [the father of the actress Adriana van den Bergh], the illustrious actor, in his youth was the first to present upon the Dutch stage *Jeronimo* of Spain, and young *Polidorus*, and *Andronicus*, which even now lives vividly in my memory."¹ Van den Bergh's *Jeronimo*, based upon the *Spanish Tragedy*, or at least on the English Actors' version of it, belongs to the year 1621, but unfortunately the *Andronicus* is no longer extant. In consequence, Worp does not feel sure that this non-extant play was not after all the source of D. Creizenach's comment on Worp's article appeared some three years later. He attempted to show that Worp's first hypothesis—that of a common source for D and S—was rendered untenable by the presence in D of Shaksperian tricks of style; against the second hypothesis, which assumed a borrowing by Vos from van den Bergh, he naturally had nothing tangible to oppose.²

Such, then, are the opinions which have thus far been entertained with regard to the relation between G and D and S. One more version of the Titus Andronicus story, however, ought here to be briefly considered before we undertake

¹ Inasmuch as this old play of *Andronicus* is lost and would not, anyhow, affect the theory which is later proposed in this paper, I shall dismiss it with this brief notice.

² *Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten*, Introduction to T. A., p. 11, note.

for ourselves a careful study of G and D. It is yet another German version. Unhappily, the play itself no longer survives, except in a Program¹ which bears witness to a performance—probably at Linz—in the year 1699. A very comprehensive outline of the plot, which is preserved in the Program, seemed nevertheless according to Cohn² to indicate a close translation of D, since it appeared that in all, save one or two details, the lost play must have been identical with D. This idea, moreover, was further strengthened by the knowledge that a German, George Greflinger, in 1650 had planned to translate, among other Dutch plays,³ one called “Andronicus mit dem Aaron.” Creizenach⁴ and Schröer,⁵ however, were deterred from this hasty inference by the existence in this Program of the name Lavinia—the daughter of Titus—which agrees with S as against the name Rozelyna in D. They fancied, therefore, that beside G there may have been current in Germany an adaptation of S, following its original more closely than G.

To facilitate, now, our own investigation of the interdependence between G, D, S, and the version represented by the Program, it may be well for us to examine the plots of the first three plays,—supplementing D in case of difference by the Program.

¹The title of this play is *Raache gegen Raache oder der streitbare Römer, Titus Andronicus*. A reprint of the Program, edited by Albert Cohn, is to be found in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1888, pp. 266–81.

²*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1888, p. 269.

³*Berichte*, etc., 1886, p. 105. In the introduction to his translation of the *Cid* of Corneille, Greflinger promised that *Der Beklágliche Zwang*, *Laura*, and *Andronicus mit dem Aaron* were to follow. Lope de Vega's *Fuerza Lastimosa* had been translated by Isaak Vos in 1648, under the title of *De Beklagelijke Dwang*; and Greflinger's *Laura* recalls Lope's *Laura Perseguida*, a translation of which had appeared in Holland by 1645.

⁴*Die Schauspiele*, etc., p. 15.

⁵*Über Titus Andronicus*, p. 17.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
The Roman Emperor.	Saturninus, son to the late Emperor of Rome.	Saturninus, the Roman Emperor.
Consort of Andronica.	Bassianus, brother to Saturninus.	Bassianus, brother to the Emperor.
Victoriades, brother to Titus.	Marcus Andronicus, brother to Titus.	Marcus Andronicus, brother to Titus.
Titus Andronicus.	Titus Andronicus, a noble Roman.	Titus Andronicus, General of the Romans.
Vespasian, Son to Titus.	Lucius, } Quintus, } sons to Martius, } Titus. Mutius, }	Lucius, } Pollander, } Sons to Melanus, } Titus. Klaudillus, } Gradamard, }
	Young Lucius, son to Lucius.	Askanius little son to Lucius.
	Publius, son to Marcus.	
	Sempronius, } Caius, } Kinsmen Valentine, } to Titus.	
	Æmilius, a noble Roman.	
Helicates, } Sons to Saphonus, } Ætiopissa.	Alarbus, } Demetrius, } sons to Chiron, } Tamora.	Demetrius, } Sons to Quiro, } Thamera.
Morian, a Moor, beloved by Ætiopissa.	Aaron, a Moor, beloved by Tamora.	Aran, a Moor, General of the Goths, beloved by Thamera.
Messenger, White Guards.	A Captain, Tribune, Messenger, and Clown. Goths and Romans.	Tacitus, a Messenger.
Ætiopissa, Queen of Ethiopia.	Tamora, Queen of the Goths.	Thamera, Queen of the Goths.
Andronica, daughter to Titus.	Lavinia, daughter to Titus.	Rozelyna, ¹ daughter to Titus.

¹ In the Linz Program the daughter of Titus is called Lavinia, as in Shakspeare.

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
Midwife, and a black Child.	A Nurse, and a black Child. Senators, Tribunes, Officers, Soldiers, and Attendants.	Roman ¹ Counsellors and Judges. Four Officers. ¹ Philippus. ¹ Kamillus. ¹ Chorus of: ¹ Roman Citizens, Templars, Goths, Roman "Ioffren," " <i>Andro- nizenzer Ioffren.</i> " Leeuwemond, Priest and Soothsayer. Quintus, ¹ Page to Aran.
ACT I.	ACT I.	ACT I.
Vespasian, carrying in his hand the Roman Crown, suggests that Titus, in return for his brave deeds in the wars with the Ethiopians, be crowned Emperor. The oldest son of the late emperor demurs and puts forward his own claims.	There is a dispute between Saturninus and Bassianus as to who shall be Emperor. Saturninus claims the right, on the ground of primogeniture; Bassianus defends election. In the midst of this quarrel, Marcus, entering, announces that the people have chosen Titus to be their emperor, as a reward for his warlike deeds against the Goths. The two brothers therefore dismiss their followers.	

¹ Not mentioned in the Program.

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
<p>Titus, crowned with a laurel wreath, is on the stage at the outset, and with him are his prisoners of war: the Ethiopian queen, her two sons, and her paramour, Morian.</p>	<p>A captain announces Titus's return from the war. Titus then enters amid great acclamation, bringing with him as captives the Gothic queen, her three sons, and her paramour, Aaron; also a coffin, containing the bodies of his sons, slain in the war.</p> <p>He then addresses an apostrophe to Rome: "Hail, Rome, victorious in thy mourning weeds!" etc.</p> <p>Lucius demands that the proudest prisoner of the Goths be sacrificed "ad manes fratrum," so as to ensure them an eternal rest.</p> <p>Titus accordingly names Alarbus, and remains kind though unyielding to Tamora's entreaties. The sacrifice occurs off the stage.</p> <p>Titus addresses an eloquent farewell to his dead sons, as they are laid in the tomb, beginning, "In peace and honor rest you here, my sons;" Marcus announces to Titus that the latter has been elected Emperor.</p>	<p>Saturninus eulogizes Rome in her present security, now that Titus has subdued the Goths. He remarks on the popular acclamations that greet Titus for his valiant deeds in war.</p> <p>Titus enters with his prisoners: the Gothic queen, her two sons, and her paramour Aran.</p> <p>He, then, addresses an apostrophe to Rome, beginning: "O Rome, kingdom of fame!" etc.</p> <p>Aran, the General of the Goths, it is decreed by Titus, must be sacrificed by the priest's axe to the god Mars.</p> <p>A long and tiresome discussion ensues, in which Thamera and her two sons plead for Aran's life and persuade Saturninus, who meanwhile has become infatuated with Thamera, to do likewise. The priest, Titus, and Marcus, however, insist on the sacrifice.</p>
<p>Titus, after being proclaimed Emperor, re-</p>	<p>Titus, however, deprecates the honor, because</p>	

GERMAN, 1620.

fuses the honor because of his great age, and places the crown on Saturninus's head.

Shouts of approval.

Saturninus returns thanks for this favor, and to show his gratitude chooses Andronica to be his Empress.

Titus presents his prisoners of war to the Emperor.

In accepting them the Emperor says to Ætiopissa: "Therefore grieve not and repine not, but be of good cheer."

Act II, beginning.

[The Emperor tells Ætiopissa that he has returned Andronica to her father with the message that his heart has changed; that he now prefers to have Ætiopissa for his empress.

SHAKSPERE.

of his advanced age, and, securing from the people the right to name his successor, he proposes Saturninus.

A long flourish.

Saturninus returns him thanks for this favor, and to show his gratitude chooses Lavinia to be his Empress.

Titus presents his prisoners of war to the Emperor.

In accepting them Saturninus says to Tamora: "Clear up, fair queen, that cloudy countenance."

Saturninus courts Tamora in dumb-show.

Bassianus, who was previously betrothed to Lavinia, kidnaps her from the very presence of Titus and Saturninus. Marcus and the sons of Titus espouse Bassianus's cause; and Mutius, in attempting to prevent his father from pursuing, is struck down by the latter and killed. The delay caused by this fatality gives the lovers a chance to es-

DUTCH, 1641.

Saturninus bids Bassianus conciliate Thamera by means of wind instruments and string instruments, accompanied by clear voices.

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
Thereupon, he places the crown upon the latter's head and proclaims her Empress.]	cape and to be married.	
	Saturninus takes this whole proceeding as an affront, prearranged by Titus and his family. But he soon indulges his infatuation for Tamora by persuading her to become his empress. They withdraw to the Pantheon to solemnize the "spousal rites."	
	After considerable discussion, Marcus and the surviving sons of Titus prevail upon Titus to allow Mutius to be buried in the family tomb.	
	Bassianus returns with his bride, Lavinia; likewise, Saturninus with Tamora. At the urgent entreaty of Tamora, who in a side-remark to Saturninus promises later to join him in avenging his affront, the house of Titus is officially forgiven.	
		Saturninus, who has been wooing Thamera during most of the act in a give-and-take dialogue and who has promised to spare Aran's life, provided Thamera will requite his love, still receives no encouragement from Thamera;

GERMAN, 1620.

Act III, beginning.

[In honor of the Emperor and his bride, Titus arranges a stag hunt for the morrow.]

Act I, end.

[Because his mistress is in favor with the Emperor and is likely to be advanced to the station of empress, Morian throws off his black outer mantle and displays himself richly dressed. He boasts loudly and obscenely of his previous relations with Ætiopissa and vows, in case she becomes Empress, to make a cuckold of the Emperor.]

He declares, further, that, to make his own relations with Ætiopissa more secure, the latter has poisoned her first husband in a cup of wine.

In this same monologue Morian boasts of his

SHAKSPERE.

To show his gratitude, Titus invites Saturninus to hunt with him, on the morrow, the panther and the hart.

Act II.

Aaron, in a very poetic monologue, comments on the high station to which his mistress has been advanced, and boasts somewhat of his intimate relations with her. "I will be bright," he says, "and shine in pearl and gold, To wait upon this new-made Empress." He prophesies that Tamora will charm Saturninus and then wreck him and his commonweal.

DUTCH, 1641.

and the courting and the proposed sacrifice are at length cut short by the hurried entrance of Lucius, who announces that a boar, twice the usual size, is running amuck along the banks of the Tiber. All set out in pursuit of it.

A chorus, consisting of a "Zang," "Tegenzang," and "Tœezang," follows, expatiating on the power of Love.

Act II, (b)¹

In a dialogue with Aran Thamera mentions having killed, at Aran's instigation, her first husband, so that her relations with the Moor might be less dangerous.

Act I.

When asked by Saturninus who he is, Aran

¹ The letters a, b, etc., indicate the order in which the events follow one another.

GERMAN, 1620.

pro prowess in war, asserting that he has rightly merited the name of "The Lightning and Thunder of Ethiopia;" and he adds that he had never been unhorsed in battle until he met with Titus.]

Act II.

Helicates and Saphonus quarrel over Andronica. Morian separates them repeatedly. At length he pacifies them by suggesting that they kill Andronica's husband and then ravish her.

Act III.

Preparations for the hunt. Horns and trumpets are heard. Titus begins a monologue with, "O how sweetly

SHAKSPERE.

Aaron's monologue is interrupted by the entrance of Demetrius and Chiron, who fall out over Lavinia and carry on a hot quarrel. Aaron separates them, but to no purpose. Finally they are prevailed upon by the device which he suggests—namely, that during the hunt they shall ravish Lavinia in the forest.

Act II, Scene 2.

Preparations for the hunt. Horns and the cry of hounds are heard. Titus begins a monologue with, "The hunt

DUTCH, 1641.

replies: "One whom the sharp-edged steel as well delights as you the sceptre. I am the Gothic God of Arms, who did terrorize the Roman army with the thunderings of my voice, with the lightnings of mine eyes." [The monologue, found in G and S, however, is lacking.]

Act II, (a)

[Quiro and Demetrius quarrel over Rozelyna. By way of reconciling them, Aran tries to persuade them both to ravish her. They are aghast at the idea until Aran feigns that their father's ghost is present on the stage, urging them to avenge the foul death which Titus in battle inflicted on him with a poisoned sword. This ruse brings them to terms.

To meet their fear that Rozelyna may betray them, Aran suggests that they tear out her tongue and cut off her hands.

There is hurried preparation for the hunt. The hounds are loosed, and all hasten to the forest.]

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and pleasantly the birds do sing in the air; and the hunt has likewise commenced in joy and splendor."

(b)

[Morian is angry at finding Ætiopissa walking alone in the forest. She bids him, however, not to chide her and tries to entice him into lechery; but he answers: "My lovely Empress, if you are under the influence of the goddess Venus, I am ruled and mastered by the god Mars."]

(a)

[Andronica and her husband, entering, jeer at Ætiopissa—being provoked to it by the

SHAKSPERE.

is up, the morn is bright and grey; The fields are fragrant and the woods are green."

Act II, Scene 3.

In a lonely part of the forest Aaron buries a bag of gold, which he informs the audience is to serve him in an "excellent piece of villany." Tamora then enters and tries to entice Aaron into lechery, but he answers: "Madam, though Venus governs your desires, Saturn is dominator over mine." He further informs her of his device, already on foot, to kill Bassianus and mutilate Lavinia.

He then drops a letter, which is to incriminate two of Titus's sons, and which he tells her she is to pick up and hand to the King.

Lavinia and Bassianus, entering, jeer at Tamora both because she is unaccompanied and be-

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(b)

[In declaring his platform of villany to Thamera, Aran informs her that he has buried near a pit a helmet of gold, which is to incriminate the two youngest sons of Titus.]

(a)

[Alone in the forest with Thamera, Aran reviles her angrily for inconstancy to him and lechery with the Emperor. She pacifies him, however, by bidding him kill the Emperor, if he will. He replies that this must not be done too hastily, and then apprises her of his scheme, which is first to ruin the house of Titus. He shows her, also, a letter, which he has fabricated to incriminate the two youngest sons of Titus, and which he is going to drop near a pit.]

Rozelyna and Bassianus, entering just in time to see Aran withdrawing, jeer at Thamera because

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
<p>latter—because she is unfurnished of her retinue;—no mention is made of her relations with the Moor. Helicates and Saphonus enter and, according to Ætiopissa's bidding, stab Andronica's husband and carry her off to ravish her, in spite of her pitiful pleading to spare her life, or to kill her, in case they intend defilement of her person.]</p>	<p>cause of her relations with Aaron. At this juncture, Chiron and Demetrius enter and, according to Tamora's bidding, stab Bassianus, throw his body into a pit, and carry Lavinia off to ravish her, in spite of her pitiful pleading to spare her life, or to kill her, in case they intend defilement of her person.</p> <p>Aaron directs Quintus and Martius to a pit, where he says he has seen the panther fast asleep. Martius falls into the pit, and, while Quintus is vainly trying to extricate him, Aaron rushes off to fetch the rest of the party, who arrive just in time to see Quintus, also, fall into the pit.</p> <p>Tamora hands to Saturninus the letter, which Titus has picked up. It is an anonymous letter, directing Quintus and Martius to dig the grave for Bassianus and to look for their reward by the elder tree. The gold, which is subsequently discovered, substantiates</p>	<p>of her relations with the Moor. A long, vituperative dialogue ensues between Thamera and Rozelyna. There is no surprise evinced at Thamera's being unfurnished of her retinue. She calls for help, and Quiro and Demetrius, rushing in, according to Thamera's bidding stab Bassianus, hang his body on some bushes, and carry Rozelyna off to ravish her.</p> <p>Klaudillus and Gradamard, in search of the boar, are urged on by Thamera, who says that the boar has fallen into a pit. Aran then pushes them both in, and at length they suffocate. The rest of the party arrive at this moment, as if by magic, in time to hear the dying groans of the two victims.</p> <p>Titus hands to the Emperor the intriguing letter, which he has picked up. It is written to the two youngest sons of Titus, apparently by the murderers, whom they have bribed with the golden helmet to kill Klaudillus and Gradamard, and also Bassianus. The helmet,</p>

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Act IV.

Titus is astounded to learn that his two sons are imprisoned and condemned to death on the charge of having grossly insulted the Empress.

the proposed villany. In consequence, Quintus and Martius are dragged off to prison to await their execution.

which is subsequently discovered, substantiates the proposed villany. In consequence, Saturninus orders Pollander and Melanus to be arrested.

Another charge, also, on which Pollander and Melanus are apprehended is gross insolence and insulting violence towards Thamera, when she was alone in the forest,—a charge fabricated by Aran and her, and at once borne out by the sword of one of the culprits, which, as Aran asserts, fell from its owner's side as he fled.

Act III.

In a short speech Victoriades laments the woful plight of his niece, Andronica, whom he meets in the forest—handless and tongueless.

In a long and effective speech Marcus laments the woful plight of Lavinia, whom he meets in the forest—handless and tongueless.

In a short speech Marcus laments the woful plight of Rozelyna, whom he meets in the forest—handless and tongueless.

Act III, Scene 1.

Titus pleads before the tribunes for the lives of his two sons: "Hear me, grave fathers! . . . For pity of mine age, whose youth was spent In dangerous wars whilst you securely slept, For all my blood in Rome's great quarrel shed," etc.

Titus pleads before the tribunes for the lives of his two sons: "Then let my deeds which I performed in behalf of Rome convert your cruelty to favor. A proud boaster am I not; but who can bury in silence the heroic deeds

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Stage direction: Titus lieth down; the judges, etc., pass by him and *exeunt*.

which Titus relates?" Marcus: "Andronicus, stand up." Titus: "I must not let the prince go, until I have obtained favor for my sons." Marcus: "Andronicus, stand up; the judges have gone." And in a passage at the end of Act II, just preceding this last quotation, Titus contrasts, at tremendous length, Rome's present wickedness with her former virtue.

A chorus, following this second act, philosophizes on the same theme.

Lucius announces that he has been doomed to everlasting banishment because he tried to rescue his brothers. Titus felicitates him on being released from such a wilderness of tigers.

It develops later in the act that Lucius has been banished from Rome on the charge of being a traitor and of being the third murderer. Titus pities him, as if this were a calamity.

(e)

[Victoriades brings in Andronica, and Titus is distracted at the woful sight.]

Marcus brings in Lavinia, and Titus is distracted at the woful sight.

Marcus brings in Rozelyna, and Titus is distracted at the woful sight.

(a)

[At this point, Morian enters with the message that the Empress will spare the lives of Titus's two sons, if Titus will cut off his hand and send it to her.

At this point, Aaron enters with the fabricated message that the Emperor will spare the lives of Titus's two sons, if Titus, Marcus, or Lucius will cut off his hand and send it to the Emperor.

At this point, Aran enters with the fabricated message that the Emperor will spare the lives of Titus's two sons, if Titus will cut off his hand and send it to the Emperor.

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In a monologue Morian informs the audience that the Empress is beguiling Titus of his hand, so that he may never be able to overthrow Rome.]

(b)

[A dispute then follows as to which of the three—Titus, Victoriades, or Vespasian—shall suffer the required sacrifice—this in spite of the fact that only the hand of Titus is demanded. While Vespasian and Victoriades are gone in search of an axe, Titus disappears and soon returns with his own hand cut off.]

(d)

[After the hand has been returned to him in scorn, Titus eulogizes it

SHAKSPERE.

A dispute then follows as to which of the three shall suffer the required sacrifice. While Lucius and Marcus are gone in search of an axe, Titus has Aaron cut off his hand for him.

As he gives the hand to Aaron, Titus eulogizes it in a few eloquent words.

DUTCH, 1641.

[In the Linz program Aran informs the audience that the Emperor is beguiling Titus of his hand, so that he may never again be able to perform warlike deeds. This information, however, is lacking in D.]

In a very, very long speech Aran also tells how, on the scene of the execution, there appeared an apparition, in form like Venus, who interceded for the victims; he says that this accounts for the Emperor's mitigated demand.

Although only the hand of Titus is demanded, Marcus and Lucius insist on suffering the sacrifice. Amid the wrangling, however, Titus chops off his own hand and gives it to Aran.

As he gives the hand to Aran, Titus eulogizes it in a long speech.

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
in a speech somewhat longer than in S.]		
(c)	When Aaron departs, Titus, half-crazed with grief, resorts to extravagant metaphors.	When Aran departs, Titus, wholly crazed with grief, raves like a madman.
[Morian soon returns, bringing back the hand and also the heads of the two sons. The trickery is hence revealed.]	A messenger soon enters, bringing back the hand and also the heads of the two sons. The trickery is hence revealed; and Titus's utterances become still more tinged with lunacy as the scene progresses. "O, here I lift this one hand up to heaven," he moans, "And bow this feeble ruin to the earth; If any power pities wretched tears, To that I call!"	Aran's page soon enters, bringing back the hand and also the heads of the two sons. The trickery is hence revealed; and Titus fairly out-Herods Herod, to the extent of several pages: one moment he imagines that he is reconciled to the Emperor; the next he pictures himself on the gallows, just ready to swing.
Act V, (c)		
[In this act, where they take the oath of vengeance, we find this stage direction: "Titus takes up his hand, raises it, and looks up to heaven, sighs, mutters, vows," etc.]	"For these two heads," he continues, "do seem to speak to me, And threat me I shall never come to bliss Till all these mischiefs be returned again, Even in their throats that have committed them... You heavy people circle me about, That I may turn me to each one of you, And swear unto my soul to right your wrongs."	The two heads actually speak, urging vengeance, and the ghosts of the other murdered sons echo the oath, which they all take, in much the same way that the ghost in Hamlet does. Just before this, Titus, by way of lament, has taken up in turn the various calamities that have befallen his household.
(b)		
[They therefore swear to revenge the villany—Titus by the head and hand, and finally by Andronica.]	Lucius here departs, at his father's request, to collect a large	Lucius here departs, at his father's request, to collect the troops and
(d)		
[Vespasian here departs, at his father's request, to collect a large		

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
army and march back on Rome.]	Goths and march back on Rome.	put them in readiness for revenge.
	<p>Act III, Scene 2.</p> <p>Titus, Marcus, Lavinia, and young Lucius sit down to a banquet, at which Titus appears half-crazed from grief. This scene is in neither of the first two quartos of <i>Titus Andronicus</i>, but it is included in the First Folio.</p>	
	Act IV, Scene 1.	The chorus, at the end of Act III, expatiates on abstract justice and then describes the execution-scene of Titus's two sons.
		Act IV.
(a) [Vespasian spreads sand on the floor so that Andronica may write the name of the man who has ruined her. Titus teaches her how to manage it. She writes: "Helicates and hunt," and, on being questioned if Helicates and Sappho have misused her	Young Lucius enters, running. He carries some books and is pursued by Lavinia. The latter turns over with her stumps the pages of Ovid's <i>Metamorphoses</i> , until she comes to the tale of Tereus and Philomela. To extract further information from her, Marcus teaches her how to write on the sand with a staff. She writes: "Stuprum. Chiron. Demetrius."	Young Ascanius enters, running. He carries Ovid's <i>Metamorphoses</i> , which Rozelyna is trying to get away from him. She points to the tale of Tereus and Philomela, from which Titus reads a passage. To extract further information from her, Marcus teaches her how to write on the sand with a staff. She writes: "At the instigation of Thamera, Aran's mistress, Rozelyna has been ruined by Quiro and his brother, Demetrius."

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in the recent hunt, she nods. She also implicates the Empress.]

SHAKSPERE.

Young Lucius swears vengeance on the villains.

Titus: "Come, go with me into mine armory; Lucius, I'll fit thee; and withal my boy Shall carry from me to the Empress' sons Presents that I intend to send them both. Come, come; thou'lt do thy message, wilt thou not?"
Young Lucius: "Ay, with my dagger in their bosoms, grandsire."

Act IV, Scene 2.

Young Lucius then carries a bundle of weapons, with verses—one from Horace—tied up in them, to Chiron and Demetrius,—the presents of Titus. Aaron, in several asides to the audience, interprets the double meanings of the verses and hints at an impending calamity.

Act VI.

At this juncture, a midwife enters, carrying a black babe, the offspring of Morian and Ætiopissa, whom the latter wishes to have concealed, because its swarthy hue would betray its origin. Sapho-

DUTCH, 1641.

Askanius's protestations of courage are carried to much greater length than in S. He desires to be fitted out with armor and says: "Oh, only give me a sword and I will cut the cruel bellies out of the villains."

At this juncture, a nurse enters, carrying a black babe, the offspring of Aaron and Tamora, whom the latter wishes to have killed, because its swarthy hue would betray its origin. Demetrius is about to

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
<p>nus is on the point of killing it, when Morian rushes in and snatches the babe away. The midwife tells Morian that the Empress wishes to have the child carried off to Mt. Thaurin, where Morian's father lives. Morian agrees to take it there; and then, to prevent the secret from leaking out, he kills the midwife.</p>	<p>"broach the tadpole on his rapier's point," when Aaron intervenes and arranges to substitute a child of one of his countrymen, and thereby to deceive the Emperor. Furthermore, to prevent this secret from leaking out, he kills the nurse and plots the death of the midwife.</p>	
<p>After taking these precautions, he sets out for Mt. Thaurin, meanwhile crooning to his babe: . . . "Cheese of dog's milk with water shall be thy food, till thou canst walk. I will put thee to all kinds of exercises, that thou mayst become hardy, and learn how to fight bravely and to tear up a coat of mail with thy hands, like myself," etc.—much longer than in S.</p>	<p>After taking these precautions, he sets out for the Goths, meanwhile crooning to his babe: "I'll make you feed on berries and on roots, And feast on curds and whey, and suck the goat, And cabin in a cave, and bring you up To be a warrior and command a camp."</p>	
<p>Although this arrow-shooting scene does not actually occur on the stage, it is referred to later by the Emperor. See Act vii, Cohn, p. 224: "Yesterday in defiance of me he shot my imperial palace full of arrows."</p>	<p>Act IV, Scene 3. Titus, being madly distracted, has Publius, Marcus, and others join him in shooting arrows to Pallas, Mercury, Saturn, and other gods; the arrows are attached to notes, urging the gods to send Justice, who has disappeared, back to earth again.</p>	

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Act V, end.

[Titus then employs a messenger to deliver to the Emperor a sword and a letter of defiance, in which he has folded a razor.

The messenger delivers his insulting presents and is ordered to be hanged for his pains.]

Act VII.

"Beat of drums and flourish of trumpets. Vespasian approaches Rome with his army, having made great havoc and desolated all the cities of the Romans."

The Emperor's courage sinks, and he sees no hope ahead, unless Ætiopissa can bewitch Titus.

Morian and his babe are captured by a soldier and delivered to Vespasian, who is

SHAKSPERE.

Titus then employs a clown, who is carrying a basket of pigeons, to deliver to the Emperor a letter of defiance, in which he has folded a knife.

Act IV, Scene 4.

Saturninus finds the arrows and is worried by the contents of the notes. Tamora, however, cheers him up with the promise that she will successfully manage Titus.

The clown delivers his insulting presents and is ordered to be hanged for his pains.

News arrives that Lucius is approaching with a large army of Goths.

The Emperor's courage sinks, but Tamora again cheers him with the promise that she will bewitch Titus.

Act V, Scene 1.

Aaron and his babe are captured by a soldier and delivered to Lucius, who is eager to kill

DUTCH, 1641.

Act III.

[Lucius, who is mustering an army, overhears a conversation between Aran and Thamera's

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
eager to kill them at once. But Morian promises, provided Vespasian will spare his life, to disclose the past villany. Vespasian engages to do so, and then Morian recounts the treachery which has wrought the downfall of the Andronici. Vespasian, however, breaks his promise, and, though at Morian's request he spares the child, he orders Morian to be hanged.	them at once. But Aaron promises, provided only Lucius will spare the child's life, to disclose the past villany. Lucius swears to do so, and then Aaron recounts, with gruesome-ness yet with decency, both the treachery which has wrought the downfall of the Andronici, and also his many other villanies in the past.	two sons which reveals the guilt of all three. He captures Aran, but the sons escape. Aran then recites with grossest obscenity both the treachery which has wrought the downfall of the Andronici, and also his many other villanies in the past.]
Enter the Empress and her two sons, all three in disguise. The Empress informs Titus that the gods have sent these men to assist him in his wars. According to the Empress' scheme, they are to discover the plans of Titus and, if possible, assassinate him and Vespasian.	<p data-bbox="459 716 624 740">Act V, Scene 2.</p> <p data-bbox="422 750 666 992">Tamora and her two sons disguise themselves as Revenge, Rape and Murder, and, trusting to Titus's lunacy, get him to enlist their services. He bids them kill all persons who are like themselves.</p>	Thamera and her two sons, in the guise of Revenge and her attendants, trusting to Titus's lunacy, inform him that it is Lucius who has worked his father's downfall.
<p data-bbox="273 1179 303 1202">(b)</p> <p data-bbox="168 1212 412 1386">[Act VIII, beginning. A messenger announces to the Emperor and Empress that Titus invites them to a banquet to celebrate the eternal</p>	<p data-bbox="422 1080 666 1386">His pretended joy at Tamora's coming finds expression in these words: "O sweet Revenge, now do I come to thee; And, if one arm's embracement will content thee, I will embrace thee in it by and by." Tamora then persuades Titus to sum-</p>	<p data-bbox="676 1080 919 1245">Titus pretends to be overjoyed at Thamera's coming, and, feigning love for her, woos her in a speech which is too obscene to quote.</p> <p data-bbox="676 1253 919 1386">He begs her, further, to invite the Emperor and Empress to his house, since he has business of importance</p>

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
peace which he desires to be established between himself and the Court.]	mon Lucius to a banquet, to take place in Titus's house, to which also she promises to invite the Emperor and Empress, so that Titus may wreak vengeance on them.	about which to confer with them.
(a)		
[Ætiopissa departs, leaving her two sons in the service of Titus.	Tamora departs on her errand, but Titus insists that the two sons remain.	Thamera departs on her errand, but Titus insists that the two sons remain and spur him on to revenge.
	Marcus and others, entering, insist that the disguised persons are Tamora's sons, but Titus satirically defends their assumed rôles.	Marcus and others, entering, insist that the disguised persons are Thamera's sons, but Titus satirically defends their assumed rôles.
Titus then cuts their throats, preserving the blood in a basin.]	Titus then cuts the throats of the captives, while Lavinia catches the blood in a basin.	Titus then cuts the throats of the captives, bidding Rozelyna hold the basin; but, on realizing that she has no hands, he has her bite the murderers' hearts out and spit them into their faces. In the midst of this free-for-all slaughter, a messenger announces that Lucius has captured Aran.
		The chorus expatiates on Rozelyna's woful plight and hints at a fearful nemesis.
	Act V, Scene 3.	Act V.
Titus, dressed like a cook, welcomes his	Titus, dressed like a cook, welcomes his	The guests arrive at the banquet, among whom

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
<p>guests, among whom also is Vespasian,—Morian having been hanged.</p> <p>Titus then serves up to the Emperor and Empress, unknown to them, the heads of Ætiopissa's sons cooked in a pie.</p>	<p>guests to the banquet, among whom also are Lucius and Aaron, as a prisoner.</p> <p>Titus then serves up to the Emperor and Empress, unknown to them, the heads of Tamora's sons cooked in a pie.</p>	<p>also are Aran and Lucius,—the latter disguised as his own chamberlain.</p> <p>Titus then serves up to the Emperor and Empress, unknown to them, the heads of Thamera's sons cooked in a pie.</p> <p>At this point Lucius, in the rôle of chamberlain, announces that he has killed Lucius. There is great rejoicing on the part of the Emperor and Empress, since Titus has told them that Lucius was at the bottom of the knavery.</p> <p>Then Titus kills Roze-lyna and</p> <p>discloses the authors of all the villany and, also, the ingredients of the pie.</p> <p>Hereupon the ghosts of Demetrius and Quiro appear to Thamera, who begins to rage; she hears the voices of her sons crying out within her, and calls upon Titus to effect their release by ripping open her breast.</p>
<p>Further, he kills Andronica and then</p> <p>discloses the authors of all the villany and, also, the ingredients of the pie.</p>	<p>Further, he kills Lavinia, citing as his warrant the case of Virginius and Virginia, and then discloses the authors of all the villany and, also, the ingredients of the pie.</p>	<p>Then Titus kills Roze-lyna and</p> <p>discloses the authors of all the villany and, also, the ingredients of the pie.</p> <p>Hereupon the ghosts of Demetrius and Quiro appear to Thamera, who begins to rage; she hears the voices of her sons crying out within her, and calls upon Titus to effect their release by ripping open her breast.</p>
<p>After this disclosure, Titus stabs Ætiopissa, and is killed in turn by the Emperor, who,</p>	<p>After this disclosure, Titus stabs Tamora, and is killed in turn by Saturninus, who, again,</p>	<p>(b)</p> <p>[To prove the truth of his disclosure, Titus stabs Thamera, and is killed in turn by Satur-</p>

GERMAN, 1620.	SHAKSPERE.	DUTCH, 1641.
again, meets his death at the hands of Vespasian.	meets his death at the hands of Lucius.	ninus, who, again, meets his death at the hands of Lucius.
Vespasian is then declared Emperor.	Lucius is then declared Emperor; and he and Marcus and young Lucius express their grief for their dead kinsmen.	Lucius is then declared Emperor.]
Morian is hanged, as stated above.	Lucius's first decree is to have Aaron buried breast-deep in the earth and starved; Tamora's body flung out to birds of prey, and Lucius's kinsmen entombed.	(a) [At Titus's bidding, Aran is burned alive at the rear of the stage.]

The table may be briefly summarized as follows:—

I. Points common to S and D, but not found in G:—

1. The two sons of Titus appear on the stage.
2. The young grandson of Titus has a rôle to play.
3. The foreign enemy are called the Goths.
4. Titus eulogizes Rome.
5. The human sacrifice.
6. The courting of Tamora "in dumb-show" in S,—
with wind-instruments and string-instruments in D.
7. The buried gold used for a bribe.
8. The intriguing letter.
9. The catastrophe of the pit.
10. The pleading of Titus before the tribunes for the lives of his sons.
11. The banishment of Lucius.
12. The incident concerned with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

II. Points common to G and S, but not found in D:—

1. The dispute over the emperorship.
2. The betrothal of Lavinia to the Emperor, and the device by which the marriage is thwarted.

3. The whole episode of the black child, including the murder of the midwife (and also of the nurse in S), and the capture of the Moor while bearing his child to a place of safety.
4. The arrow-shooting.
5. The defiant message from Titus to the Emperor, which results in the death of the messenger.
6. The method by which a confession is extracted from the Moor.

III. Points common to G and D, but not found in S:—

1. Mutius, one of the sons of Titus in S, is lacking in both the other plays.
2. Alarbus, the eldest son of Tamora in S, is likewise not to be found in G and D.
3. The information that the Empress's first husband has been killed to quiet his suspicions.
4. The Moor in effect boasts himself the "Lightning and Thunder" of his people.
5. The Moor is angry at the Empress when he meets her alone in the forest.
6. The charge of insulting the Empress upon which the sons of Titus are arrested.
7. The hand of Titus only is demanded in return for the lives of his sons, instead of (as in S) the hand of Titus, Marcus, or Lucius.
8. Extreme obscenity in the Moor's confession of his past life.

IV. Points found in S, but in neither G nor D:—

1. The preliminary dispute between Saturninus and Bassianus.
2. The burial of Titus's sons, who are brought back dead from the war.
3. The sacrifice of Alarbus, instead of (as in D) the proposed sacrifice of Aran.

4. The kidnapping of Lavinia, which results in the death and burial of Mutius.
5. The hand of Titus, Marcus, or Lucius is demanded instead of that of Titus only.
6. Act iii, scene 2.
7. Young Lucius carries presents from Titus to Chiron and Demetrius.
8. The arrow-shooting actually occurs on the stage.
9. The sentence imposed on Aaron varies a little from that in G and D.
10. Formality in closing the last act; farewell speeches to the dead.

V. One point occurs in the version represented by the Program and in S, but is not found in D:—the name *Lavinia* instead of (as in D) the name *Rozelyna*. Also one point occurs in the version represented by the Program and in G, but is not found in D:—namely, the reason why Titus is tricked of his hand.

Since the Program, as it will shortly appear, is of immense importance in helping us to determine the true origin of D and hence the relation between D and S, let us, using at all times for reference the categories given above, discuss the Program first. As I have already mentioned, Cohn accepted the version represented by the Program as directly dependent upon Vos's play D; but Creizenach and Schröer, on account of the name Lavinia, as opposed to Rozelyna in D, concluded that besides G there must have been current in Germany another adaptation more closely related to S, which adaptation they held to be that represented by the Program. They did not, however, connect it in any way with D. Nevertheless, if we examine the Program closely we are bound to see in the version which it represents a very striking connection with D. For besides the almost exact

agreement of plot, already referred to,¹ the descriptive titles of the two plays are nearly identical. The full title of D is "Aran and Titus, or *Revenge and Counter-Revenge*," that of the Program, "*Revenge versus Revenge*, or the warlike Roman Titus Andronicus." It is not only the similarities, however, which serve to determine the relation in question, but quite as much the differences. The name Lavinia, for instance, as Creizenach and Schröer pointed out, proves conclusively that the version represented by the Program cannot possibly be a translation of D. How could a translator who had nothing but D to go by, hit upon the name "Lavinia," which is that employed in S? It would certainly be unreasonable to explain away the difficulty on the ground of coincidence. Our other alternative, then, is to suppose that D and the version represented by the Program had a common source, and that Jan Vos changed the name Lavinia to Rozelyna. His reason for making this alteration readily appears when we glance at the period in which he wrote. At that time a new school of erotic poetry had just come into existence in Holland, and "Roselyn's Oochies" (Rosalind's Eyes) was only one of a great store of poems in which the anatomy of this heroine was sung.² Probably, then, Vos substituted the name Rozelyna for Lavinia because it was more popular. But whatever his reason may have been, the necessary inference as to the common origin of D and the version represented by the Program is, for our purposes, of real importance,—indeed of two-fold importance. In the first place, we are now in a better position to understand how the story of Titus Andronicus got into Holland; and in the second place, when we undertake a comparison of D with S, it will not then be in order to explain away difficulties of action by supposing that Vos made alterations to suit his pleasure.

¹ P. 18, above.

² See Sir John Bowring's *Sketch of the Language and Literature of Holland*, Amsterdam, 1829, p. 47.

As to the first question,—how the story of Titus Andronicus got into Holland,—we have already seen that George Greflinger in 1650 had planned to translate into German a Dutch play which he referred to as “Andronicus mit dem Aaron.” Now the preservation of the Program, which in details of plot practically agrees with D, seems to indicate that Greflinger actually carried out his plan. For it is inconceivable that the play represented by the Program, if it owed its existence to some other version of the story in no way related to D, should tally so closely with the latter. Hence there must have been in Holland, besides D, a play which was the source of D. This inference at once removes a serious difficulty, already adverted to,—it accounts for Vos’s knowledge of the story of Titus Andronicus in spite of his ignorance of all foreign languages. But a further question remains: How did this source of D get into Holland? One version of the story, as we know from G, was carried from England into Germany about 1600 and performed by the English Actors. There is abundant evidence that the English Actors travelled through the Netherlands as early as the year 1597, and repeatedly after that.¹ Doubtless it was in this way that the story of Titus Andronicus made its way into Holland, and thus the Dutch original of D and of Greflinger’s lost German drama is easily accounted for. The complete disappearance of the Dutch play of the English Actors need occasion no surprise. Probably it never got into print. Unfortunately we have no Dutch collection to correspond with the German *Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten*. We are now in a position to see the exact bearing of the question how closely Vos followed his original. Obviously, if Vos made practically no alterations in the plot which he adapted, we must impute such divergences from S as exist in D to the work of the English Actors,—that is,

¹See H. E. Moltzer’s *Shakspeare’s Invloed op het Nederlandsch Tooneel*, pp. 34–41.

if we insist that D depends upon an adaptation of S. These divergences are enumerated above, in categories II and IV.

Yet when we consider the episodes included in these lists and notice the dramatic importance of some of them, we cannot help wondering how they came to be left out, even in a rough-and-ready adaptation. Similar wonderment is excited when we attempt to explain G as an adaptation of S; for G lacks all the episodes in categories I and IV,—such important things as the buried gold, the intriguing letter, the whole catastrophe of the pit, etc. How, then, can we account for the arbitrary methods which apparently were used in making the adaptations?

In the first place we must remember that in pieces prepared for the German or Dutch stage action was all important, for action is something which appeals to the eyes and can in consequence be readily grasped. Furthermore, it goes without saying that the English Actors did not trouble themselves to alter their originals needlessly. If, then, the action in the originals was not such as to miscarry or to obscure the meaning, one is at a loss to see why they should have changed it. Thus, for example, in S Aaron buries in the forest a bag of gold which he says is to serve him in an "excellent piece of villany."¹ Here the significance of the buried treasure is emphasized for the benefit of the audience by the actual secreting of the gold in their presence. Surely we might expect to find the same method employed in an adaptation for the Dutch stage. Upon turning to the corresponding place in D, on the contrary, we read that Aran, in declaring his platform of villany to Thamera, informs her that he has buried a helmet of gold which is to incriminate the two younger sons of Titus. Similarly in S, Bassianus, who was previously betrothed to Lavinia, kidnaps her from the very presence of Titus and Saturninus, and Saturninus later indulges his sudden infatuation for Tamora by persuading

¹ P. 26, above.

her to become his Empress.¹ In G, on the contrary, the Emperor merely *tells* Ætiopissa that he has returned Andronica to her father with the message that his heart has changed,—that he now prefers to marry Ætiopissa. Here again we apparently have, in a play adapted to the needs of a German audience, a reversion from a striking bit of action, in every way suited to the purpose, to a bald statement of fact wholly devoid of action. Nor is this difficulty, or that just cited in D, to be explained by supposing that G and D were pirated and hence do not exactly represent the plays as they were first performed on the German and the Dutch stage respectively; for no reporter could have failed to comprehend such obvious phenomena as kidnapping and the burial of a treasure. Judged, therefore, by a simple common-sense standard of adaptation, G and D are hard to reconcile with S. If, further, we add to the discrepancies just mentioned the many important omissions from G and D which are included in categories I and IV, and II and IV, our faith in G and D as adaptations of S may well be shaken.

More light, however, will be thrown upon this particular contention if we examine category IV (points found in S but in neither G nor D). With the exception of No. 6 (Act iii, scene 2), all the episodes in this category either have their close correspondences in G or D, or at least could easily have been suggested by the action there represented. (1) The preliminary dispute between Saturninus and Bassianus varies but little from the altercation in G, where Saturninus insists that he be made Emperor instead of Titus. (2) The burial of Titus's sons is but a slight elaboration of the pageant celebrating Titus's return in D. (3) The sacrifice of Alarbus has its close counterpart in D in the proposed sacrifice of Aran. (4) The kidnapping of Lavinia, resulting in the death of Mutius, is a ruse to thwart the marriage of Lavinia to the Emperor; in G a message, instead of the kidnapping, is

¹ P. 22, above.

employed to the same end. (5) The demand for the hand of Titus, Marcus, or Lucius, instead of the hand of Titus only, is a very slight change. (6) Act iii, scene 2, was in neither of the first two quartos of S and did not appear until the First Folio. It was doubtless a late insertion, and we may here disregard it. (7) According to S, young Lucius swears vengeance on the villains, Chiron and Demetrius; whereupon Titus says to him:

Come, go with me into mine armoury;
 Lucius, I'll fit thee; and withal my boy
 Shall carry from me to the Empress' sons
 Presents that I intend to send them both.
 Come, come; thou'lt do thy message, wilt thou not?

Young Lucius: Ay, with my dagger in their bosoms, grandsire!

In D, Askanius's protestations of courage are carried to much greater length than in S. He desires to be fitted out with armor and begs: "Oh, only give me a sword, and I will cut the cruel bellies out of the villains!" In D, then, Askanius desires in some way to take part in wreaking vengeance. In S his request is granted, and he is allowed to carry to Chiron and Demetrius weapons, with verses of sinister intent. The expansion in S, therefore, may be safely called the following out of a hint in D. (8) Though the arrow-shooting does not actually occur on the stage in G, it is nevertheless referred to. (9) The sentence of death imposed on Aaron in S has its close counterpart in both G and D. (10) The farewell speeches to the dead in the last act of S are again only a slight elaboration (tending to dramatic completeness) of the final scenes in G and D.

Thus we find that there is not a single episode in S¹ that could not easily have been suggested by the combined contents of G and D; whereas, on the other hand, we are at a loss, as we have seen in the preceding paragraph, to explain in G and D the many omissions and the striking changes from S.

¹ Except Act iii, scene 2, which we are justified in eliminating.

Such being the case, the question at once arises: Can it be possible that the English prototypes of G and D antedated S? We shall be in a better way to decide this question after we have examined category III,—points common to G and D but not found in S. Here we have eight agreements which could in no way owe their origin to S. Indeed, there are nine such agreements. If we turn to category V, we find that in the Program the reason is given by the Moor why Titus is being tricked of his hand. Now this reason is also furnished in G, but not in D. It is inconceivable that this additional point in the Program was incorporated from G, since, if there had been a borrowing from G, more would have been taken than a mere motive occupying in the Program but a short clause. To explain these nine agreements by urging coincidence is of course out of the question.¹ We are, then, forced to conclude that G and D go back to English versions prior to S.

As to the direct relation of S to these English versions, I have already shown that no episode exists in S which has not either a close correspondence in G or D, or which could not easily have been suggested by G or D. In other words, so far as plot and action are concerned, these two plays almost exactly supplement each other and produce S. How nicely the action of G is filled out by that of D, and *vice versa*, we may see by again turning to categories I and II. D lacks such important incidents as the dispute over the emperorship, the betrothal of Lavinia to the Emperor, the action concerned with the black child. G lacks the rôle of young Lucius, the human sacrifice, the buried gold, the intriguing letter, the whole catastrophe of the pit, etc. If, however, we combine the plots of G and D, the result accounts for practically everything in S. Add to this strik-

¹Creizenach, finding, as I have said, only one agreement of this kind (namely, the information that the Empress had killed her first husband), was possibly justified in pleading coincidence; but this argument can no longer suffice.

ing fact, our conclusion that G and D cannot possibly depend upon S, directly or indirectly, and the inference is not to be avoided: *In G and D we have preserved to us two old English plays which prove to be the sources of S.*

But though, judged purely by the plots, the English originals of G and D seem undoubtedly to have been the sources of S, it may yet be urged, I suppose, that they were not the immediate sources of that play. Such an objection has been partly forestalled by the close similarity of several parallel passages already given in the table of plots. To remove, nevertheless, any lingering doubt in this regard, I will quote a few more parallels. In G, page 178, Titus says:¹ "O how sweetly and pleasantly do the birds sing in the air! each seeking its food; and the hunt has likewise commenced in joy and splendour. But yet my heart is oppressed and uneasy, for that I had last night a most dreadful dream, and know not what it portends. I must now again join the Emperor, who is present at the hunt in person."

In S, act ii, scene 2, 1 ff., Titus says:

The hunt is up, the morn is bright and grey,
The fields are fragrant and the woods are green;
Uncouple here and let us make a bay,
And wake the Emperor and his lovely bride,
And rouse the prince and ring a hunter's peal,
That all the court may echo with the noise.
Sons, let it be your charge, as it is ours,
To attend the Emperor's person carefully;
I have been troubled in my sleep this night,
But dawning day new comfort hath inspired.

G, pp. 180, 182, "Empress: 'Therefore come and take signal revenge on her, treat her cruelly, and, if you love me, kill her husband by her side; but if you do not I will curse you, and henceforth never more regard you as sons of mine.'"

¹The quotations from G, found in this paper, are taken from an English translation, which is furnished in Cohn's *Shakespeare in Germany*.

S, act ii, scene 3, 114-15,

Tamora: Revenge it, as you love your mother's life,
Or be ye not henceforth call'd my children.

G, p. 182. "Empress: 'Therefore, my dear son, give me your sword, that I may take away her life myself.'"

S, act ii, scene 3, 120-1,

Tamora: Give me thy poniard; you shall know, my boys,
Your mother's hand shall right your mother's wrong.

So much for the closeness of the prototype of G to S.

Similarly, parallel passages in S and D attest a like dependence of S upon the English prototype of D. In D, act iii, H. 2 v°, "Titus: 'O surpassing Philomel, killed by Tereus' knife!'"

S, act ii, scene 4, 26 ff.,

Marcus: But sure, some Tereus hath deflowered thee,
And, lest thou shouldst detect him, cut thy tongue, . . .
. . . Fair Philomela, she but lost her tongue, . . .
. . . A craftier Tereus, cousin, has thou met.

In D, act iii, H. 3 v°, lamenting his daughter's ruin, "Titus: 'Ha, ha, ha, ha!' Marcus: 'How now! 'tis no time to laugh.' Titus: 'Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! how can I weep? My heart is dried up; my tears are scattered.'"

S, act iii, scene 1, 264 ff.,

Marcus: Now is a time to storm: why art thou still?

Titus: Ha, ha, ha!

Marcus: Why dost thou laugh? it fits not with this hour.

Titus: Why I have not another tear to shed;

Besides, this sorrow is an enemy,

And would usurp upon my watery eyes,

And make them blind with tributary tears.

The above-quoted passages, both in the case of G and of D, are only samples, to which others alike convincing might easily be added.

If, now, the theory that the English prototypes of G and D were the sources of S is to stand the test, we shall expect to find in S some slight alterations of action for the purpose either of effecting changes in motive or at least of accomplishing dramatic improvement. The first instance of this appears at the beginning of S. In G, Titus is on the stage from the very start, and the scene opens with the suggestion by Vespasian that Titus be made Emperor. This the eldest son of the late emperor hot-headedly resents, and puts forward what he deems a better claim to the vacant office; whereupon Titus generously yields to him. In S, on the contrary the play opens with an altercation over the emperorship between Saturninus and Bassianus and their followers. Marcus, entering, puts an end to their dispute by the announcement that the Roman people have elected Titus Emperor. He eulogizes Titus at considerable length, glorifying his brave deeds in war. A captain then announces Titus's approach, and soon the valiant general enters, amid a tumultuous flourish. His services towards Rome, and those of his house, are also attested by the public and ceremonial burial of his dead sons. The objection on the part of Saturninus to Titus's election breaks out much later in the scene, and Titus, as in G, generously yields. His yielding, however, is interpreted by Saturninus as such offensive condescension as to make sincere gratitude impossible. At the corresponding place in D, there is no dispute whatever, and less chance than in S for flourish and demonstration. The improvement in S is obvious. For in G we have no splendid entry and dramatically effective pageant such as we look for on the return of a great hero to Rome. Furthermore, the dispute in G gives no motive, as in S, for Saturninus's later hostility towards Titus, for the yielding is in the German play regarded as a favor. Moreover, in D, though some slight pageant is attempted,—a mere suggestion of what we find in S,—no scheme is wrought out to give potency and rationality to the later grudge of Saturninus

against Titus. From all this we see that, in the opening scene of S, slender hints of what ought to be, have been combined and elaborated into due formality and dramatic completeness.

A similar example of dramatic improvement, in which hints from both G and D have apparently been followed, is afforded by the controversy over Lavinia between Tamora's two sons. In G (p. 172), Helicates and Saphonus felicitate themselves on the life of luxury and ease which has resulted from their captivity. Then, after comparing notes in a most agreeable and sympathetic fashion, they come to the conclusion that they are both enamored of the same person. Even after this discovery, some time elapses before they plunge into the temerity of anger. Helicates urges his greater age as a basis for first claim to Lavinia's love. Saphonus, on the other hand, insists that his own lack of years is compensated for by excess of courage, etc. In D, the scene opens with the brothers in the very midst of their dispute. There is, however, no reasonableness in the claim of either; they simply "have at" each other blindly, until Aran, entering, carries them into a somewhat abstract discussion of very bad ethics. In S, act ii, scene 1, ll. 26 ff., the trouble begins as follows:

- Demetrius.* Chiron, thy years want wit, thy wit wants edge,
And manners, to intrude where I am grac'd,
And may, for aught thou know'st, affected be.
- Chiron.* Demetrius, thou dost overween in all,
And so in this, to bear me down with braves.
'Tis not the difference of a year or two
Makes me less gracious or thee more fortunate.

The author of S has employed the dramatic method of D in entering *in medias res*, and has given to the quarrel, as in G, some reasonable cause: Demetrius throughout the scene keeps harping on his extra years; in ll. 73-74 he says, "Youngling, learn thou to make some meaner choice; Lavinia is thine

elder brother's hope,"—a taunt which only makes Chiron strive the harder to prove his own worth.

Another decided improvement is achieved in S by the episode of the human sacrifice. In D there is much talk about offering up Aran, but nothing comes of all the discussion: Aran is released. The incident does not occur in G, but in S the eldest son of Tamora, Alarbus, is actually sacrificed, off the stage, to the shades of Titus's dead sons. The gain in S is twofold. In the first place, the heathen custom of immolation is scrupulously followed and not merely hinted at; and, in the second place, Tamora's later unrelenting cruelty toward Lavinia is made to appear less inhuman because it now becomes revenge. There is no loss, either, in taking away the motive for Aaron's crimes: he is a villain in grain by his own frank confession (act iii, scene 1, ll. 205-6):

Let fools do good, and fair men call for grace,
Aaron will have his soul black like his face.

The kidnapping of Lavinia in S, as I have hinted before, shows a great betterment of its sole original in G. In G, after the betrothal of Lavinia, the Emperor, finding himself infatuated with Ætiopissa, returns Lavinia to her father with the message that she is not the equal of his present empress. This conduct is not only absurd in itself, but it is artistically unfortunate, for, while it does release the Emperor from his previous contract, it serves to humiliate Lavinia undeservedly. In S, on the contrary, the kidnapping by Bassianus both thwarts the marriage and gives Saturninus another grievance against Titus, whom he insists on regarding as a party to the intrigue.

Another instance of a change for the better is in the closing scene of S: Aaron is condemned to be buried breast-deep in the earth and starved to death,—a bit of torture which we are left to imagine as taking place after the play is over. In D, as the final act of nemesis, Aran is burned alive on the

stage. This scene is precisely what one expects in an early play planned chiefly for spectacular effect. It is the trap-door episode of the *Jew of Malta* over again, as is shown by two illustrations in the first edition of D.¹ The *Jew of Malta* was running at about the same time at which the English original of D must have been presented. No doubt there was a specially constructed stage-apparatus for the Jew, which another play may well have utilized.²

One further example, out of several that might be added, must suffice. In both G and D, the hand of Titus only is demanded in return for the lives of his two sons. The subsequent dispute, therefore, among Titus, Marcus, and Lucius, as to which of them shall suffer the sacrifice causes us surprise. Nor is it to be supposed that the demand, although couched in vague terms, is understood by all to be

¹The first illustration pictures the confusion in the last scene. On a platter lie the heads of Quiro and Demetrius, grinning at each other; nearby are the supine corpse of Rozelyna and the banquet table upset; and, as the cynosure of all eyes, Aran is ablaze with enveloping flames. The second illustration represents a moment earlier: Aran is seen in mid-air, just after his precipitation through the trap-door, with his hands tied behind him; chains suspended from the roof are fastened to his ankles. The resulting shock bids fair to exceed the strappado. And, as if to typify the unruffled complacency of the audience even amid such harrowing scenes, there is visible at the top of the scenery a cat, which peers down on the gruesome sight and appears to be licking her chops at the plentiful quarry.

²Some critics regard the last scene in the *Jew of Malta* as a later addition or substitution by Heywood or some other hack. For those, however, who still believe the scene to be Marlowe's, the instance of dramatic change which I have here cited ought to have importance. It should also be noted that in Ravenscroft's revision of *Titus Andronicus* the Moor is tortured and burned on the stage as in D. Now it is possible that some of Ravenscroft's friends, "anciently conversant with the stage," may have told him of the great success of this scene in the English original of D, and that he was led to revive it. For, although the tradition as to the authorship of a play might soon die out even among those intimately associated with the theatre, "stage-business," on the other hand, would be much more likely to be perpetuated; for actors, as a rule, take more interest in stage-devices than in authors.

for the hand of any one of them; for in D we find Marcus saying, "Though Titus's hand is required, I will send mine;" and in G, the Moor confides to the audience the Empress's motive for the trickery,—namely, that Titus may hereafter be incapable of overthrowing Rome. Now in S the dispute is furnished with an adequate motive: the demand is for the hand of Titus, Marcus, or Lucius.

Convincing as the traces of this dramatic mending are, however, they are not the only evidence of revision which we may hope to find in S. If our main theory be true, we may also look for the presence in S of images and conceits and dramatic artifices which have been suggested to the mind of the author by somewhat dissimilar counterparts in G and D; or, to put it in another way, we shall expect to find that the mind of the author has been so stimulated by certain hints in his originals that he has created images and conceits and dramatic artifices which are not identical with their correspondences in G and D but are rather the result of the mental reaction which these have excited. As a matter of fact, the evidence of just such a mental reaction is apparent in several places in S. In D, act ii, F 3, r°, for instance, when Titus has failed to move the judges and tribunes to save the lives of his sons, he says: "The judge knows how to bend the law like wax."

In S, act iii, scene 1, 45, at the very same point in the action he says: "A stone is soft as wax, tribunes more hard than stones."

Again in D, act iii, H 3, v°, "Titus: 'Thus hath vengeance kindled its fire in this breast,—a fire like the fire of Aetna, a fire like that of Troy.'"

In S, at the same place, act iii, scene 1, 242-3:

Marcus: Now let hot Aetna cool in Sicily,
And be my heart an ever-burning hell.

Notice in the following instance how there has been a combination in S of the two conceits in G and D.

In D, act iii, F 4, v°, "Titus: 'Can I not soften the Roman prince with the tears which like a salt sea course down my wrinkled face? . . . I'll give my heart's blood to expiate the evils of my sons.'"

In G, p. 194, "Titus: 'Here will I lie and not leave off crying until I have flooded the earth with my tears; in winter they shall melt away the snow and frost.'"

In S, act iii, scene 1, 14 ff.,

Titus: Let my tears stanch the earth's dry appetite;
My sons' sweet blood will make it shame and blush.
O earth, I will befriend thee more with rain,
That shall distill from these two ancient urns,
Than youthful April shall with all his showers:
In summer's drought I'll drop upon thee still;
In winter with warm tears I'll melt the snow,
And keep eternal spring-time on thy face,
So thou refuse to drink my dear sons' blood.

As we see, the figure of the tears which is carried out to greater extravagance in G than in D has passed from the former into S, and to it has been added a hyperbole suggested by "heart's blood" in D.

In D, act ii, E 3, r°, Marcus, while looking down into the dark pit where the two sons of Titus have been suffocated, says: "I see something glittering."

In S, act ii, scene 3, 222 ff., while Martius is in the pit and Quintus is trying to help him out, the following conversation takes place:

Martius: Lord Bassianus lies embrewed here,
All on a heap, like to a slaughter'd lamb,
In this detested, dark, blood-drinking pit.
Quintus: If it be dark, how dost thou know 'tis he?
Martius: Upon his bloody finger he doth wear
A precious ring, that lightens all the hole,
Which, like a taper in some monument,
Doth shine upon the dead man's earthly cheeks,
And shows the ragged entrails of the pit.

Again in D, act iii, G 1, v°, Titus, when bewailing his daughter's fate, cries out: "If Apelles' hand with a bloody pencil had drawn this villany, who could behold it without his heart breaking before a drop of water had trickled from his eyes?"

In S, act iii, scene 1, 103 ff.,

Titus: Had I but seen thy picture in this plight,
It would have madded me; what shall I do
Now I behold thy lively body so?

In G, page 200, there is the stage direction: "Titus takes up his hand, raises it, and looks up to heaven, sighs, mutters, vows, strikes his breast, and puts down the hand after having sworn." At this juncture in S, act iii, scene 1, 207-8, he says:

O, here I lift this one hand up to heaven,
And bow this feeble ruin [i. e., his mutilated arm] to the earth.

In the following example the real action which takes place in D, namely, the actual incitement to vengeance by the two severed heads, furnishes Titus in S, act iii, scene 1, 272-5, with these lines:

For these two heads do seem to speak to me,
And threat me I shall never come to bliss
Till all these mischiefs be return'd again
Even in their throats that have committed them.

The last example of this mental reaction which I shall cite is perhaps the most striking of all. In G, page 168, the Moor soliloquizes thus: "... So that I became renowned all over the world by my great superhuman deeds and obtained the name, 'The Lightning and Thunder of Ethiopia.'"

In D, act 1, C 2, r°, when asked who he is he brags: "I am the Gothic God of Arms, who did terrorize the Roman army by the thunderings of my voice, by the lightnings of mine eyes."

In his soliloquy in S, though he employs as figures "lightning and thunder" he connects them in a different way with Tamora,—act ii, beginning :

Now climbeth Tamora Olympus' top,
Safe out of fortune's shot, and sits aloft,
Secure of thunder's crack or lightning's flash,
Advanc'd above pale envy's threatening reach.

The practical agreement here in G and D and a difference of application in S add convincingness to the previous examples ; surely, if the evidence of this mental reaction counts for aught, the main theory of this article is considerably reinforced.

Closely akin to the traces of this mental reaction is the evidence in S of great improvement in phraseology. It may be urged that, after having been adapted into German and Dutch and then translated back into English, G and D do not represent their old prototypes verbatim ; and that comparison with S in respect to phraseology is therefore unfair. Within certain limits, to be sure, this objection is valid ; a few passages, for instance, by sheer wear and tear may have degenerated into scarcely recognizable semblances of their original selves. But, allowing generously for this, we should yet expect to find the greater parts of the two adaptations closely similar to their prototypes. Indeed it would seem odd, even in an adaptation, if we did not meet continually with lines which agreed almost word for word with their originals. The German *Hamlet* and the German *Romeo and Juliet*, for example, although there is strong reason to believe that they depend upon Shakspeare's two plays before he had revised them, nevertheless preserve many lines of our present versions intact. Certainly, then, a considerable number of whole lines must, by mere chance, if in no other way, have crept into G and D without alteration. Such being the case, the absence from G and D of one verbatim line of S is a convincing sign of thorough-going revision on the part of S.

Moreover, the evidence of revision is further substantiated when in both G and D speeches vary alike, in respect to sentiment, from the corresponding passages in S. In S, act iii, scene 1, 194 ff., Titus says in eulogy of his hand merely this:

Good Aaron, give his majesty my hand:
Tell him it was a hand that warded him
From thousand dangers; bid him bury it;
More hath it merited,—that let it have.

Here, obviously, the pathos consists in the brevity, the self-control, the only half-uttered resentment with which reference is made to the valorous old hand. In both G and D, on the contrary, instead of this chastened brevity and stirring pathos there is mere colorless boasting. G, p. 192, reads: "Noble hand, how have your faithful services been requited! O ungrateful Rome, this hand often saved you from your cruel enemies. Had it not done so, you would ere this have been torn to pieces,—there would be no trace of Rome now. How often, noble hand, had you to do battle against a thousand hands! the most perilous and sanguinary wars have been fought by you."

In D, act iii, G 4 v°, the eulogy is still longer and much less restrained. "Here is the golden hand," Titus brags,— "the hand which with its dagger bathed for the common good the 'Granaden' in a rain of human blood; the hand which has lorded it over the Germans in the Alps; the hand which paved the Pontus gulf with bodies; the hand which laid low the Epirots in the mountains; the hand which twice annihilated the Gothic army;" etc., for half a page more.

And, indeed, even when a comparison of only one of the plays with S is possible, considerable trace of revision can often be seen from the phraseology.

In S, act iii, scene 1, 215 ff., for example, Titus's behavior is tinged with lunacy:—

- Marcus.* O brother, speak with possibilities,
And do not break into these deep extremes.
- Titus.* Is not my sorrow deep, having no bottom?
Then be my passions bottomless with them.
- Marcus.* But yet let reason govern thy lament.
- Titus.* If there were reason for these miseries,
Then into limits could I bind my woes.
When heaven doth weep, doth not the earth o'erflow?
If the winds rage, doth not the sea wax mad,
Threatening the welkin with his big-swoln face?
And wilt thou have a reason for this coil?
I am the sea; hark, how her sighs do blow!
She is the weeping welkin, I the earth:
Then must my sea be moved with her sighs;
Then must my earth with her continual tears
Become a deluge, overflow'd and drown'd;
For why, my bowels cannot hide her woes,
But like a drunkard must I vomit them.

In this surcharged passage Titus's momentary madness finds relief in extravagant images, which are forged with a readiness and ease somewhat suggestive of Macbeth's teeming fancy. In D, act iii, H 3, v°, Titus fairly out-Herods Herod, or else lapses into the unintelligible, as in the following: "Who is there? Is it Titus? Yes, it is; I know him by his gait. Stand, Gradamard! stand! stand! you shall not escape me. Away, away! Klaudillus, away! I must hasten to the Styx. Let loose, Melanus! let loose! it is Pollander's bride. Here, Aran, here! come here and weep out your eyes. Why does the cur howl? All the sprites cry out; here! The sun faints away for fear; hell seems broken loose," etc., to the extent of about three pages. Such raging savors of the pre-Shaksperian drama, in which it was sometimes customary to have a character go mad on the stage. Indeed, Titus's incoherency here reminds one of the temporary madness of old Jeronimo in Kyd's portion of the *Spanish Tragedy*. At any rate, it is hard to believe that Titus's forcible figures in S could ever have degenerated into such empty lunacy as we find here in D.

Not less are we forced to admit revision when continually we observe commonplace and crudely obvious lines in G and D replaced in S by subtle and connotative phrasing. Thus, in both G and D, the Moor refers to his relations with Tamora in terms of gross and noisome indecency. In S, on the contrary, act ii, scene 1, 19-24, his speech compared with G and D is couched in delicate suggestion :

I will be bright, and shine in pearl and gold,
To wait upon this new-made empress.
To wait, said I? to wanton with this queen,
This goddess, this Semiramis, this nymph,
This siren, that will charm Rome's Saturnine,
And see his shipwrack and his commonweal's.

The same, too, may be said of the conversation of mutual revilement between Tamora and Lavinia. In S the speeches are wittily pungent and characterized by verbal quibbling. In D they are too insultingly outspoken to bear repetition. In G, likewise, they are a mere empty bandying of contumely, with no hidden sting. Similarly, a comparison of the latter part of this scene in G and S, where Lavinia is begging for her life, bears out the idea of revision on the part of S. G, p. 182, "Andronica: 'O you most merciless woman, is there not a spark of compassion in you?'"

S, act ii, scene 3, 136, "Lavinia: 'O Tamora! thou bear'st a woman's face,—'"

G, p. 184, "Andronica: 'O is there no help? Is there no pity?'"

S, l. 182, "Lavinia: 'No grace? No womanhood?'"

Here, again, we see that the phrasing in S nicely hits off the situation, and contains below the surface lingering poignancy and appeal,—just what a revising dramatist would have striven for.

One more example, which I shall add without comment, must suffice in this brief discussion of phraseology. In G, p. 196, when Titus discovers his daughter in her mutilated condition, he says in part: "When I used to return in

triumph to Rome, suffering much pain from wounds received from the enemy, and saw you joyfully hastening to meet me with your lute, you made me forget my pain, and refreshed my old heart with your pretty innocent talk. But wherewith will you now play the lute to gladden me, and wherewith will you speak? You are robbed of all this."

In D, act iii, G 1, v°, the part of Titus's lament which concerns his daughter's mouth and tongue reads: "How your mouth flows with blood, which so often distilled nectar! . . . My dear love, where is the golden tongue, which sang father's golden fame with golden verses? . . . The chattering fiddles, the zither, and the cymbals pall on me, when compared with your throat."

In S, act iii, scene 1, 82-86, the corresponding passage is as follows:

O that delightful engine of her thoughts,
That blabb'd them with such pleasing eloquence,
Is torn from forth that pretty hollow cage
Where, like a sweet melodious bird, it sung
Sweet varied notes, enchanting every ear!

To recapitulate the new evidence produced in this article to substantiate our main theory, we have seen (1) that the version represented by the Program depends upon an old Dutch play, no longer extant, which must also have been the source of D; (2) that this Dutch play was pretty certainly the result of an adaptation of an old English play, which was carried into Holland and performed by the English Actors; (3) that the almost exact agreement, in point of action, between the Program and D forces us to impute such differences from S as are now to be found in D to the work of the English Actors; (4) that, as these changes are altogether too arbitrary to be explained even by recourse to the English Actors, D, judged purely on these grounds, can scarcely point back to an adaptation of S; (5) that G, as an adaptation of S, is open to like suspicion; (6) that such suspicion becomes

a positive objection when we further see that the English prototypes of G and D probably antedate S, since G and D almost exactly supplement each other to produce the plot of S; (7) that this objection of priority is strengthened by nine agreements in G and D, which in no sense owe their origin to S; (8) that the English prototypes of G and D not only antedate S, but prove to be the direct sources of S, as is shown by the closeness of parallel passages; (9) that the main theory of this article is again substantiated threefold (a) by the evidence in S of dramatic improvement over its sources in respect to action; (b) by the trace of the "mental reaction" in the author of S; (c) by the many signs of improvement in phraseology.

In a subsequent paper, which I hope to publish in the course of a year, I intend to treat this question of sources in greater detail than I could attempt to do within the limits of the present article. I shall there endeavor to clear up such considerations as are here left only partially treated. For example, it may naturally have occurred to the reader that a single lost English play (instead of two) may suffice as the source of both G and D. Such an assumption, it is true, is not impossible, for the material of S is practically all accounted for. But let us see where this theory will lead us. From categories I and II we have seen that G fails to preserve several important episodes which are found in D and S; and that D omits several such episodes, which are found in G and S. Furthermore, from category IV it has appeared that, in excess of the combined contents of G and D, S contains not one point as important as most of those which have been omitted from either G or D; indeed, that it contains nothing of this kind which could be called an entire episode. On the theory of a single source for G and D, these two plays must have preserved, between them, *by mere chance* all the important episodes in the old play on which they supposedly depend. Now does it not seem odd that G, which on the

basis of this theory is cut down considerably from its source, and D, which likewise varies from its source a great deal, did not both happen to omit some important episode,—such as, for instance, that concerned with the black child,—which S on the other hand preserved?

Finally, this theory of two old English plays instead of one is not, even to the extent which I have seemed to indicate, a construction. It is supported by positive evidence. Henslowe's diary actually contains a number of entries which account for the two plays in question. The play there mentioned, under the date of April 11, 1591, and six times after that, as "tittus and Vespacia" or "titus and Vespacia" and later abbreviated three times to "tittus" or "titus," I hold to be the lost source of G.¹ And the play mentioned under the date of January 23, 1593, and twice after that, as "titus and andronicus" or "tittus and andronicus" and later abbreviated twice to "andronicus," I believe to be the lost

¹ The entries in Henslowe's diary (see ed. J. P. Collier, etc., pp. 20, 24-31, 33, 35, 36) are as follows:

In the name of God, Amen, 1591, beginge the 19 of febreary, my lord Stranges mene, as foloweth:

Rd at tittus and Vespacia,* the 11 of aprell 1591.....	iiij ^{li}	iiij s
Rd at tittus and vespacia, the 20 of aprell 1591.....		lvj s
Rd at titus and Vespacia, the 3 of maye 1592.....		lvij s
Rd at tittus and vespacia, the 8 of maye 1592.....		xxx s
Rd at tittus and Vespacia, the 15 of maye 1592.....	iiij ^{li}	
Rd at titus and vespacia, the 24 of maye 1592.....		xxx s
Rd at tittus and Vespacia, the 6 of June 1592.....		xxxxij s

Then comes another set of entries, without mention of the company that gave the plays, but with the following salutation:

In the Name of God Amen, 1592, begininge the 29 of Desember.

Rd at titus, the 6 of Janewary 1592†.....	lij s
Rd at tittus, the 15 of Jenewary 1593.....	xxx s
Rd at titus, the 29 of Jenewary 1593.....	xxx s

*According to Collier, Henslowe placed a "ne" in the margin opposite this entry to indicate that the play was new.

†After this entry 1593 is substituted for 1592.

source of D.¹ From this it will be seen that I take none of the entries in Henslowe's diary to refer to S. For this identification of the old English plays with the entries in Henslowe I am indebted to Professor G. P. Baker of Harvard University. Proceeding on the theory set forth in this article, he was able to find traces of the lost plays by an ingenious and thoroughly logical interpretation of Henslowe's entries and of the intricate transactions of the English companies, which at various times performed the plays. Professor Baker has been kind enough to submit to this present paper a statement of his argument.

Another point which I shall later treat more fully is the relation, in point of phraseology, between G and D and their English sources. I shall then attempt to show that G, as a pure and simple adaptation, represents, in almost every case, a compression rather than an elaboration of its sources; that the adapter did not attempt to reveal his own individuality, but only tried to suit the needs of the German stage. In D, on the other hand, we shall find that Vos, though, as we have seen, he scrupulously followed the plot of his original, yet in all probability treated the dialogue with some freedom. In many cases, to be sure, a comparison of D with S shows a close following of even the dialogue, but in several other places we shall have to admit, I think,

¹In the name of God Amen, beginenge the 27 of desember 1593, the earle of Sussex his men.

Rd at titus and ondronicus,* the 23 of Jenewary	iiij ^{li}	vij s
Rd at titus and ondronicus, the 28 of Janewary 1593 ..	xxxx	s
Rd at titus and ondronicus, the 6 of febery 1593.....	xxxx	s

In the name of God Amen, begininge at Newington, my Lord Admeralle and my Lorde chamberlen men, as foloweth, 1594:—

5 of June 1594, Rd at andronicus.....	xij s
12 of June 1594, Rd at andronicus.....	vij s

*According to Collier, Henslowe placed a "ne" in the margin opposite this entry to indicate that the play was new.

that Vos compressed and expanded, and that he wove into the play to some extent his own thoughts and feelings.¹

The consideration of the authorship and of the date of S I shall also reserve for the present. I must, therefore, run the risk, temporarily, of seeming dogmatic when I state that I believe Shakspeare to be the author of practically every line of S, and that S belongs to the year 1594.

HAROLD DEW. FULLER.

¹It may excite surprise that I have failed to mention the old ballad, entitled *Titus Andronicus's Complaint*. Inasmuch as only a few, beside Bishop Percy, have seriously insisted on this as a partial source of the play, it has hardly seemed worth while to include a discussion of the matter here. In the light of our new theory, furthermore, the ballad appears beyond question to be a following of the play and not a source.

II.—“TITTUS AND VESPACIA” AND “TITUS AND ONDRONICUS” IN HENSLOWE’S DIARY.

The entries in Henslowe’s *Diary* as to “tittus and Vespacia” and “titus and Ondronicus” seem to me, if they be carefully considered, to support Mr. Fuller’s conclusions in regard to the origin of Shakspeare’s *Titus Andronicus*. I believe, with him, that we have in the entries which he has quoted in his article the two plays he names as the sources for Shakspeare’s play—the original of G in “tittus and Vespacia”; the original of D in the “titus and Ondronicus” entered as “ne” Jan. 23, 1593–4, when the Sussex men were playing at the Rose.¹ Note that the title-page of the first extant quarto (1600) says that the play was given by Pembroke’s, Derby’s, Sussex’ and the Chamberlain’s companies, and that—this is important—the order of the last two companies on this title-page is the order of their control of the play as shown in Henslowe’s *Diary*.² May it not be, then, that the assignment is correct and that the Pembroke and the Derby company, in the order named, used the play before the Sussex and the Chamberlain men? I think if we assume, for the moment, that whoever put the statement on the title-page was thinking simply of a Titus Andronicus play and not of the special play before him, it may be shown that the statement was entirely correct, and that a Titus Andronicus play passed successively from Pembroke’s company to Derby’s, Sussex’, and the Chamberlain’s men. The fact that on this first quarto no author was named for the play may have helped in the treatment of two successive Andronicus plays as one.

Of the Pembroke men to 1594, when “titus and Ondronicus” was acted as a new play, we know surely little more

¹ *Diary*, ed. J. P. Collier, p. 33.

² *Idem*, pp. 33, 35, 36.

than that they were at Leicester in 1592,¹ were in hard straits by September, 1593,² and had some of their plays printed in 1594-95.³ They are usually supposed to have originated, or to have grown into prominence, not long before 1588-89.⁴ It is to be observed that the Vos play is much more bloody than G, and more complicated. In the number of incidents and the bloodiness of them, it certainly suggests for its original a play of the late 80's—the time of the efflorescence of the drama of blood. We know that Shakespeare used Pembroke plays in his work—*The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York*, and *The Taming of a Shrew*.⁵ Moreover, when “titus and Ondronicus” first appeared in connection with the Chamberlain’s company, the plays given were novelties from the list of the Admiral’s men, or plays not marked as new yet not from the repertory of the Chamberlain’s men when, as Lord Strange’s men, they had acted at the Rose in 1592.⁶ When we notice that *Bellindon*, *Cutlacke*, and *The Jew* were given repeatedly by the Admiral’s men after the Chamberlain’s men left them,⁷ but that the other four plays never reappeared, we must believe that after February, 1593, when my Lord Strange’s men ceased to play at the Rose, and June, 1594, these plays were written for them; or they acquired them from some other company; or Henslowe had obtained them from some company and sold them to the Chamberlain’s men when they ceased to act with the Admiral’s men. When we remember that from April to late December, 1593, the plague raged in London,⁸ forcing the

¹ W. Kelly, *Notices of Leicester*, under 1592.

² J. P. Collier, *Memoirs of Alleyn*, p. 32.

³ E. Arber, *Stationers’ Register: First Pt. of Contention, True Tragedy, Taming of a Shrew*.

⁴ F. G. Fleay, *History of the Stage*, p. 87.

⁵ See title-page of first editions of these plays [1595, 1594].

⁶ *Diary*, pp. 20-30.

⁷ *Idem*, pp. 36 et seq. For evidence as to separation of the companies see later part of this article.

⁸ F. G. Fleay, *History of the Stage*, p. 94.

company (Lord Strange's) to travel;¹ that we do not hear of it in London again before June, 1594; that, when on the road, it was likely to depend on London successes rather than on entirely new plays; that one of the four plays, "Taming of a Shrew," is known to have been a Pembroke play; that another, "Hamlet," is suspected to be;² that the title of the third, "Hester and Ahasuerus," suggests a type of play popular in the 80's rather than the 90's; and that Mr. Fuller has given strong reasons for questioning the Shakespearean authorship of "titus and Ondronicus," we certainly have cause to consider seriously whether Mr. Fleay is not right in saying that by June, 1594, the Chamberlain's men had gained in some way the right to act a group of Pembroke plays.³ Evidence to be examined will strengthen the suspicion aroused.

But how could this play have passed to the Earl of Derby's men? A company of that name was acting between 1578⁴ and September, 1593, when the Earl died and Lord Strange succeeded to the title. If given by this company, the Andronicus play must have been presented between September, 1593, and April 16, 1594, when the new Lord Derby died. His company shortly after passed under the patronage of the Lord Chamberlain. Now, on September 28, 1593, Henslowe wrote to Edward Alleyn, who, since the spring, had been traveling in the country with the Lord Strange's men—the plague in the city had closed the theatres—that the Pembroke men, unable "to save their charges," had been hanging about the city for some six weeks in hard case, "fain to pawn their apparel."⁵ Anyone conversant with the history of the Elizabethan stage knows that when companies were in sore straits their plays found their way into print and into the hands of other companies. Who more likely to

¹ *Memoirs of Alleyn*, chap. III.

² *Chronicles of the English Drama*, I, p. 33.

³ *Idem*, p. 134.

⁴ *Records of Nottingham*, B. Quaritch, under 1578.

⁵ J. P. Collier, *Memoirs of E. Alleyn*, p. 32.

take plays and apparel in pawn than the usurious Henslowe, ever ready to grasp a business opportunity? Whether the Pembroke men went completely to pieces or not does not affect this argument, though it is to be noted that in the present somewhat incomplete investigation of the movements of theatrical companies between 1590 and 1600, we have no trace of Pembroke's men between 1593 and 1596. It seems to me very possible that Henslowe acquired the play and then allowed the Earl of Derby's company to give it at some time between the 1st of October, 1593, and the 1st of January, 1594,¹ for that he owned certain plays himself which he let the different companies occupying his theatre present will be clear to anyone who studies, for instance, the entries in his *Diary* as to the *Jew of Malta*. On the 23rd of January, 1594, the Sussex men produced "titus and ondronicus" with Henslowe's troublesome "ne" against it. The entries in the *Diary* for the Sussex plays² look a little as if a somewhat limited repertory did not pay very well, and so Henslowe brought forth his *pièce de résistance* in all times of theatrical need³—the *Jew of Malta*—and this novelty, *Titus Andronicus*. I do not believe, however, that it was anything more than a revamping of the old Pembroke and Derby "Andronicus," for anyone who has carefully studied the *Diary* knows that the mysterious "ne" most often means nothing more than an old play revised to make it pass as a novelty. See, for instance, the entries in regard to *Henry VI*.⁴

The passing of the play to the Lord Chamberlain's men is easy to trace. The last entry for it was on June 12, 1594, when the Lord Admiral and the Lord Chamberlain's men were at the Newington Butts theatre. It is to be noted, as Mr. Fleay has pointed out,⁵ that after the entry of June 13th

¹ Time must be allowed for the revamping considered ten lines beyond.

² *Diary*, p. 33.

³ *Idem*, pp. 20-36.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 22 et seq., and Miss Jane Lee, *Trans. N. Sh. So.*, 1876.

⁵ *History of the Stage*, p. 140; *Diary*, p. 36, note 2.

Henslowe drew a line, and that after that date the plays "Andronicus," "Hamlet," and "The Taming of a Shrew," two of these certainly originals of Shakspeare plays, disappear from the list, though the "Jew of Malta" and other of the earlier plays are repeatedly given thereafter. The interpretation naturally is that Henslowe's words "beginning at Newington"¹ apply only until the last entry before the line, and that after June 13th the two companies separated, the Admiral's men going to the Rose or some more popular theatre. The immediate and sustained increase after June 13th in receipts for plays already given supports this theory.

A letter of Lord Hunsdon of October 8, 1594,² shows us that by that date the Chamberlain's men were seeking to act at the Cross Keys in Gracious Street, when, by Henslowe's *Diary*,³ we know that the Lord Admiral's company was acting in a theatre under Henslowe's management, presumably the Rose. The plays which the Admiral's men were giving were those carried beyond the line by Henslowe, with the addition of some novelties. The total disappearance of the Titus Andronicus play would seem to show that it had passed out of Henslowe's hands. It should be remarked that probably the Chamberlain's men had already used this play as my Lord Derby's men. If they had liked it, it would be natural for them to buy it. No argument against this can be made from the small receipts of the last two performances of "andronicous" noted by Henslowe, for until the line was reached not even a new play could bring more than 17 sh., but after it was passed all the receipts increased decidedly. This argument, based on well-known theatrical customs of Elizabeth's day, shows, then, that the entries may mean that a Titus Andronicus play came into the hands of the Lord Chamberlain's men after it had passed successively from Pembroke's men, its original possessors, to Lord Derby's men and the Earl of Sussex'.

¹ *Diary*, p. 35.

² F. G. Fleay, *History of the Stage*, p. 134.

³ *Diary*, p. 43.

But how did this play get over to Holland? In February, 1591, R. Jones, R. Browne and others are known to have arranged a trip to Holland, Zeeland, etc.¹ They and Edward Alleyn in 1583 were members of the Earl of Worcester's company.² In January 1588-89 we find Edward Alleyn buying out the share of R. Jones in plays, costumes, and belongings of the Worcester company, owned in common by Browne, Jones, John Alleyn, and Edward Alleyn.³ That is, then, Browne in 1590 probably still controlled some of the Worcester plays. He and his companions were, too, men of experience in theatrical matters. In such ventures as theirs they would of course equip themselves with all the most recent successes, and they could have had little difficulty in obtaining the right of foreign production for plays which they would never have been allowed by the owners to give in London itself. In this way the original of D, successively a Pembroke, Derby, Sussex, Chamberlain play, could have found its way to Holland.

Now what of the original of G? In the first place, the short list of characters as compared with S or D, the fact that in G some of the figures are known by titles only, and the greater simplicity of the plot suggest, unless the play was very greatly changed after it came into Germany, an earlier date for the original of G than for the original of D. I suspect that the original of G was a play of the early 80's and that it went over to Germany with the group of actors to which Pope and Bryan belonged. They were at the court of Saxony in 1586.⁴ By 1593, or earlier, both Pope and Bryan had become members of Lord Strange's company at the Rose.⁵ This "tittus and Vespacia," the original of G, might have been originally a Leicester, Worcester or Queen's play.

¹A. Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany*, pp. xxviii-ix. R. Browne and a company had been at Leyden in October, 1590, p. xxxi.

²W. Kelly, *Notices of Leicester*, p. 212.

³J. P. Collier, *Memoirs of Alleyn*, p. 198.

⁴A. Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

⁵J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, I, 33.

Alleyn's connection with Lord Strange's company in 1593 would have given it a chance to use the Worcester plays to which he had rights. It is now pretty generally accepted, I believe, that the Leicester men passed under the patent of Lord Strange on the death of the Earl of Leicester in 1588.² That plays of at least one of the two Queen's companies were used by Lord Strange's men in 1592-93 may be seen from pages 20-28 of Henslowe's *Diary* and from what is known of Robert Greene.

If, then, in June, 1594, the Chamberlain's men acquired the right to use the "titus and Ondronicus," they must have possessed in it the original of D, and in their old "tittus and Vespacia," the original of G. Here, then, are just the conditions preceding Shakspeare's *Titus Andronicus* at which Mr. Fuller has arrived by a study of the internal evidence of the last play and the German and the Dutch Titus plays. The corroboration that the external and the internal evidence give each other is at least striking.

But why is it necessary, it may be asked, to refuse to believe that the so-called new "titus and Ondronicus," given by the Sussex men January 23, 1594, was not Shakspeare's play as we have it to-day? In the first place, we have no evidence of any connection before 1600 between Shakspeare and other companies than the Lord Strange's and the Chamberlain's men, and they are practically the same company. Secondly, if we try to assume that Henslowe may have called in Shakspeare to rewrite this play for him, we must remember that Shakspeare was not merely a writer but also an actor, and that his company, Lord Strange's, was in the provinces during the plague which closed the theatres from April 28, 1593, to the end of December, and that it is not heard of in London until June 3, 1594.³ The strong probability is that he was with his

¹ J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*,—as to Alleyn's presence in the company at this date.

² S. Lee, *Shakespeare*, p. 35.

³ F. G. Fleay, *History of the Stage*, p. 94; J. P. Collier, *Memoirs of Alleyn*, pp. 25-33.

company at this time. Thirdly, Henslowe had been producing a set of plays totally different from those of Lord Strange's company or of any of the companies which immediately thereafter were in his theatre. Evidently it was the regular repertory of the Sussex men. So shrewd a man as he would not tempt the public first, when the regular repertory began to lose its attraction, by producing entirely new plays. He would, as Henslowe did, fall back on an old favorite from his own list of plays, the "Jew of Malta,"¹ or on revamping old plays, such as I hold this "titus and Ondronicus" to be. Moreover, that this last named play is not a making over of "tittus and Vespacia" seems clear to me for two reasons: first, the "and" in the title, and secondly, the abbreviation of the play in later entries to "Andronicus" instead of "Titus."² A man who had known and helped to produce a "tittus and Vespacia" might easily be led, if as illiterate as Henslowe, into accepting "titus *and* Ondronicus" as a fitting title to distinguish it from "tittus *and* Vespacia," but surely if the "tittus and Vespacia" had merely been made over into a "Titus Andronicus" he would not have made any such distinction. If it be said that the "and" is a mere slip, and that "tittus and Vespacia" had become a part of "titus and Ondronicus," why does Henslowe, who wrote with difficulty and abbreviated his titles after a first entry with the greatest care, choose the long and difficult name to write, "Andronicus," for the short name to which he was well accustomed, "Titus"? It seems to me this shows that he meant to keep clear in his *Diary* the accounts for two plays with titles so similar that they were likely to cause confusion.

Moreover, I think the remaining external evidence supports the theory that "titus and Ondronicus" is a play distinct from Shakespeare's. There was entered to J. Danter, February 6, 1593-94, "A Noble Roman Historye of Tytus Andronicus," and, immediately below, "the ballad thereof."³ Now there

¹ *Diary*, p. 33.

² *Idem*, pp. 35, 36.

³ Arber, *Stationers' Register*, II, 644.

is no way of showing whether the first entry is for a play or a history, or that it stands for "titus and Ondronicus," properly shortened. Secondly, the only existing ballad on Titus Andronicus, given in Percy's *Reliques*, is not dated, and there is no proof that it and the ballad entered are one and the same. A successful revamping of the story by Shakespeare after June, 1594, would probably have called forth a new edition of the ballad closely following the details of his play. Thirdly, Langbaine's statement that there was a 1594 edition of *Titus Andronicus*¹ counts for little, for no copy is extant, or elsewhere recorded; and his assertion that the title-page stated that the play had been given by the companies of the Earls of Derby, Pembroke, and Essex sounds like a faulty remembrance of the title-page of the 1600 edition, for the order is wrong, one company is omitted, and Sussex must be meant by Essex, for no Essex company can be traced after 1587. If, too, it be held that a passage in *A Knack to Know a Knave*, entered and printed in 1594, must refer to Shakespeare's play, we get into a curious tangle. The passage reads:—

Osrick: My gracious lord, as welcome shall you be,
 To me, my daughter, and my son-in-law,
 As Titus was unto the Roman senators,
 When he had made a conquest on the Goths;
 That in requital of his service done,
 Did offer him the imperial diadem.
 As they, in Titus, we in your grace, shall find
 The perfect figure of a princely mind.²

Naturally, this play should refer to "tittus and Vespacia," for it was produced side by side with it,³ was not given after January 13, 1593, and was entered for printing January 7, 1594.⁴ "Titus and Ondronicus"—which for the moment we shall treat as Shakespeare's—was produced as new January

¹*English Dramatic Poets*, p. 464, ed. 1691. He does not say that he saw the edition.

²Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi, 572.

³*Diary*, pp. 28-30.

⁴Arber, *Stationers' Register*, ii, 643.

23, 1594. On the other hand, more is made in D and S than in G of presenting the control of the state to Titus, and only in D and S does Titus conquer Goths.¹ In G he overcomes the Ethiopians. Either, then, the passage refers to an original of G in which the Ethiopians were Goths, or it refers to an earlier form of "titus and Ondronicus." Finally, when, on April 19, 1602, Thomas Millington assigned his rights to certain books to T. Pavier, "Titus and Andronic" was among them. On August 4, 1626, Pavier's widow assigned rights to E. Brewster and R. Birde. Again "Titus and Andronicus" appears. On November 8, 1630, Birde assigned his rights to "Titus and Andronicus," among other books, to R. Cotes.² In 1600 and 1611 Edward White printed the first and the second extant editions of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*. Mr. Arthur Symons, in his introduction to the Praetorius reprint of *Titus Andronicus*, says: "It is difficult to account for the fact that a book which in 1602 was the property of Thomas Millington should in 1600 have been printed for Edward White, and that, after the transference of the copy-right from Millington to Pavier, a second edition of the same book should have been printed in 1611 for the same Edward White. No edition with Millington's name on the title has yet been found."³ But does not all this clear up in the light of the theory already advanced? E. White held the rights to Shakespeare's play; Millington, who had printed "The True Tragedy," a Pembroke play which came to him in 1594, owned this other Pembroke play, and in his 1602 assignment to Pavier called it, as it was called in Henslowe's *Diary*, "Titus and Andronicus." Note that this *and* appears in all the successive assignments. It is worth remarking, too, that in the 1626 assignment of Pavier's books he gives over all his rights to Shakespeare's plays as a set,⁴ but that "books" on "Titus and Andronicus," "Hamlet," and "Henry V" are

¹ See Mr. Fuller's parallel summaries.

² *Stationers' Register*, III, 204; IV, 164; IV, 242.

³ Page v.

⁴ *Stationers' Register*, IV, 164.

mentioned separately. We know there was a non-Shakespearean play on Hamlet; we know, too, that Millington, who assigned to Pavier, published a garbled "Henry V";¹ we suspect that he owned the non-Shakespearean "Titus Andronicus." The external evidence, then, both of the *Diary* and of the *Stationers' Register* seems to support Mr. Fuller's theory.

I agree heartily, then, with Mr. Fuller that two plays, "Titus and Vespacia," the original of G, and "Titus Andronicus," the original of D, in the hands of the Lord Chamberlain's company by perhaps late June, 1594, were made over by Shakspeare at some time after June 15th, 1594, and before September 7th, 1598,² into the play which stands under his name. In closing, it is well worth noting that to accept the interpretation here advanced, that is, to put the original of G before 1586, the original of D between 1588 and 1590, a revamped *Titus and Vespacia* in April, 1591-92, a revamped *Titus Andronicus* in January, 1594, and Shakspeare's final working over of the two plays after June 15, 1594, is to corroborate the words of Ben Jonson in *Bartholomew Fair*: "He that will swear *Jeronimo* or *Andronicus* are the best plays yet, shall pass unaccepted at here [in Oct., 1614] as a man whose judgment shows it is constant and hath stood still these five and twenty or thirty years." Even as far back as 1585 the story of Titus had been staged.

GEORGE P. BAKER.

¹ P. Daniel, *N. Sh. So., Hen. V.*, p. x.

² When the *Palladis Tamia* of Meres was entered in the *Stationers' Register*.

III.—THE NEW FUNCTION OF MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHING.¹

As teachers of the modern languages, in our survey of our own Association and of the American university system, we must all feel a certain warmth of exhilaration. The progress that our favorite studies have been making is so splendid. Within that period of forty years which the memory of older men among us can now cover, and, for the younger men, in each of the periods into which those forty years could be divided, there has been, in a steady current of progress, so vast an improvement in our methods of instruction, so vast an increase in the magnitude of our work, in the number of our pupils, in the size and qualification of our professorial force. In the national movement of thought and theory in education, we have shared, indeed, with the physical sciences in popular favour; and even as compared with the physical sciences themselves, the growth of instruction in the modern languages has been, I think, the more rapid and the more impressive. Excluded at first, or hardly recognized, as a factor in liberal education, they have now made good their position, in all grades of instruction, in school and college and university. In generous proportion with the financial means of each academic body, the work has from year to year been more highly specialised. Almost everywhere, we have witnessed the establishment of the natural division between Romance and Teutonic philology, and between linguistics and literature; and almost everywhere we have witnessed, in logical connexion with the same movement, the study of English placed in its worthy position, as connecting link between those great forces of literary culture that have formed

¹Address of the President of the Modern Language Association of America, delivered December 28th, 1900.

our speech and our literature. There is not, I think, in the world a country where the boy or the girl, born into the use of one of the great modern languages, can move onward more easily and more surely into the knowledge and enjoyment of two or three others.

There has been, indeed, in this wide enthusiasm of our day for the spreading and elevation of modern language instruction, an intellectual movement that may fairly be compared with the enthusiasm in the days of the renaissance, which made for the study of Latin and Greek as the main instrument of human culture. There has been the same devotion of mind and heart, the same intense conviction, the same triumphal movement of men's spirits toward the goal of a special culture. Even in the masses of the people, that could not share in the knowledge and the accomplishments that they so keenly admired, there has been the same fervent belief in this form of education, and the same generosity in fostering it. The popular confidence in the results of our modern language training has made itself felt in all regions of our vast country, as part of the practical sense of our people. The man that can speak French or German, or write a letter, or read a book in either, enjoys almost the same popular reverence as Holberg's young hero, among the Danish villagers, for his ready command of the Latin pronouns. In country villages I have found the same ardour for our special studies as in great universities. No man that has shared in this movement can fail to feel a noble joy in such a display of energy and in such an achievement of results. And, in our annual gatherings, as here this evening, in clasping one another's hands and entering into the spirit of one another's work, we must feel a high degree of professional pride in the progress and advancement of those studies to which, as men and as students, we have given our lives.

But of course, along with this sense of joyous progress, there must come a sense of deepening responsibility. Where so much has been given, there is much likewise to be required.

And the pathetic confidence of the American public in the results to be achieved by our modern language instruction must move us deeply to self-examination. If the chief change of the last forty years in our educational system has been the ever growing importance of the modern language teaching, then, while we may fairly claim a large share in whatever progress is to be discovered in the national intelligence and well-being, we must accept in like manner the responsibility for whatever loss or enfeeblement of intellectual life may show itself. We are bound, therefore, in making up, as it were, our account for the close of the century, to balance evil against good. We must observe, in the temper and mental habits and modes of thought and feeling in our educated classes, as well what has been lost as what has been gained by the withdrawal of time and energy from other studies and their concentration upon the modern languages.

In the vast changes of educational method, there have, indeed, been many shiftings and readjustments among rival studies. The physical sciences, for example, have claimed and received a far more generous assignment of time in our students' busy lives. But, in the main, the chief change of all has been the dropping out of Greek as obligatory study and the substitution of English, French, and German. In this gradual process of change, each of us that is of sufficient age has taken his own share. Thus we can each recall the struggle in committee or in faculty-meeting from which, for good or for evil, this momentous change came forth. The years have rolled on. Generations of our students have, under this change of studies, passed forth into the world. The results, in many forms, are before us. We can, therefore, gain much, I think, by asking ourselves if the wide substitution of the modern languages for Greek, as obligatory study, has resulted in all the good and in just the good that we hoped.

From many points of view, the answer can be a proud and joyous yes. First of all, as for the study of Greek itself, the removal of Greek language and literature from the bondage

of the curriculum and the conversion of them into a special study for a special class of able and enthusiastic students has shown itself to be a great intellectual progress. Ceasing to be the bugbear of indifferent or disaffected students, the Greek is become the darling study of those to whom it makes its all-powerful appeal. Under the stimulus of this enthusiasm, the study of Greek in our university life, the study of Greek language, of Greek art and archæology, and of Greek literature, has pushed itself forward into ever nobler achievement. Thus, as we can all feel with a profound national pride, in the very years in which Greek was ceasing to be an obligatory study for the masses of our American student-body, the Greek scholars of America, in all the highest labors of Greek philology, have won for themselves a place among the foremost in the Greek learning of mankind. And, again, by the enlarged study of the modern languages, we have greatly augmented the average intelligence of our student-body. We have made them far more familiar with those literatures, English and foreign, that are shaping the future of our race. We have set them in the historical movement of modern thought. We have rendered them more capable of dealing, as professional men, with the practical problems of their own professions. We have opened for them freer access to that fulness of specialised knowledge in which lies the secret of professional success. Thus, on both sides, as it would seem, the shifting of studies has been a national gain. And those of us, therefore, that took part in bringing about this change have almost all reasons for self-congratulation.

But, in this complex play of shifting influence, there is one consideration that must make us anxious. In all ages of modern culture it has been the special function of Greek study to furnish, in all the modern nations, to all serious students of literature, the models and the ideal of literary form. The student, for example, that could enjoy his Homer not only came to know the symmetrical and harmonious development of the noblest story that ever formed itself in

a human brain, but he gained likewise, in outline and in personal experience, the principle of epic narrative; and, in turn, as he read a speech of Demosthenes, or a dialogue of Plato, or the turn of a story in Herodotus, or the movement of an ode in Pindar, he gained, along with the content of each special masterpiece, the definition and the practical conception of a definite form of literary art. And, as best of all training in literature, the student, when he mastered a play of Sophocles, was gaining, along with the story itself, a practical insight into that development of emotion into action, into that shaping of character into personality, into that sublime linking of human fate with human virtue which make of dramatic poetry the highest achievement of man's intelligence. And from the days of the early humanists on past the mid-epoch of our own century, this influence of Greek literature upon the student-mind, in revelation of literary form, went on deepening. It was this influence that, acting through Coleridge and Shelley, through Tennyson and Arnold, and Swinburne and Browning, gave form and charm to the literature on which our century was nourished. And, until this movement was checked, this Greek influence, as essential part of university culture, acted, more or less deeply, not only upon picked young men as a special class, but upon all the college-bred men of our western world. Wherever this Greek learning made itself felt, there was the communication to the student-mind of the simplest and most beautiful forms of literature. There was the standard of comparison; there was the sense of form. If now this influence were checked, might there not arise for our student-body, as a possible danger, the loss of literary feeling, the loss of the delicate sense of literary form? This is the thought that sobers and somewhat saddens our feeling of triumph in the splendid progress of the modern education.

It is here, then, that the weight of responsibility comes to fall upon us as teachers of the modern languages. In win-

ning, for our modern language-instruction, its place in college and university, we are bound to see that, from this point also, from the point of view of literary form, there shall come no loss to our students' intellectual life. We are bound so to arrange our methods of study, so to choose among the infinite variety of modern writers, so to expound and interpret the text that we are reading, that the acute sense of literary form and the passionate love of literary form shall come as surely from the study of modern models as they used to come from the study of the Greek models themselves. If we have not done this, we have in so far failed of our highest duty; and in our failure we have wrought a damage to our people and our civilisation.

And, in this mood of self-examination, there is much in what we see of the American public, to make us fear lest, in the mind of the educated classes there be in reality a growing indifference to the charm of literary form. In lyrical poetry, for example, if we compare our present stage of production with the youthful poems of Bryant and the work of Poe, there has been, I fear, a distinct loss in the practice and appreciation of noble lyrical form. There was something, for example, to give pain to lovers of great literature in learning the other day, that, in assigning niches in our Temple of Fame, the judges had not recognized the claim of that one American poet upon whom nature had bestowed the sovereign genius of lyrical expression. And the case stands more sadly still with dramatic poetry. If it be true, as I think, that the special glory in literature of the second half of our century has been the quickening of the poetical drama in Scandinavia, France, and Germany, into a novel and splendid form of literature, it is somewhat painful to remember that, in this highest movement of the century, the supreme test of artistic form, our American poets have had such small ambition and such small success. And in the more artistic forms of prose literature, since the days of Motley as historian, of Hawthorne as builder of romance, of Webster as master of oratorical form,

the later century, among students trained in new methods, has shown, I fear, a distinct loss not only in the power of producing exquisite prose but in cultivated capacity for enjoying it. The men that have shown themselves as masters of prose are not, for the most part, the men that are widely read; and the men that are most widely read owe their many millions of readers to something else than their mastery of prose-form. Thus, the novel, as that one form of literature which dominates our century and takes so largely for us Americans the place both of dramatic and of lyrical poetry, of sermon and essay and satire, and even of *Joe Miller* and *Baron Münchhausen* as types of literary art, achieves its most brilliant successes in books, often fascinating in material, in novelty of incident or in analysis of character, that from the point of view of artistic form are faulty in constructive plan and deeply corrupting to literary taste. Thus, if we test the power of the modern education either by the artistic skill of our men of literature in creative art, or by the enthusiasm of appreciation in our many millions of educated readers, there is, I fear, made visible, as compared with earlier times, a weakening in the sense of literary form. Giving so much else, and giving so richly, our modern education does not seem as yet to give either the power to produce models of literature or the cultured taste for enjoying them.

Thus, in this condition of the popular mind, there is the supreme need for us to supply that element of instruction which seems to be lacking. As teachers of modern literature through the medium of modern languages, we should aim more and more at the ideal which the teaching of Greek literature so fully attained. This, above all, is the function that the movement of thought in the American people has now assigned to the teaching of the modern languages.

In this endeavor, there is one truth of educational method that should guide our striving to reach and to educate the faculty of æsthetical enjoyment. The sense of literary form, as apart from the knowledge of facts contained in the modern

text, arises in the minds only of those students that are so far advanced in their studies as to be able to read the language itself at once with ease and with accuracy. With grammar and lexicon at his elbow, the reader may understand the meaning of much that he so laboriously works out. He may attain grammatical accuracy in his knowledge of the language itself. He may, in favorable cases, under a careful teacher, even reach a fluent and correct pronunciation. But to attain to the sense of literary form, to feel the purely æsthetic delight of perfect harmony in the construction and development of the literary model, he must be able to read freely, to read without painful effort, and yet to read with sharp insight into the emotional movement of situation and character. Here then lies for us, as I believe, for our practical guidance, the final goal of our teaching. Our students need, in approaching the masterpieces of literature, not only the grammatical knowledge of the language in question, not only the facts of biography and history that connect themselves with the special work, but above all the power and the habit of fluent and unimpeded reading. And this, to be frank, is just what I find too seldom even among my graduate students. As they read with difficulty and so slowly, there is not for them, in contact with the model of literary form, the keen flash of intellectual insight, the warm throb of emotional response.

So soon as this ease in reading is attained, then the reading itself should, for the purpose of the higher culture, be sought only in such works of modern literature as are in themselves exquisite models of literary form. Each text read or recommended for reading should, for this purpose, be chosen as example of some definite form of literature. And each text thus chosen should be studied not only for its beauty of style in details of composition, but more deeply in its artistic unity of construction, in the definite relation of the separate parts to the complete design.

Thus, in the proper course of reading in literature and for literature, there must be, I think, the almost complete surrender

of the too common practice of reading scraps and fragments. Volumes of such scraps are, I think, to be looked upon as almost the deadliest foe to the sense of literary form. A single poem, of course, if complete in itself, is an artistic unity, fit to be studied. A well-constructed essay, however short, or a brilliant story, however briefly told, if the connexion of part with part be achieved with proper skill, may be in itself a complete lesson in beauty of form. But the work to be read, whether short or long, if worthy to be read at all as example of literature, should be read not in extracts nor in specimen, but in its organic unity of artistic composition.

And, for the same great purpose, the notes, if any, that accompany the printed text and the running commentary that we give in the class-room upon the text that we are interpreting, should be so framed as to be a steady and luminous revelation of literary form. In examining many such volumes of notes, I have been struck, amid the abundance of annotations on points of grammar and lexicography, on history and biography and all kinds of miscellaneous knowledge, by the scantness and inadequacy of literary interpretation. And yet such notes and comments on literary form may be for many minds the first awakening of the sense of beauty in literature. I can remember, for example, from my own youth, with what a wild rapture of delight and discovery I came in Schneidewin's edition of Sophocles upon his lucid setting forth of the organic plan of a Greek tragedy, of the relation between chorus and dialogue and of the ordered movement in the sequence of action. And I love to recall that happy morning, when by the skillful touch of my own Greek master, in dealing with a lovely story from Herodotus, my vision was suddenly uplifted from the mysterious movements of a contract verb in Ionic Greek, to take in that exquisite movement of sentences by which, in revealing scene and actor and action, the great artist had created the model of all narrative art. And so, in dealing with any text that has the value and distinction of a true literary form, it is, I think, the highest

function of the teacher to train and develop the sense of beauty. Let him reveal the generic idea of the book as a work of literature, the proportion and symmetry of the organic parts, and the constructive plan by which artistic unity is attained. It is only in this way, as I believe, that our teaching of the modern literatures can be made effective as a vigorous training in the appreciation of literary form and in the laws of beauty. A series of texts so well chosen as to exhibit the various forms of literature in passing from the simpler to the more complex, and each text so treated as to reveal in that special form the laws of artistic harmony in grouping and composition—there would be, as I hope and believe, the full power of the modern languages displayed in training the soul to the love and appreciation of literature.

From this point of view, for the more complete attainment of this ideal of modern language instruction, there is one advance in our methods that is most warmly to be urged. So long, of course, as we have regard to practical purposes alone, the mother-tongue must claim the highest place in order of usefulness, and next to that, for English-speaking nations must come the German and the French. These are for us, in our day and country, the most important as equipment for life and study and professional success. But so soon as we admit for our more advanced pupils the higher claim of the training in literary form, it is plain that we all have a special need of the great Italian models of literature. For it is in those Italian models that European culture made the transition from the antique to the modern form of literature. It is in watching the growth of those Italian forms, that we first become conscious of the modern ideals of literature, and qualify ourselves as critics to trace the development of the separate forms from the Italian stage on to our own. In this way, the great Italian prose of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has its immense value for all students of style. And, in poetry, the form created by Dante, by Tasso and Ariosto and by Petrarch

became for all the western races, in their own awakening to literature, the supreme model of beauty. For me, therefore, the worst blemish in our modern practice of education is, under the pressure of other studies, that neglect of the Italian as an element of culture which has, within the last fifty years, as well in England as in America, made itself felt. And, if the study of modern languages is ever to be made to yield its full harvest, we should, I feel sure, unite in restoring the Italian to its rightful place in the development of the sense of form. For it is thus that our students, in their philosophic studies of literature, can best be brought to learn how, by what changes, in what details of construction and what movement of spiritual forces, there came out of the classic form the modern, or Romance form, of literature. Think, for example, for the young man that knows his Virgil what is the splendour of intellectual vision that must spring from knowing Tasso! Consider how, in successive ages, with what inevitable result, for Chaucer's age, for Surrey's, for Shakspeare's, for Milton's, for Shelley's and for Browning's, the study of Italian form has given to our English poetry the final touch of perfection. There is not, as I believe, in all the range of modern language instruction, any other modern literature that can do for the student's sense of beauty just that which the Italian has never failed to do. And upon our age, especially, in which the sense of artistic form has somehow been unduly dulled, the great Italian models, in their supreme lucidity and harmony of plan and proportion, would work with benign magic upon the temper and minds of our students.

In the like spirit, the literature of the other great races should, I think, be presented to our young men, as part of their æsthetic culture, chiefly in those consummate models of the several forms of literature in which each race has found the highest expression of its own artistic nature. In this there cannot be, of course, any full agreement among even ourselves as to what should be taken and what rejected.

For taste itself, in its judgment of literature, is so deeply modified by the sympathies and traditions of race, as to dispose us all too much to see the highest charm of literature in that which our own special studies and race affinities make the most precious to each one of us. But yet, as to some main points, there would be, I think, a general agreement. If, for example, we admit the intellectual loss that falls on those that are cut off from personal contact with the highest prose-art of mankind, the prose of Demosthenes and of Plato, we should all, I think, be prone to urge upon our pupils the careful and elaborate study of the modern French prose, as being the best equivalent that modern art has produced for the matchless beauty of the Greek form. Here, on the modern side, our students would find the closest approach to the clearness and lucidity of the Greek prose manner, to its harmony of phrasing and its exquisite neatness in junctures and transitions.

On the other hand, should we wish to compensate our pupils on the modern side for their ignorance of the pure lyrical form of classical poetry, in order to lift them above the formlessness and triviality of many modern styles, there would, I think, be a general agreement among us in urging upon them as models the masterpieces of German and Scandinavian lyricism. For here, in the consummate work of the great masters, in Goethe for example, or in Oehlenschläger, or in Heine or Meyer, or in Baggesen, we have as models a lyrical form that is as lucid and as sharply defined as the Greek form itself. And, as in the Greek, we have the lyrical conception brought before us in forms of language so intensely clear and pure, as to flash forth, like the Greek, all the concrete force of the metaphoric phrase. As the perfect form of the great French prose would be, for our advanced students, the best training in those forms of literary art that develop the process of reasoning, so the perfect form of the Teutonic lyricism would serve as the best models for them in the process of the imagination. And in general, for the cultivation

of this sense of beauty in literary form, each of the great modern languages should, I think, be studied in those models of literature that have most of the special character of the race itself, that are most in harmony with its intellectual and emotional nature.

And there is, I think, to make this mode of instruction fruitful, in our young men themselves, as we see them in our universities, an intense eagerness for personal expression in literature, and for the personal achievement of literary form. We cannot read our college magazines without seeing how intense and eager is this craving for the personal note in literature. And it will aid us in our effort to develop the sense of beauty if we watch the two directions in which the student-mind is bent on achieving literary form. They are, I think, on the one hand, the personal lyric as the poetical form that is much admired, and on the other the short story as artistic form in prose. In comparison with these two types of literature, it is somewhat strange to see how seldom the other forms are tried, as for example, the narrative poem or the drama, or the essay or the historical sketch. In my own experience I have known, I think, of only three bright young students that made a serious assault on the drama; a somewhat bewildering contrast with that early age of our century, when every young man of university education had a bundle of tragedies secreted in his desk or on his person. It is, I think, by following this bent of our American student-mind that we teachers of the modern literatures can do our best work in guiding to literary form. It is almost always the modern spirit, the spirit of our contemporary art, that has for bright young minds the highest stimulus of contagion. And, if it is often sad to see how deeply the creative force of young imaginations is corrupted by the badness and formlessness of those popular models that they are prone to imitate, there should be among us the greatest eagerness to bring before our advanced students, out of the modern literatures that we are teaching, each in the language that is dearest to

himself, those perfect examples of lyrical form and of the short prose story that might open their eyes to the possibilities of the two forms that they most admire. It is sure, I think, that, if we made a fuller and more constant use of that boundless wealth of beautiful types which is found in the great modern literatures of our time, we should see the minds of our students catch fire more generously, and the creative force of their own imaginations work itself into nobler forms.

And finally, from this contact of the student-mind, under our guidance, with the living forces of modern Europe, there is to come, as the reward of our combined labors, the new movement in our own literature. In this, of course, the literature of England must as always play a great part. But the social and industrial conditions under which English literature takes shape are too much like our own to make such influence in the highest degree fruitful. There are to be noted in the literature produced by Englishmen of our time the same faults and especially the same indifference to literary form as in the literature produced by Americans. Thus, as compared with English models, the models of the best contemporary literature in several of the foreign languages offer us more of interest and of hope. It is the very difference that makes the foreign masterpieces the more potent. Above all, it is the deeper feeling for literary form, it is the more penetrating sense for beauty of construction and for purity of type. We have spoken of the specially French beauty in the modern prose, of the specially Teutonic beauty in the German and Scandinavian lyricism. But it is above all in watching the dramatic movement of our age, which has been its highest intellectual manifestation, that we become aware of the need of closer contact with the great foreign literatures. The splendour of the modern drama, the most effulgent that has shone on Europe since the days of Shakespeare and Molière, in order to reach the students' minds, must be studied not in English so much as in the Scandinavian languages, in German, and in French. And, in like manner,

in spite of our enormous production of novels and romances, it is the great masters of the French and Russian schools that reveal to our age most luminously the laws of literary form in romance and novel.

Here then, in the revelation and indoctrination of literary form, is the great task to be achieved by us as teachers of the modern languages. We are to keep always in sight the supreme importance of the form of literature. And we are to present each model of literature in such a manner to our classes as to exhibit, so far as we can, that charm of pure form by which each special work becomes in its own special way a type and model of beauty.

THOMAS R. PRICE.

IV.—THE PROBLEMATIC HERO IN GERMAN FICTION.

Among Goethe's *Sprüche in Prosa* we find the following maxim: "Es giebt Problematische Naturen, die keiner Lage gewachsen sind, in der sie sich befinden, und denen keine genug thut. Darum entsteht der ungeheure Widerstreit, der das Leben ohne Genuss verzehrt."

Written late in the Altmeister's career, appearing for the first time on the forty-ninth page of the forty-ninth volume of his posthumous works, the maxim expresses the practical wisdom of a sage, who calmly surveys his long life and experience. It does more. It is a formula, that denotes the composition of a certain type of character, discovered by a keen observer of human life. It goes still farther. It pronounces dispassionately the inevitable doom of the type in its struggle for existence. Finally, the maxim offers the solution of a psychological problem to which Goethe devoted a lifetime, and which he never tired of illustrating or amplifying.

The problem is this: What is the explanation of the tragic course of so many lives, on which Nature seems so bountifully to have bestowed her gifts? They were amply equipped for their battle of life, yet they failed utterly, their hearts becoming filled with a pessimistic scorn of all human existence. Were they opposed by an unpropitious fate, or did the stars of their fateful destiny reside in their own breasts? Goethe answers in terse but adequate phrase, 'they are problematic characters, who are never equal to the situation in which they are placed, and whom no situation satisfies. Therefore arises the terrible conflict that consumes their lives without happiness.'

The problematic person never realizes completely what is demanded of him in the situation into which life places him; there is something in his nature that prompts him to act

contrary to what is reasonable and logical. On every important issue of life he wavers; instead of acting at the decisive moment he hesitates. He is, mayhap, an idealist, and struggles against the tide of tradition and custom; yet he lacks the moral force and the will-power of the reformer, who stems the current or diverts it. No situation in life satisfies him, partly because he realizes his unfitness, and partly because he believes in his secret heart that a real opportunity has never been afforded him. He blames the world for withholding from him his due. The result is a conflict which consumes his life without happiness. The world becomes "flat, stale, and unprofitable."

Most of the pessimism expressed in literature arises from the personal experience of problematic characters. Byron, the pessimist of English literature, was born a nobleman without adequate means, he lacked the moral qualities, perhaps the ability to improve his condition. The martyrlike pose of *Wellschmerz* appears nowhere to better effect than in the works of Heine, who in his early career found himself baffled in every pursuit, though he tried banking and learning and love. Lenau crossed the seas to find the place for which he was fitted, and he went back again still bent on his hopeless quest.

Goethe was conscious of the problematic elements of his own character, and overcame them by the process of analysis. He constructed poetic images of them and gave them life. No type do we find more frequently in Goethe's works than that of the problematic character; there is a long gallery of them, Werther, Eduard, Wilhelm Meister, Tasso, and Faust. Why was Goethe enabled to understand so well the character of Shakespeare's Hamlet, to give, in the words of Francis Jeffrey, "The most able, eloquent, and profound exposition of the character of Hamlet,—that has ever been given to the world!" It was because he explained him essentially as a *Problematische Natur*, as a man of thought forced into a world of action, as a man not fitted to perform the duty

of blood-revenge to which he was called. Hence the terrible conflict that poisoned his mind.

Goethe's first complete study of the type is his Werther. Conscious of his own weakness, Werther exclaims: "Was! Da wo andere mit ihrem bischen Kraft und Talent vor mir in behaglicher Selbstgefälligkeit herumschwadronieren, verzweifle ich an meiner Kraft, an meinen Gaben? Guter Gott, der du mir alles schenkest, warum hieltest du nicht die Hälfte zurück und gabst mir Selbstvertrauen und Genügsamkeit!" Self-confidence and contentment are lacking to him, though he has talents in plenty. He is a giant in thought and feeling, yet a pigmy in action.

The temper of the age finds expression in this character. The sentimentalism of Richardson and Rousseau fell upon good soil in Germany, where the pietistic movement had for a century taught men to fly from the outer world, and take refuge in the inner world of the soul. The spiritual became the real life. The tendency toward mysticism and soul-life was strengthened by the new and deeper analysis of emotion, and the romantic worship of Nature. The sentimentalism that resulted derived aesthetic pleasure from contemplation of man's unhappy lot in the outer world. Weltschmerz arose from a conviction that unhappiness in the outer world is the fate of every being that thinks and feels. Yet this species of self-torture had its compensations. The sentimentalist was not disposed to change places with the self-satisfied philistine, or with the rationalist, who was deprived of the exquisite pain of the emotional rack, and must ever forego the alleviating pleasures of a flood of tears.

The world of emotion being a law unto itself, it was not governed by the standards of the world. Thus there was a separation of the world of emotion from the world of action. An action was not base when there was lofty sentiment to balance it. Rousseau's father allowed his son to become an outcast, so that he might himself enjoy the more unrestrictedly a petty inheritance which the boy was entitled to

from his mother. Yet the son excuses the action of a father, whose tenderness and devotion were so well known to him, and observes that we may become unjust and wicked in action, without having ceased to be just and good in soul.¹ The eloquence of Rousseau made it fashionable for women of rank to nurse their own children, yet he sent his own to the foundling hospital, blaming the existing social system for it. A similar contradiction, a divorce of sentiment from action is found in the character of Werther. He compares suicide to theft by a man who steals bread to save his family from starvation. Noble and grand in sentiment Werther is puerile in action, if not selfish and cowardly. He is not a complete man, for we associate with manhood the power to become victorious in a moral struggle. This is the criticism which the author himself has made of Werther, in a dedication to the second part, addressed to the reader: "Sieh, dir winkt sein Geist aus seiner Höhle. Sei ein Mann und folge mir nicht nach."

The frequency with which the problematic hero appears in Goethe's works of fiction cannot be explained completely by his theory of the novel. The better explanation is that Goethe described that which he saw about him. There was lacking for the leisure class of that time common interests, the opportunity for activity in civil and political careers, a training school for clear vision, sane judgment and manly action. Spirituality, fine sentiment and beautiful thinking were demanded of the minds that wished to rise above mediocrity. Such are Edward in the *Wahlverwandtschaften*, Meister and Lothario in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*,—wavering heroes, who are overcome in the conflict between passion and duty, unless perhaps rescued by some secret fraternity, that mysteriously controls their devious paths.

But in his dramatic works also Goethe has exhibited the *Problematische Natur*. In *Tasso* the emotional nature, the

¹ Cf. J. R. Lowell, "Rousseau and the Sentimentalists." *Literary Essays*, II, p. 248 f.

pathetic aspects of the sensitive soul lacerated by the thorns and briars of the realistic world, are presented in that compact and vivid manner, in which the drama ever excels prose fiction. The author again points out the moral, when he regrets that Nature did not forge the two divergent characters Tasso and Antonio into one.

Next we find the central figure of the drama upon which Goethe was at work three score years an example of the type under discussion. The Faust of Part 1 fulfills all conditions of the problematic character, and indeed appears more consistent and possible psychologically when interpreted from this point of view. The scholar and idealist of unquestionable sincerity suddenly turned libertine is a transformation we cannot readily understand without having first become acquainted with other members of the family to which he belongs. Faust feeling the limitations of human knowledge loaths the position which he occupies, in which he accuses himself of having been insincere, of having led his scholars up and down by the nose. He aspires to equality with the creative spirits of Nature, but is hurled back upon his narrow sphere by the Earth-spirit's rebuke: "Du gleichst dem Geist, den du begreifst nicht mir." Reaching the verge of despair, he is saved from suicide by a miracle, as it were,—by the pure, uplifting strains of the Easter chorus. He becomes once more a man among men, enjoying with them the simple pleasures of an outing in the fields and open country. Under the soothing influence of the twilight and evening, his soul is at peace with God and man, but not long so to be, for the growling and snarling of the dog that has accompanied him, again stirs his skeptical mood. "Aber ach! schon fühl' ich bei dem besten Willen, Befriedigung nicht mehr aus dem Busen quillen." The demon in the dog is discovered and forced to reveal himself in his true character. Mephistopheles outwits the magician, from whom is soon heard the full confession of his life's misery:

“Entbehren sollst du! sollst entbehren!
 Das ist der ewige Gesang,
 Der jedem an die Ohren klingt,
 Den, unser ganzes Leben lang,
 Uns heiser jede Stunde singt.”

Renunciation, resignation, these are the doctrines against which Faust's hungry soul riots and rebels. Yet they are the key-note of Goethe's ethical teaching. This revolt against a life of self-denial constitutes him a problematic character, he is not able, nor willing to yield to the stern task of renunciation, which life imposes. The *Sturm und Drang*, the titanic force within him will not stoop to such “slave-morality.” Pantheist that he is, he recognizes with bitter disappointment that the portion of the divinity that resides in him, is narrowly restricted in its sphere, and cannot presume to measure its activity with the creative forces of the universe.

“Der Gott, der mir im Busen wohnt,
 Kann tief mein Innerstes erregen;
 Der über allen meinen Kräften thront,
 Er kann nach aussen nichts bewegen;
 Und so ist mir das Dasein eine Last,
 Der Tod erwünscht, das Leben mir verhasst.”

The taunt of Mephistopheles, that the philosopher had lately not been true to his deductions, provokes Faust to pronounce a curse upon the sweet recollections of childhood, upon the inspiration of reverence that drew him back to life. With that he names every object that man deems worthy to live for and crushes it with his diabolical skepticism.

“So fluch' ich allem was die Seele
 Mit Lock- und Gaukelwerk umspannt,
 Und sie in diese Trauerhöhle
 Mit Blend- und Schmeichelkräften bannt!

 Verflucht was uns in Träumen heuchelt,
 Des Ruhms, der Namensdauer Trug!
 Verflucht was als Besitz uns schmeichelt,

Als Weib und Kind, als Knecht und Pflug!
 Verflucht sei Mammon, wenn mit Schätzen
 Er uns zu kühnen Thaten regt, . . .
 Fluch sei dem Balsamsaft der Trauben!
 Fluch jener höchsten Liebeshuld!
 Fluch sei der Hoffnung! Fluch dem Glauben!
 Und Fluch vor allen der Geduld!"

Having demolished with this terrible curse all that can sustain man, the consistent action of Faust would have been to destroy his own life and allow nothing to deter him from this purpose; but like a drowning man catching at a straw, he snatches the wager offered by Mephistopheles, consecrating himself to the mad reel which the devil promises to put in motion. Faust wills to satisfy his thirst for experience, and after draining the cup of life to the dregs to suffer the shipwreck to which man is doomed and die.

"Du hörest ja, von Freud' ist nicht die Rede
 Dem Taumel weih' ich mich, dem schmerzlichen Genuss, . . .
 Und was der ganzen Menschheit zugeteilt ist,
 Will ich in meinem innern Selbst geniessen, . . .
 Und so mein eigen Selbst zu ihrem Selbst erweitern,
 Und wie sie selbst, am End' auch ich zerscheitern."

The effect upon him is the development of the problematic character, lofty in aspiration, grand in sentiment, but immoral in action. Life's pleasures do not satisfy, they cheat and tantalize him.

"So tauml' ich von Begierde zu Genuss,
 Und im Genuss verschmacht' ich nach Begierde."

Yet in the second part of the drama, before the shipwreck of death comes, the hero finds the moment that satisfies, and bids it tarry, he discovers the situation in life which is fitting for him, in which he feels peace and comfort, and thereby ceases to be a problematic character. As has been pointed out in Francke's *Social Forces in German Literature*, the individualist has become the collectivist, the individual is

engaged in a life of self-sacrifice in the interests of humanity and therein finds happiness on earth.

The literary importance of Goethe became fully appreciated for the first time through the writings of the Romantic school. It was characteristic of them to go beyond appreciation and worship in Goethe the master whose every effort was worthy of imitation. Prose fiction being the direction in which the creative power of the Romanticists sought expression, Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* became the model which was copied in every detail;—in its theory of the passive hero, opposed to the active hero of the drama, in its portrayal of events and sentiments in contrast to character and deeds in the drama, and even in its unimportant features, such as the interspersing of lyrics in the body of the text. The *Problematische Naturen* naturally became the center of their *Erziehungsromane*, and we need but name the *William Lovel* of Tieck, *Lucinde* of Friedrich Schlegel, *Florentin* of Dorothea Schlegel, *Godwi* of Brentano, to illustrate the rule that imitations in literature are rarely successful. These creations are problematic indeed; their world of emotion is separated entirely from their world of action, refusing to be bound by moral law.

Similar to these are the so-called "Titans" of Jean Paul Friedrich Richter,—idealists, to use the figurative language of the author, who would make a cross-bow of the limitless milky way, or of fancy's rain-bow, but lack the bow-string to span the distance. Full of fine sentiment, thrilled with grand ideals, they are depraved in action. The novel *Siebenkäs* contains such a character in the Armen-advocat *Siebenkäs*, who, married to a faithful, plodding wife, falls in love with a woman whom he recognizes at once as his intellectual equal, a *Titanide*. To become separated from his honest wife he resorts to the scheme of pretending to be dead, sending an empty coffin to be buried, meanwhile marrying his new lady at a distant place. The fact that the forsaken wife is soon

consoled by the attentions of the school-inspector, does not render the action of *Siebenkäs* the less contemptible.

In the novel *Titan*, Roquairol and Linda are typical. In describing the character of Roquairol, Jean Paul approaches plastic delineation as closely as he has ever done. He speaks of him to this effect: "Roquairol is a child and a victim of the century. When yet boys, such as he have been prematurely gorged with pleasures and advanced ideas, for which their natures were not yet fairly ripe. In consequence their lives are soon burned out; there exists for them no longer a new pleasure or a new truth, and the old ones have not been retained in their completeness or their freshness; their future lies an arid waste before them, harboring the ghosts of pride, disgust, skepticism, and contradiction; only the wing of fancy still quivers on their corpses." Their lives, in a word, are summed up in the lines of Faust: "So tauml' ich von Begierde zu Genuss, und im Genuss verschmacht' ich nach Begierde."

The period of reaction in Germany, beginning with the establishment of the Holy Alliance in 1815, and ending with the Revolution of 1848, not only destroyed all hope of liberal government and national unity, but more than ever deprived the upper classes of a proper outlet for their activities in public life. Even private enterprise on a large scale in manufacturing or in commerce was checked by conservatism. The rigid press censorship prohibited the discussion of the problems of the day; writers as those classed in 1835 under the name "das junge Deutschland" finding their mouths closed on the subject of political emancipation, fell to advocating the emancipation of the flesh, and to breaking the bonds of moral restriction. A more fertile soil for the growth of problematic characters can hardly be imagined, with illustrations abundant in real life.

It is impossible within the narrow limits of this paper to trace the history of the problematic character, following him through the course of German fiction. All that can be done

is to select a few of the more prominent types for closer inspection.

The best delineator of the type among modern writers of prose fiction is Friedrich Spielhagen, who betrayed in his early career the influence of Gutzkow, himself a creator of problematic heroes. *Problematische Naturen* was the title of Spielhagen's first two-volume novel, published in 1860, which pictured the age immediately preceding 1848. Professor Berger and his pupil Oswald Stein are the avowed problematic characters, but they are of a nobler type than the titans of Jean Paul or the weaklings of the Romantic period. These men also suffer from the malady *Weltschmerz*, yet their pessimism is of a different kind from what we have had before; it is the pessimism reduced to a system,—that of the founder of German pessimism, Arthur Schopenhauer. The *Weltschmerz* of Byron was expressed in the lines:

"Count o'er the joys thine hours have seen,
Count o'er thy days from anguish free,
And know, whatever thou hast been,
'Tis something better not to be."

This is a species of *Weltschmerz* arising from an arithmetical calculation, which sums up all the ills that man endures, and finds that the total outweighs man's total of happiness. Most great minds have made the same computation with similar results, and one who was singularly gifted with the means of securing happiness, who was born when Jupiter and Venus were in conjunction, declared that he could count his perfectly happy days on his fingers. The pessimism which we find now is a system of philosophy which recognizes in the world but will and idea, subjects the human world of action to a blind, ungoverned will, manifesting itself in the will to live. Human free will being denied, pain being the only positive experience, pleasure being the absence of pain, the highest ideal of man becomes the denial of the will to live, a refuge in the ascetic life, which is free

at once of the suffering as well as of the evanescent pleasures of human existence.

This flight from the world is pictured in the life of Spielhagen's Professor Berger, to whose intellectual greatness the author does full justice, yet whose search after the realm of Nirvana he in a manner travesties. Berger, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Grünwald, one morning ascends the lecturer's platform, and after discoursing in his usual brilliant manner, suddenly, to the surprise and consternation of his hearers, breaks off in the following manner: "Do you know, gentlemen, what the youth of Sais saw, when he lifted the veil, which covered the secret, the great secret, that was to be the key to all the confused mysteries of life? See gentlemen, I now take my head apart, one-half in this hand, one-half in the other hand,—what do you see in the head of the famous Professor Berger, at whose feet you sit, listening to his words and copying them into your stupid note-books with screeching pens,—what do you see? Just the same that the youth of Sais saw, when he lifted the veil of truth. Nothing, absolutely nothing. *Nichts für sich, nichts an sich, an und für sich: nichts!* And the fact that this hollow, barren nothing is the essence of it all (*des Pudels Kern*) drove the youth to madness, and will also upset your reason, if you have any to overturn." The professor thereupon requested his students to close their note-books and join him in singing: 'Da sitzt eine Flieg' an der Wand,' during which he set to catching imaginary flies in the lecture-room, every now and then opening his hand and exclaiming triumphantly, "Do you see,—nothing, and again nothing?" On the advice of his physicians, the professor goes to a sanatorium (he is willing to go) there to pursue his researches into the *Ur nichts*. He is visited by his favorite pupil Oswald Stern, who pleads with the professor to allow him to remain in his company. 'I despise the world as well as you,' he exclaims. 'I know it well,' replies the master, 'but to despise the world is only the first stage of three toward the

great secret.' 'And what is the second stage? Name it so that I may traverse it at a bound.' 'Scorn yourself.' 'And the third?' 'Scorn being scorned' (*Verachten dass man verachtet wird*). 'And the great secret, what is it?' 'He who has gone through the three stages, knows it and understands it without asking. Who asks for it, knows it not, and would not understand it.'

Oswald has had cause to despise the world for its social distinctions. Later he cannot help despising himself for the vacillating manner in which he bestows his affections, and for the elopement with a married woman which results therefrom. Meeting the scorn of the world, he in turn scorns being scorned, reaching thus the last stage toward the great secret, that is, I take it, the denial of existence. The author gives the career of master and pupil a worthy close. They die defending the cause of freedom behind the barricades in the streets of Berlin, in the March revolution of 1848. Their fall is symbolical, coming before the dawning of the new era. Such as the Baron Oldenburg, strong men who have overcome that which was problematic in their own characters, survive and enter a new and fitting field of action.

The criticism has been made of Spielhagen, that he has always remained a painter of *Problematische Naturen*.¹ This is only half true, for he relieves these dark figures with portraits of men and women that succeed and are a source of hope and comfort. Moreover it must be admitted that Spielhagen has shown a master-hand in his delineations of the problematic hero; and no one since Goethe has succeeded with them as well as he. Frequently they are men, such as Leo in the novel *In Reih und Glied* (*Rank and File*), who are full of new ideas, and attempt to become true to their principles; in this case social reform and the life of the socialist Ferdinand Lasalle have supplied the basis of study. Through lack of sustaining moral force, however, the hero

¹ Bartels, *Die Alten und die Jungen*, p. 131.

loses sight of his aim and dies wretchedly. Spielhagen has pictured the feminine type in Angela, the heroine being pictured as the mirror of all that is adorable and attractive; yet in great measure in consequence of her skepticism, and pessimistic cast of mind, she falls in a moral struggle.

A word should be said about the presence of the problematic character in the most recent literature of Germany, that modern *Sturm und Drang* period, the epoch of German Naturalism, following in the wake of Zola, Tolstoi, and Ibsen. If we examine for a moment the works of the ablest exponent of the new literature, the dramas of Gerhart Hauptmann, we notice that they teem with problematic characters. Loth, the would-be social reformer, in *Vor Sonnenaufgang*, and the whole family Scholtz, in *Das Friedensfest*, are misfits, incompleated beings, scarcely human, doomed to unhappiness. What a wasted effort on the part of Frau Buchner and her daughter to rescue Wilhelm Scholtz; with all their kindness they will not be able to save him from ultimate confinement in a mad-house. In the drama *Einsame Menschen*, Johannes Vockerat, the central figure, by the reading of a few scientific books, and the hearing of a few university lectures has become a new man, fancying the coming of an era of changed relations between man and woman, not governed by old moral standards. For his rash act of suicide he has thrown the blame on his worthy parents,—narrow-minded, their son thinks, yet they are good hearts and stable characters, and a mite of their religious faith would have saved the son in his desperate conflict between duty and the phantoms of his mind. In the dramas in which Hauptmann is less under the influence of Ibsen and has taken his independent course, we again find *Problematische Naturen*; for example, the decadent artist College Crampton, the historical figure Florian Geier, the leader of the peasant insurrection in the sixteenth century, who lacked not the opportunity but the ability to make the best use of it. Finally, in that beautifully imagined fairy-drama which has

taken the world by storm, *Die Versunkene Glocke*, Heinrich the bell-founder belongs to the class. His dissatisfaction with his life is typical, for he feels that his genius is not adequate, the well-spring is not within him, or if it is, he lacks confidence, like Werther; he appeals to the supernatural aid of the fairy world, and despairs unless thus assisted. He is callous to the love and self-sacrifice of his wife, leaves duty behind, calling it drudgery, and flies to an ideal that transcends his power.

To do justice to the frequency with which the problematic personages appear in German fiction cannot be attempted within the limits of this paper. Our view might be broadened by adding to our gallery Noras and Brands and Anna Karéninas from foreign literatures. Our view would be deepened by examining the life around us, observing the professional man who has missed his calling, the artist but half equipped for the great work before him, the wife whose outside interests cause her to scorn the duties of her home.

The definition of Goethe traces the outlines of the problematic character accurately. He is never equal to the situation into which life has put him. He may lack confidence in himself and waver on all important occasions when action means victory, he may be too fastidious in his tastes, or too lofty an idealist; at all events he is dissatisfied, thinking the world has not afforded opportunity. His growing pessimism is apt to scorn the world's moral laws, plunging the idealist into libertinism, or at least weakening his will to correct his deficiencies, or strive toward a realization of his ideals. In the struggle for the survival of the fittest, the problematic character invariably goes to ruin. The cosmic process tends toward the perfection of human character. Strong character we admire above talent, and acknowledge the justice of its victory.

There are problematic elements in the German character that account for the frequent appearance of the type in German literature. Thinkers may prove wavering in action,

idealism may lead *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* to a master-morality that tramples justice and humanity under foot, thoroughness may produce that intemperate greed of pleasure that prompted Faust to exclaim: "*Ich taumel' von Begierde zu Genuss, und im Genuss verschmacht ich nach Begierde.*"

If we look at the Germany of to-day, however, we need not light a lamp to search for manhood. The men who founded the Empire, and those who brought it securely through its many trials after the Franco-German war, were not problematic characters. There is manhood in the wonderful industrial growth of the country, in its ever-increasing trade. The nation has meanwhile kept its leading position in all provinces of scientific research, and has solved some of the great social questions in a practical way.

This Germany has not been adequately represented in its present literature. We should never allow ourselves to be deceived by prevailing fads and fashions in literature; they concern but a small set and do not give expression to the great, underlying forces that move the nation. We expect once more to see the mirror held up to nature,—a mirror neither concave nor convex, but truthful in its reflections. The problematic hero in such a literature would be cast down from his place, and the truly epic figures of complete manhood and strength of character, with the world of emotion in harmony with that of action, would succeed to his position of prominence.

A. B. FAUST.

V.—LESSING'S TREATMENT OF THE STORY OF THE RING, AND ITS TEACHING.

In Westermann's *Monatshefte* for January, 1891, and later in his '*Life of Lessing*,' Professor Erich Schmidt has outlined the chief features of the history and transformations of the story of the three rings in Europe. On examination it will be found that all the versions of the story belong to one or the other of two types, which are represented by the two earliest forms of the story preserved to us. The oldest version, that of the Spanish Jew Salomo ben Verga, tells of two rings or jewels only, which were in outward appearance exactly alike, and there is no question of one being genuine and the other false, but only of the relative value of the two. In the absence of the father it is found impossible to decide the question, and thus the decision between Christianity and Judaism is simply avoided. In *Li Dis dou vrai aniel*, a French poem of the end of the twelfth century, three rings appear, and to the original or genuine ring is attributed a marvelous healing power by which it may be recognized, and following which a decision is arrived at among the three religions, in this case in favor of Christianity, although there were not wanting later narrators so bold as to hint that the true ring was possessed by Judaism. The version of Etienne de Bourbon, the versions of the *Cento Nouvelle*, the three versions of the *Gesta Romanorum*, all belong to one or the other of two types. We may refer to these two types as the Spanish type and the French type. Those of the first type, to which belongs also the version of Boccaccio, the one from which Lessing took his point of departure, avoid a decision, implying that all religions are equally authoritative, but without inherent or inner evidence of their quality. Those of the second type, to which in many of its features Lessing's final version of the story is allied, lead to a decision, making

religion of divine origin indeed, but supplying a test, that of good works, whereby the true religion may be recognized.

The Spanish type of the story makes religion a matter of authority from without, but results in a doctrine of toleration. The French type teaches that religion is largely a matter of life and character, but in its final interpretation leads to intolerance. Neither of these types could satisfy Lessing. This we know from his utterances in a score of connections, but most clearly from *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*. However, the ring story to be used by him in *Nathan*, must represent the same notions of religion as those expressed elsewhere in the drama. For the ring story is itself in the drama like the setting in a ring. The drama would be a drama, and a very good one, without the story. The purpose of scenes 4 to 7, act III in the economy of the drama, which is to relieve Saladin's financial distress, to bring Nathan and Saladin closer together, and to give Nathan an opportunity to recall the Templar to Saladin's attention, could be accomplished quite easily, though of course not so beautifully, by giving a different turn to Saladin's approach and omitting the ring story. A good jeweler could make us an excellent plain gold ring without the setting.

But having the setting, it must fit the ring and harmonize with it. We may be sure, on artistic grounds alone, that the notions of religion set forth in the body of the drama will be confirmed by the teaching of the ring story as the author will remodel it. What, then, are these notions?

Each of the three religions has its representatives, who are more or less admirable. No one of the religions would be condemned if judged by the character of its representatives. It makes no difference, in this connection, that some are more admirable than others, or which religion those more admirable characters represent, or whether Lessing had personally a preference among them. We know the special considerations which led him to make his most ideal character a Jew. The fact remains that, judged by their representatives in the play

alone, we must conclude that there is much good in all religions. Moreover we find these representatives engaged in chivalrous coöperation toward a good end, and finally united in one happy family.

Furthermore, we have the evidence of the direct utterances of the leading personages on the subject of religion. The doctrine of miracles and special intervention is gently put away in the first act. A religion of deeds, "gut handeln," is set over against a religion of pious gush, "andächtig schwärmen." The desire to claim the one exclusive, true religion is denounced in many different ways: by the non-sectarian Recha, "Wem eignet Gott? Was ist das für ein Gott, Der einem Menschen eignet?" by a Christian, "die fromme Raserei den bessern Gott zu haben," by a Mussulman, "Ihr Stolz ist, Christen sein, nicht Menschen," while to the Jew, in practice, "Jud' und Christ und Mussulmann und Parsi sind ihm alles eins." The Jew proclaims, furthermore, "dass alle Länder gute Menschen tragen," and urges: "Nur muss der Knorr den Knubben hübsch vertragen." The best representative of Christianity acknowledges Nathan as a Christian because of his manifestation of the spirit of Christ, while the Jew responds:

"Wohl uns, denn was
Mich euch zum Christen macht, das macht euch mir
Zum Juden."

Finally, the form of the religion, the creed, is subordinated in the doctrine taught to Recha by Nathan,

"dass Ergebenheit
In Gott von unserm Wännen über Gott
So ganz und gar nicht abhängt."

It is plain enough from these few references, which might be greatly increased, that the very heart and crown of this play could not be a parable which would present religion, on

the one hand, as a cold matter of form and authority, nor again, on the other, as the exclusive possession of one race or sect. Let us now consider how Lessing solved his difficulty and harmonized his two model types.

According to the oldest source of the ring story, that of the Spanish Jew, Salomo ben Verga, there is no question of a genuine or a false ring, but only of the relative value of two jewels given by a loving father. As applied to the religions regarding which Pedro of Aragon asks, the lesson is merely that only God can estimate the relative value of Christianity and Judaism, without any implication that one is false and the other true.

In the *Dis dou vrai aniel*, where first we find the suggestion of one true ring and beside it two false ones, the true ring having an innate healing power, the application teaches :

(1) That a religion is known by its results, good works, although depending for its power on a gift from above, that is, that it is a matter of special revelation.

(2) Accordingly, that there is and can be but one true religion, which will show the works (declared in the *Dis* to be Christianity), while the false ones will be barren of good works.

(3) The absence of good works among the claimants for the inheritance—that is, the true religion—would warrant only one conclusion: that the religions represented are all false, though there must still somewhere be a true one.

(4) The teaching is, therefore: Christianity is the true religion; all religions are equally shams if they are not marked by the good works; and the tendency is, until the application is made, to inculcate in the adherents of any given religion a sort of fatalistic indifference to the question, Who has the genuine religion? since some *one* is by the gift of God true, and the status of none can be altered by human efforts,—a tolerance of indifference; but when, as in the close of the *Dis*, it is declared that Christianity has the true ring, the teaching is *anything but toleration*.

In the type of the ring story as found in Boccaccio, which Lessing confesses to be his source, there is indeed an original ring, but recognizable only through the father's intention; consequently, when the father has determined to avoid discriminating between the brothers, there is no room for a question as to true and false,—the ring is a mark of the father's favor, and this is shared by the brothers alike.

The application teaches:

(1) That religion is a matter of revelation, a gift of God, of authority from on high.

(2) And further, that God has expressed his equal approbation of the three religions under consideration, since he has given to all alike revelations and refused to discriminate between them.

(3) Consequently, that there can be no claim supported on behalf of one sect that it has the true religion while the others are false.

(4) The teaching is therefore: the adherents of any one of the three religions are justified in holding to their own, but should at least tolerate the adherents of the others, for theirs also are God-given.

While Lessing informs us that he built his treatment upon that of Boccaccio, we know that he was familiar also with the *Gesta Romanorum*. The attribution of marvelous powers to the ring was in Lessing's sources, therefore, and in fact he follows in essentials the French rather than the Spanish type.

Lessing combines features of both these types, and adds others which quite transform the fable and shift the original ground of it. He attributes to the original ring a marvelous power, as in the fables of the French type, but makes the power dependent on the faith of the wearer, instead of innate as in the case of the French version of the *Dis dou vrai aniel*. Here, then, there is one true ring, which may or may not prove itself the true one, and two others which are not genuine. Inasmuch as Lessing does not carry the fable out to its con-

clusion on this basis, it will suffice to point out that the conclusions would be :

The religion typified would be a religion conferred from above, but maintained only by trust in God, and recognizable only through its works.

That there may be one true religion, but only one; but also, that there may be none at all.

The teaching to the claimants would be: yours may turn out to be the true religion; believe that you are beloved by God and man, and if as a result you are, then you have the true religion. But only one of you has it. The effect on the believers would be at first to make them amiable and tolerant, but as soon as evidences of popularity were discovered to make them intolerant. It might also lead to fatalistic inactivity and perversions of the doctrine of the might of Faith.

However, Lessing had no thought of stopping in any such half-way house. We know well enough the goal at which he is aiming. He intends to lead us out into a world in which there is room for three true religions, or for any number of them. Why then did he not stop with the simple version of Boccaccio, which puts the religions upon a par, instead of taking up that type of the story which carries the assumption of one true ring? For it was against this

"fromme Raserei

Den bessern Gott zu haben, diesen bessern

Der ganzen Welt als besten aufzudringen,"

that he was most vigorously protesting.

It was because Lessing could not be satisfied with a religion of authority alone, and verifiable only by appeals to inspired documents. To him religion was a matter of the life of the believer, and hence the ring with the power of manifestation was a better representative of the religion he wished to advocate.

The difficulty now becomes to suppress the element of the one genuine ring. This cannot be done absolutely without making the choice of the parable seem absurd and unjustified. But not the least admirable piece of Lessing's dialectic cunning is the manner in which he conceals this defect in his parable and leads the reader's thoughts away from it. To begin with, the power to make beloved depends upon the faith of the wearer. When, at the end of the first paragraph of the ring story, the rule of succession is stated, the magic power and the faith in it are not mentioned, but "in Kraft allein des Rings" the claimant is to become the prince, the head of the house. Thus we are led to think only of the possession of a ring. Next, as in Boccaccio's version, the intent of the father is to put the sons upon an equal footing, and he provides rings exactly alike, apparently believing that he has thus secured his sons against rivalry and discrimination. The sons claim the inheritance, and again, as in Boccaccio, there is no means of deciding, and the story seems to be ended with the conclusion that there is no way of discriminating between the rival religions. There follows the little diversion in which religions are discussed directly, and not by means of a parable, and then Nathan resumes the story in order to carry it out to the beautiful moral he has in mind. The judge before whom the claims are being tried finally recalls the marvelous power of the ring to make its wearer beloved (though he omits the clause "Wer in dieser Zuversicht ihn trug"); and we have become so used to the thought that the rings are all alike that we are prepared to discover the power in any or all of them.

The judge then gives the *coup de grâce* to the notion of a single true ring by suggesting that it may have been lost, and that the father had had three new rings made in place of one. Having thus established the three rings on a parity, he recalls the original condition on which the ring manifested its power, by advising *each* to *believe* that he has the true ring, and admonishes all three of the sons to strive to demonstrate this power in themselves. Thus we are prepared for that appeal

to the universal qualities of pure and undefiled religion which have been recognized as the essentials by the great minds—and perhaps by most common minds, too—in all times.

“Komme dieser Kraft mit Sanftmut,
Mit herzlicher Verträglichkeit, mit Wohlthun,
Mit innigster Ergebenheit in Gott
Zu Hülff!”

How like the creed of the prophet Micah that sounds: “What else doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God!” Or that of Jesus: “Love the Lord thy God with all thy might and with all thy heart and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself.” And even though it is necessary to return to the contest for the inheritance in court, the postponement of the decision until eternity (über tausend tausend Jahre) beneficently reduces to the vanishing point the fact that we set out on the assumption that there was one true ring, which even if it was lost as among the three sons might turn up in the hands of a finder.

With the two types thus blended into one, we have to deal with three rings, all alike having the potentiality of developing the power to make beloved, and hence: three rings, (a) all genuine, or (b) one or more genuine, or (c) all false, or again, (d) one or all partly genuine.

(1) The religion thus typified is not a possession, but a capacity, bestowed by God on all his children alike, which may be developed or neglected.

(2) Thus there may be (a) one, or (b) any number of true religions, or (c) none at all, or, more reasonably, (d) any number of more or less genuine religions, the test of genuineness being in the spirit and the works; and the expectation of perfection, in this, as in other human institutions, being postponed to eternity.

(3, 4) The teaching of the parable in this form is: accept your inherited religion, or develop the capacity within you

as you will; cultivate this capacity to your utmost and encourage your brethren in other sects to do the same. If you have the right spirit you will be loved by the followers of other religions instead of being found contending with them in envious rivalry; intolerance will indeed be impossible towards those who are endowed by God with the same ideal capacity as yourselves, but the cold word toleration, the spirit of let-alone, will be an utterly inadequate expression of your attitude toward the adherents of other religions. Regarding them as the children of a common father, you will feel toward them the most hearty and active good will—not the Confucian, “Do not to others what you would not have them do to you,” but the Christian precept of the positive Golden Rule, “Do unto others as you would have them do to you.”

There has not been a proper recognition of the positive Christian teaching of *Nathan der Weise* on the part of the popular exponents of German literature. It is quite probable that Lessing himself would not have professed it to be such. Herder and Goethe have been echoed by a large number of commentators and popular critics. Herder found in the drama “einen reichen Kranz von Lehren der schönsten Art, der Menschen- Religion- und Völkerduldung. Alle rufen uns zu: ihr Völker, duldet euch!” Goethe commended to the German people “das darin enthaltene Duldungs- und Schonungsgefühl.” Following these inadequate estimates of the essence of the drama Lowell called it “an essay on toleration in the form of a dialogue,” and even Professor Erich Schmidt, who has caught and expounded better than anybody else the true beauty of the teaching, relapses into the same expression, “Lessings Toleranzpredigt.”

Of our American editors, Brandt uses Lowell's phrase slightly modified; Primer and Curme seem to me to have the truth in mind, but do not emphasize it adequately.

Scherer recognizes that Lessing has made of the ring story “aus einem Symbol des Indifferentismus oder der Toleranz

ein Symbol der Humanitätsreligion ;" but if by "Humanitätsreligion" Scherer refers to Positivism, there is still lacking the recognition of the spirit of active and helpful love. Schmidt, however, is clear and explicit when he speaks of *Nathan der Weise* as "das in ein Schauspiel gekleidete Evangelium der Liebe."

The militant orthodoxy of the eighteenth century could not perceive in its adversaries, through the lurid clouds of theological conflict, the very teachings of the Master in whose name it fought. But the orthodoxy of to-day has occupied the redoubts held by the rationalism and heterodoxy of the eighteenth century. Samuel Reimaruss would himself recognize that the world of to-day is ready for his *Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes*. The Wolfenbüttel Fragments would scarcely arouse a controversy in the last year of the nineteenth century.

There is no need to apologize for the teaching of *Nathan der Weise*. On the contrary, the drama deserves to be accepted as one of the indispensable aids to a liberal education, as putting forth, in the most attractive and insinuating form, the principles of pure Christianity.

W. H. CARRUTH.

VI.—A NOTE ON THE PRISON-SCENE IN GOETHE'S FAUST.

In the Göchhausen manuscript of *Faust*¹ Margarethe concludes the vision of her own execution as follows: "Es zuckt in iedem Nacken die Schärfe die nach meinem zuckt!" . . . Motley's description of the execution of Egmont contains the words: "A moment of shuddering silence succeeded the stroke. The whole vast assembly seemed to have felt it in their own hearts."² The source of this statement was found, after some search, in Hooft's *Neederlandsche Histoorien*, Amsterdam, 1642.³

If the identification of this passage with the words in the prison-scene be correct, we add what seems to be a hitherto unnoted source for Goethe's studies in the history of the Netherlands prior to his going to Weimar. Schiller is known to have made Hooft's work the basis of his treatise, *Des Grafen Lamoral von Egmont Leben und Tod*, published 1789. He makes a somewhat tame use of the same passage in describing Egmont's death: "Ganz Brüssel, das sich um das Schafott drängte, fühlte den tödlichen Streich mit."⁴ In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe speaks of beginning his actual work on *Egmont* after the breaking of his engagement with Lili, which occurred in September, 1775: "Ich hatte die Quellen fleissig erforscht und mich möglichst unmittelbar zu unterrichten und mir alles lebendig zu vergegenwärtigen gesucht."⁵ Düntzer states expressly in his com-

¹ 4th edition, p. 88.

² *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 1859. Vol. 2, p. 206.

³ Page 171: . . . en, roepende, met gevouwen' handen, *Heere, in uwe handen, beveel ik mynen geest, vlydde zich tot den slag; die, van den scharprechter, flux opgetreeden, gegeven werd, en hem niet bet door den hals, dan den omstanderen in't hart sneed.*

⁴ *Werke*, x, Kürschner, I, p. 325.

⁵ *Werke*, xxix, 174.

mentary to *Egmont*¹ that Goethe was acquainted at this time only with Van Meteren (first published 1597) and Strada (1632). While Goethe certainly used these sources, and while Hooft derives largely from them, it seems improbable that the "fleissige Erforschung" should have passed by the sumptuous volumes of Hooft's history, which had reached an imposing fourth edition in 1703. We learn from not less than four allusions in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*² that Gottfried's *Chronik*,—a work of very similar appearance,—was a household book in the home on the Hirschgraben, and there is also mention of the folio-bible with Merian's copper-plates, as well as of the *Orbis pictus* of Comenius. As Hooft's work is secondary to those of Van Meteren and Strada, Goethe made but sparing use of it; yet I believe that various traces of its influence can be shown. The first part of the description of the battle of Gravelingen in the opening scene of *Egmont* is derived from Van Meteren, while the latter part is taken from Strada. Hooft combines the accounts very much in Goethe's way. Goethe says of the English war-ships, "schossen auch wohl *unter uns*." Hooft uses the phrase "onder onze," while Van Meteren³ keeps the description in the third person, "onder die Borggoensche"; Strada does not mention this incident. In Goethe's *Egmont*: "Was nun noch durchbrach, schlugen euch *auf der Flucht* die Bauerweiber;" Hooft: "De huysluyden, zoo wyven, als mannen, . . . vermoordden noch grooter getal *vluchtelinghen*;" the episode does not occur in Van Meteren. Buyck's description closes with the tribute to Egmont: "Und den Frieden seid ihr uns schuldig, dem grossen Egmont schuldig." This does not occur in the work either of Van Meteren or of Strada. Hooft's description, however, closes: "Aan deeze neederlaagh werd den Heere van Thermes schuldtgegeeven. . . . Maar van Egmond . . .

¹ 4th ed., Leipzig, 1891, p. 4.

² I, i; I, iv; II, viii; IV, xviii.

³ Folio 19, edition of 1652.

had groot en kleen den mondt vol. Van hem was't dat men riep; van hem dat men roemde; . . . hy de verlosser van Vlaandre, die de schaaden der landtzaaten te boeten, hun' smart en smaadt te wreken wist."¹

It may be allowable to remark at this point that certain elements in Goethe's description of the battle of Gravelingen, namely, the account of the pursuit of the enemy into the water, and especially the phrase, "weggeschossen wie die Enten," seem to have been taken by Goethe from the ballad, *Die Schlacht bey Murten*, contained in Diebold Schilling's *Beschreibung der Burgundischen Kriege*, Bern, 1743, p. 347, which was printed in altered form in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, 1805.² Goethe's remarks on this ballad, in his review of the *Wunderhorn*, show that he already knew it in its original state.

In the interview between Egmont and William of Orange, the latter says: "Es ist klug und kühn dem *unvermeidlichen* Uebel entgegenzugehn"; this corresponds to the phrase in Hooft, "en de zwaare smak van *onvermydelyken* val te doen bezeffen."³

Van Meteren does not record the surrender of Egmont's sword, which closes the fourth act of the drama: "So nimm ihn! Er hat weit öfter des Königs Sache vertheidigt, als diese Brust beschützt." Strada's version is: "Et tamen hoc ferro saepe ego Regis causam non infelicitè defendi;" but closer to Goethe's language are the words in Hooft:⁴ "'t heeft, zeid hy, zich zoo trouwlyk, en meenighwerfs, in's Konin^x dienst, gequeeten."

In the final interview with Ferdinand, Egmont grasps at the hope that Alva may be about to relent and show his favor:⁵ "Dieses Urtheil wäre nicht ein leeres Schreckbild, mich zu ängstigen, durch Furcht und Drohung zu strafen, mich zu erniedrigen, und dann mit *königlicher Gnade* mich wieder aufzuheben?" Hooft alone records the fact that

¹ Fourth edition, I, 14.

⁴ I, 163 f.

² Page 58.

⁶ Goethe, *Werke*, VIII, 297.

³ I, 142.

Egmont asked Bishop Rithovius whether he might not expect mercy of the Duke:¹ "Egmondts, met grooter verwondering, dan versleeghenheit, vraagt, oft'er nocht *genade*, nocht uitstel af moght."

Possibly the connection between *Faust* and Hooft's history may shed some light upon the disputed date of the writing of the "Prison Scene." The accessible facts seem to unite in proving that *Egmont* was written in 1775, and there is no positive evidence of active work in composition before that year. It was precisely the time when the beginnings of another struggle for independence, similar to that shown forth in the drama, were holding Goethe's interest.² In conversation with Eckermann, 10 January, 1825, Goethe said: "Ich schrieb den *Egmont* im Jahre 1775, also vor funfzig Jahren. Ich hielt mich sehr treu an die Geschichte und strebte nach möglichster Wahrheit." In *Dichtung und Wahrheit*³ Goethe states that after breaking off the engagement with Lili (September, 1775) he began "wirklich *Egmont* zu schreiben." The only suggestion of an earlier beginning is found in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in the statement⁴ as to his activity after the completion of *Goetz*, "[ich sah] mich nach einem ähnlichen Wendepunct der Staatengeschichte um. Der Aufstand der Niederlande gewann meine Aufmerksamkeit. . . . Meinen Vater hatte ich davon auf das lebhafteste unterhalten, was zu thun sei, . . . dass ihm diess so unüberwindliches Verlangen gab, dieses in meinem Kopf schon fertige Stück auf dem Papiere . . . zu sehen." Taking this recollection as literally accurate, there is nothing in it to necessarily place the work earlier than the year 1775. Düntzer's contention that the lines to Boie in November, 1773, refer to *Egmont* has been disposed of by Daniel Jacoby in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, XII, 247, who shows that the allusion is to the drama *Julius Cäsar*.

¹ I, 181.

³ *Werke*, XXIX, 162 f.

² *Werke*, XXIX, 68.

⁴ *Werke*, XXIX, 162.

The close analogy between the prison-scene in *Faust* and certain parts of *Egmont* has been pointed out by Erich Schmidt¹ and Professor Winkler, and systematically developed by Morris in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, xx, 258-260. Erich Schmidt, it is true, sets the writing of the last scene of the first part of *Faust* before April, 1775, probably as early as January, 1775, perhaps in the autumn of 1774.² The argument rests upon elements in Wagner's *Kindermörderin*, which Schmidt is convinced must have been copied from Goethe's drama before the culmination of the difficulties between Goethe and Wagner which led to Goethe's public disclaimer of *Prometheus* on April 9, 1775. It must be borne in mind, however, that the *Kindermörderin* was not published until 1776; both Pniower³ and Sauer⁴ look at the analogies more skeptically. Schmidt admits that the general situation in Wagner's drama was an established stock-motive before Goethe made use of it,⁵ and bases his proof upon three elements: madness, the *Märchengesang*, and the death of the mother. Although Schmidt states that Wagner "ceased to exist for Goethe" after the publication of his indiscreet satire, Goethe had resumed communication with him during September and October, 1775. Wagner was also a welcome guest of Frau Rath after her son had gone to Weimar. Moreover, Goethe says in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*⁶ merely that he had "told" Wagner his plans for *Faust*. In an unpublished ms. note to the *Urfaust*, Professor Rudolf Kögel pointed out that the tone of the opening passage in the prison-scene, "Es fasst mich längst verwohnter Schauer. Inneres Grauen der Menschheit," is identical with that of a letter addressed to Fritz Stolberg⁷ on October 26, 1775: "Das Erbärmliche liegen am Staube Friz! und das winden der Würmer ich schwöre

¹*Goethe's Faust in ursprünglicher Gestalt*. 4. Aufl., xxiv.

²*Ibid.*, xxxvii.

³*Goethes Faust*. Berlin, 1900.

⁴*Stürmer und Dränger*. Kürschner, 80, 279.

⁵*Heinrich Leopold Wagner*. 2 Aufl., p. 89.

⁶*Werke*, xxviii, 252.

⁷*Briefe*, II, 303.

dir bey meinem Herzen ! wenn das nicht Kindergelall und Gerassel ist der Werther und all das Gezeug ! Gegen das innre Zeugniß meiner Seele !—” and this analogy is significant. Wagner’s *Kindermörderin*, whenever conceived, has nothing which corresponds to the portrayal of the execution in *Faust*, a motive which would have been particularly sympathetic to the “Stürmer und Dränger.” Whatever argument we follow in respect to Wagner’s drama, it does not seem necessary to assume an earlier date than the autumn of 1775 for the writing of the prison-scene as found in the Göchhausen manuscript.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

VII.—THE HOME OF THE HELIAND.

The *Heliand* is generally called an Old Saxon epic. Its language, however, is not a pure Saxon dialect but presents a peculiar mixture of Saxon with Frisian and Low Franconian forms, for which as yet no sufficient explanation has been offered.

At a time when only two manuscripts of the *Heliand* were known—the Cotton ms. in the British Museum and the Munich ms. in the Royal Bavarian Library—the mixed dialect seemed to present less difficulty than at present. No special importance was attributed at this time to the traces of Frisian dialect in the poem. Most of them, in fact, were reckoned among the Early Saxon forms. The question therefore seemed to lie only between Saxon and Low Franconian; and it is easily noticed that the traces of Low Franconian appear to a much larger extent in the Cotton than in the Munich ms. Heyne¹ accordingly advanced the theory that the *Heliand* was written in Münster in Westphalia, and that the Munich ms. preserved on the whole the dialect of the original, while the Cotton ms. represented a transcription of the original into Low Franconian. He assigned the latter to the monastery Werden on the Ruhr, near the Franconian boundary.

Meanwhile the well known finds, made in 1880 in the library of the University of Prague² and in 1894 in the library of the Vatican in Rome,³ have furnished us with fragments of two additional manuscripts. By these

¹*Zs. f. dt. Phil.*, 1 (1869), p. 288; cf. his *Kleine alts. u. altnldfr. Gramm.* (Paderb., 1873), p. 2.

²Lambel, *Ein neuentdecktes Blatt einer Heliandhandschr.*, Wien, 1881 (repr. from *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1880).

³Zangemeister u. Braune, *Bruchstücke d. alts. Bibeldichtung*, Heidelberg, 1894 (reprinted from *Neue Heidelberg. Jahrbücher*, Vol. iv).

new discoveries Heyne's opinion is definitely set aside. For both new fragments show a dialectic variety like that of the Cottonianus. This is the more important since both represent an early stage in the tradition of the text, and are in their readings independent of each other and of the Cotton MS. The condition of our MSS. then indicates that the characteristic mixture of Saxon, Low Franconian, and Frisian forms is not a peculiarity of the Cotton MS., but belongs to the original *Heliand*.

While this view may at present be regarded as generally agreed upon,¹ there is still much difference of opinion as to the locality in which a mixture of these three dialects could have taken place. Several scholars, Koegel² and Braune³ for example, are satisfied with a slight modification of Heyne's theory. The poem in their opinion was written in Werden, the same monastery which Heyne regarded as the home of the Cottonianus. Kauffmann⁴ would prefer to substitute for Werden the monastery of Corvey on the Weser. This would carry us near the southern part of the Saxon territory. Jostes⁵—in a paper which has much stimulated and certainly in some respects benefited the discussion of our problem—finds that for creating an epic like the *Heliand* conditions were nowhere more favorable than in the northern provinces of the empire, say near Hamburg or in Holstein. As regards our manuscripts, he suggests that the Cottonianus may have been written in Magdeburg, the Monacensis in

¹ Cf., e. g., Koegel, *Gesch. d. dt. Lit.*, I, 1, p. 281; Braune, *Bruchst. d. alts. Bibeldicht*, p. 212.

² *l. c.*, p. 283 seq., and *Erg. heft*, p. 21 seq.

³ *l. c.*, p. 220.

⁴ *Germania* 37 (1892), p. 368 seq., in a review of Gallée's *Alts. Gramm.*, written before the Vatican fragments were discovered. In *P.-B. Beitr.* 12 (1886), p. 358, Kauffmann advanced the opinion that the Cottonianus was written in Eastern Westphalia, and that Paderborn might have been the home of the poet.

⁵ *Zeitschr. f. dt. Alt.* 40 (1896), p. 160-184. Cf. H. Tümpel, *Niederdt. Studien* (Bielefeld, 1898), p. 130-133.

Hildesheim. Finally Wrede, in an able treatise published only about a year ago,¹ has attempted to prove that the poet lived in the southeastern corner of the Saxon territory, in the vicinity of Merseburg. There is good reason to believe that there existed near Merseburg in the Old Saxon period a Frisian colony, since unmistakable traces of Frisian dialect appear (in Low German glosses and in proper names) in this vicinity as late as in the first quarter of the eleventh century.² This in Wrede's opinion would account for the Frisian elements in the *Heliand*. As regards the supposed Low Franconian forms, Wrede holds that these are not Low Franconian but belong to Eastern or Southeastern Low German.

We see then that in this question the East and the West, the North and the South have each found its advocates, and it is for us to take our choice; unless we decide to reject every one of these theories in order to start in a new direction, a direction not indicated by any one of the four points of the compass.

The fact that one theory has closely followed another, seems to indicate that the proper solution of the problem has not yet been found. Under these circumstances I may refrain, I think, from discussing in detail the different propositions and from repeating the objections which each advocate of a new solution has raised against his immediate predecessor. Let it suffice to consider briefly the latest of the above theories, the one by Wrede.

Wrede starts with an argument, in which he follows Jostes and which, at the first glance, seems quite plausible. It is a well known feature of the language of the *Heliand* that the word *burg* is often appended to names of foreign cities,

¹*Zs. f. dt. Alt.* 43 (1899), p. 333-360. Cf. Roethe, "Heliand und Sachsen-spiegel," in the *Anzeiger* of the same vol., p. 387-390.

²See especially H. Hartmann, *Grammatik d. ältesten Mundart Merseburg's*. I. (Dissert.) Norden, 1890.

so as to form compounds like *Nazarethburg*, *Sodomoburg*, *Rümaburg*.¹ Such names are later on especially common in the eastern part of the Saxon territory (that is to say, in the district in which at present names like *Magdeburg*, *Blankenburg*, *Quedlinburg*, *Merseburg*, *Naumburg* are found), although similar names (e. g., *Lüneburg*, *Hamburg*) occur also in Northern and sometimes (e. g., *Oldenburg*, *Nienburg*, *Duisburg*) in Western Saxony. These facts in Jostes's opinion serve as an argument in favor of regarding Hamburg or its vicinity as the birthplace of the *Heliand*, while Wrede contends that the poet more probably lived in the *burg*-district proper (the "Gegend der Burgwarde") near Merseburg.

There is at the outset a slight chronological difficulty. We happen to know that Quedlinburg was founded by Henry the Fowler, who reigned from 919-936, and most of the towns in *-burg* are perhaps not much older. In fact, the earliest document in which a considerable number of such names are mentioned is a deed by the emperor Otto II, which dates from May 20, 979 (see Wrede, p. 335). Wrede indeed maintains that a similar list of names (from the abbey of Hersfeld), written toward the end of the eleventh century, is a faithful copy of the original, which belonged to the last third of the ninth century. I am unable to examine the latter statement and am willing to accept it on good faith. But even this would carry us only to a time half a century later than the date of the *Heliand*. Wrede goes on arguing that with the aid of the *Heliand* we are able to date the East Saxon towns with *-burg* farther back: the "*Heliandburgen*" constitute the earliest testimony for their existence, and judging from the *Heliand* such names were current [N. B. in Eastern Saxony] a century before the original of the Hersfeld document was written. But are we not here entirely losing the ground under our feet? If the existence in Eastern Saxony of towns in *-burg* is warranted for the end

¹ Cf. Jostes, l. c., p. 164.

of the eighth century only by names like *Rūmaburg* in the *Heliand*, how can we, without committing a *circulus vitiosus*, admit that only in Eastern Saxony could the poet have found his models for such names?

Moreover, Wrede is apparently not aware of the well known fact¹ that in Old Frisian laws *-burch* is sometimes added to names of cities in the same manner as in the *Heliand*, e. g., *Colnaburg* or *Colene* = Cologne, as in the *Heliand* *Rūmaburg* (dat. *Rūmuburg*) or *Rūma* = Rome.² These laws were written not in Eastern Saxony, but in the Frisian country between Bremen and the Netherlands.

With reference to the Frisian *Colnaburch* Siebs (*l. c.*) has argued against Jostes that the names with *-burg* are not of much account as to the origin of the *Heliand*. Judging from Goth. *baurgs* 'town,' O. Norse *borg*, A.-S. *burg*, etc., this word was in the Old Germanic dialects the general designation for 'residence' or 'town.' In the *Heliand* it is added in rather loose composition to the names of foreign cities, in order to relieve somewhat their foreign appearance. Similarly the poet adds *land* to the names of foreign countries (e. g., *Aegypteo-land*, *Galilēa-land* or *Galilēo-land*, *Kananēo-land*, *Ponteo-land*), *ström* to the names of foreign rivers (*Jordana-ström* or *Jordanes-ström*, *Nīl-ström*), *folk* or *liudi* to the names of foreign peoples (*Ebreo-folk*, *Ebreo-liudi*, *Judeo-folk*, *Judeo-liudi*, *Romano-liudi*). With reference to the origin of the poem, there is no warrant for putting more stress on names with *burg*, than on those with *land* or *ström*, etc.

If further confirmation of this view be required, it may be found in the fact that also in Anglo-Saxon poetry the term *-burg* is used, exactly as in the *Heliand*, in coined words and added to foreign names. E. g., *Finnsburuh* (*Battle of Finns-*

¹ Cf. Richthofen, *Altfries. Wörterbuch*, s. v. *burch*; Koegel, *Gesch. d. dt. Lit.*, I, 1, 244; Siebs, *Ztschr. f. dt. Phil.*, 29, 413.

² Richthofen, *Fries. Rechtsquellen* (Berlin, 1840), pp. 3 and 4: *Colnaburch het bi alde tidem Agrippina* (Emsigo ms.) = *Colnaburch hit bi alda tidon Agrip* (Rüstringer ms.) = *Colene het bi alde tidem Agripina* (Hunsigo ms.).

burg 38), *Mæringa burg* (*Déor's Complaint* 38), *Romana burg* (*Boet. Metr.*, ix, 10), *on Romebyrig* (*Fata Apost.* 11), *Troia burg* (*Boet. Metr.*, ix, 16 and xxvi, 20), *Sodome burh* (*Gen.* 1975), *on* (or of) *Sodoma byrig* (*Gen.* 1925, 2013, 2558), *Aethanes byrig* (plur., *Exod.* 66), *in Caldēa byrig* (*Dan.* 95), *Babilone burh* (*Dan.* 601), *Babilon burga* (plur., *Dan.* 694), *on Sione byrig* (*Psalms* LXXVII, 67).

It is quite probable that the agreement of Frisian, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Saxon in this peculiarity is not incidental, but inherited from an earlier stage of West Germanic poetry. But it certainly disposes of Wrede's conclusions, since we cannot very well assume that, e. g., the author of the *Battle of Finnsburg* or Cadmon lived near Merseburg.

As regards Wrede's grammatical arguments, they are scarcely more convincing than the one based on the use of *-burg*. To be sure, his treatise is ingenious and brilliant, and contains much valuable information, derived especially from the comprehensive map of German dialects, at which he is working in conjunction with Dr. Wenker. But as to the main issue he has followed a wrong track, and the result is a theory whose shortcomings even his skilful treatment is unable to disguise.

Wrede, e. g., endorses (p. 342) Jostes's view as to the form *fon*. Jostes wrote in the *Zs. f. dt. Alt.*, 40, 173: "In my opinion the one little word *von* may suffice to show (as against the reasons advanced for Westphalia) that the home of the poet must have been in the East." We are assured by Wrede that this view is confirmed by the map of German dialects, and that according to the same source and in keeping with Wrede's theory *von* and *van* are both found to-day (just as they are found alternating in the *Heliand*) in the principality of Anhalt to the right of the Saale and further on beyond the Elbe. Wrede also states that *van* is the North Frisian form, and finally refers to Tümpel's *Niederd. Studien*, p. 11 seq. He does not inform us that both *fon* and *fan* occur in

the Old Frisian laws¹ and that *fon* is the current form in Saterland Frisian. We may reckon *fon* in the *Heliand* among the Frisian forms, or we may assume with Holt-hausen² that in Low German originally both *fān* (accented) and *fon* (unaccented) were found. The latter theory is perhaps recommended by the fact that *fon* occurs in Middle Low German too frequently to be explained (as Tümpel proposes) simply by the influence of High German. In any case the little word *von* is not entitled in this question to the prominent place which Jostes and Wrede are willing to bestow upon it.

Wrede assumes that the *Heliand* originated in a part of Germany in which Low German is no longer spoken to-day. He consequently reconstructs the dialect of what he regards as the home of the poet, with the aid of the neighboring Low German and Midland German dialects. Since Frisian, as we have seen, was probably at some time also spoken in the same vicinity, the result is a reconstructed dialect from which Wrede is able to produce almost any variety of dialectic forms, whether commonly called Saxon, or Frisian, or Franconian. And yet, this remarkable dialect—or rather combination of dialects—does not account for some of the most notable peculiarities of the *Heliand*. Not, e. g., for a number of preterits in *st*, which deserve our attention the more since they are not mentioned by either Jostes³ or Wrede.

¹*fon* in the Rüstringer, Brokmer, Emsigo, Fivelgo, and Hunsigo MSS., *fān* in the two printed texts from Westerlauwer Friesland. See Richthofen, *Altfries. Wörterb.* s. v. *fon*.

²*Altsächs. Elementarbuch*, § 127.

³Jostes (l. c., p. 77) says: "The number of reasons therefore which point for the origin of the *Heliand* toward the East is quite considerable, whereas such as would speak for the West do not in reality exist" ("während solche, die für den Westen sprechen, in Wirklichkeit gar nicht vorhanden sind"). This statement, it seems to me, would be more correct if Jostes had reversed the terms East and West.

The equivalent of Engl. 'I could' is in the *Heliand* *konsta*, subj. *kunsti* or *konsti*. Similarly we have from the verb *unnan* 'to grant' the preterit *onsta*, and from *far-munan* 'to disdain' the preterit *far-munsta* or *far-monsta*. Such preterits occur only in the Low, Middle, and Rheno-Franconian dialects. They are not used in modern literary Dutch, where the preterit of *ik kan* is, in the written language, *ik konde* or *ik kon*. But their modern offshoots¹ are found in Belgian and Dutch dialects, and on the borderline between the Netherlands and Germany south of a line connecting Leiden with Uddel in the Veluwe (near Utrecht) and running from there to Mühlheim on the Ruhr. These preterits are not, as is sometimes assumed, old forms, but are new formations, shaped after the analogy of the preterit *dorsta* which belongs to the old verb *dorsan* 'to dare.' The old and genuine forms are found in Goth. *kunþa*, A.-S. *cūþe*, MHG. *kunde*; in A.-S. *ūþe*, MHG. *g-unde*; and in Goth. *munda*, A.-S. *munde*.²

Here then we have in the *Heliand* an unmistakable trace of Franconian dialect, and one on which the more stress is to be laid since these preterits are found in our MSS.—as far as the *st* is concerned—without a variant.³

If the preterits in *-st-* are Franconian and cannot be anything else, there is no reason to abandon the derivation from the Franconian dialect of the diphthongs *uo* and *ie* (e. g., in *muodar* mother = Sax. *mōdar*, or in *hie* he = Sax. *hē*) in favor of the one suggested by Wrede (p. 342). Nor can I regard Wrede's complicated hypothesis as to *mī* and

¹ Viz., forms like *ik kos* or *kost* 'I could,' plur. *kossen* or *kosten* (subj. *kös*, pl. *kösten*) and *ik begos* 'I began.'

² See on the above preterits my introduction to Bauer's Dictionary of the Waldeck Low German dialect (which is to appear within a few months in the series of dictionaries published by the Low German Dialect Society), p. 69.*

³ It happens that no preterit of *kunnan*, *unnan*, or *munan* occurs in the Prague or Vatican fragments. But since Cottonianus and Monacensis are, as to the *st*, in complete harmony, there can be no doubt that the *st*-forms belong to the original.

mik as an improvement on the simple explanation given recently by Tümpel.¹

Our result then is that the language of the *Heliand* points to the Western part of the Saxon territory, or rather to that part of Germany where from the earliest times we find the Low Franconian, Frisian, and Saxon dialects in close proximity. But the difficulty begins as soon as we attempt to identify the dialect of our poem with that of a particular locality. For, although the three dialects have been neighbors for many centuries, there exists nowhere now, and as far as we can see there has never existed, in actual speech, such a combination of various features from the three dialects as is found in the *Heliand*.

The difference between the *Heliand* and the spoken dialects is seen, e. g., in the pronoun 'other,' which in the *Heliand* form is *ōthar*.² This form is identical with Old Frisian *ōther*, and is characterized as Frisian (or Anglo-Frisian) by the change of the original group *anþ* to *ōþ*. The original sounds, short *a* followed by a nasal, are preserved not only in Gothic *anþar*, but also in the modern Low Franconian and Low Saxon dialects, where we find *ander* (or in some dialects *anner* or *aŋ^{er}*). There is no modern dialect to warrant the opinion that the pronoun *ōthar* was ever found in a district in which the preterit of *kunnan* is *konsta*. The area of these forms is at present separated by a neutral zone in which neither the *st* of *konsta* nor the long *ō* of *ōthar* occur. I have

¹Niederd. Studien, p. 131.

²*ōthar* is both in *C* and in *M* by far the most frequent form. In *M* it occurs, according to Schmeller's *Glossar. Saxon.*, 91 times. The regular Low German form *andar* (which however occurs, besides *ōthar*, also in Old Frisian) is found only in two instances (*andran* 1263, *ander* 1444) in *C* alone, and cannot be ascribed to the original. A third form *athar* or *adar*, which occurs twice in *C* (*athres* 1478, *adron* 1536), three times in *M* (*adrum* 1271, *athrana* 1434, *adrom* 2985), and once in *Gen.* (*aðar* 211), looks like a combination of the two other forms and is perhaps merely a graphical variant of *ōthar*.

mentioned before that preterits developed from *konsta* are found south of a line which connects Leiden with Utrecht and Mühlheim. Here the pronoun 'other' is at present generally *an^r*. North of this line we have a belt of dialects in which the *nth* of Goth. *anþar* and *kunþa* has become *nd*, as in Dutch *ander* and *wij konden*. Finally we meet further north with the Frisian dialects, in which the *n* is in both forms lost before the following spirant, as in English 'other' and 'I could;' e. g., Modern West Fris. *oar* 'other' and *ik koe* 'I could.'

The difficulty cannot be solved by asserting that at the time of the *Heliand* there may have existed between Frisian and the present northern boundary line of the preterits with *st* a dialect which combined the forms *konsta* and *ōthar*. If *konsta* had ever extended northward into Frisian territory, this would have led in Modern Dutch to a preterit *kos* or *koste* instead of *kon* or *konde*. Nor can *ōthar* have extended southward beyond the boundary line of the preterits with *st*, because this again would be incompatible with the existence of *konde* in Modern Dutch. For the same phonetic law which has done away with the nasal in the pronoun *anþar* would have applied to the nasal in the preterit *konþa* (Goth. *kunþa*). Regularly then the preterit *konde* goes together in Dutch with *ander*, as in Middle High German and Middle Low German *kunde* with *ander*; and on the other hand in Modern Frisian *koe* (= Old Fris. **kūthe*) with *oar* (= Old Fris. *ōther*), as in A.-S. *cūpe* with *ōþer*, and in English 'could' with 'other.'¹

But why not assume that the mixed dialect of the *Heliand* is due to various scribes or perhaps to a compromise between

¹As regards the former boundary between Franconian, Saxon, and Frisian, I may refer to K. v. Richthofen's map, "Friesland im 9. Jahrh.," in his *Untersuchungen zur friesischen Rechtsgeschichte*, Vol. 2 (also published separately in *Zwei Karten von Friesland im 9. und im 13. Jahrh.*, von K. v. Richthofen. Berlin, 1882). Maps of the modern Dutch dialects are found in Jellinghaus, *Die niederländ. Volksmundarten* (Norden, 1892), and in Paul's *Grundriss d. german. Philologie*, Vol. I, 2nd ed. (Nr. 4, Strassb., 1899).

the dialect of the poet and that of his scribe? We might say, e. g., that a Saxon poet, not versed in the art of writing, availed himself of the assistance of a Frisian scribe, who perhaps lived on Franconian soil, or whose manuscript was soon afterwards copied by a Franconian. The chief objection to this or similar views is the fact that a mixed dialect, closely resembling that of the *Heliand*, is found in various other 'Old Saxon' writings, e. g., in the fragments of a Commentary to the Psalms¹ and in the Essen Confession.² In both the characteristic Frisian *ōther* is found (*ōther[imu]* Ps., *ōthra* Conf.); and in the Conf. there occurs the Franconian preterit *bigonsta*, while in the Comm. to the Psalms the Saxon *ō* (e. g., in *tōte*) is generally replaced by the Franconian diphthong *uo* (e. g., *tuste*, *guodlica*, *bluodo*, *fuoti*, *duonne*). Similar forms might be quoted from other 'Old Saxon' texts, e. g., from several of the manuscripts which contain Old Saxon glosses. It is scarcely probable that all these different texts should have been written under similar conditions and should presuppose the same complicated situation: an author unacquainted with writing, and a scribe who made it a point to write in three different dialects:—his own, that of the author, and a third which was neither his nor the author's. Even if we modified the theory so as to limit the activity of the first scribe to two dialects and make for the third dialect a set of later scribes responsible, as a steadily recurring combination this would not appear credible; nor does it agree with what we know of the circumstances in which some of these texts were written.³

There seems to remain then only one possibility. We shall have to acknowledge in the language of the *Heliand* a mere literary and artificial mixture of dialects, similar to the com-

¹ E. Wadstein, *Kleinere altsächs. Sprachdenkmäler* (Norden, 1899), Nr. II.

² *Ibid.*, Nr. III.

³ E. g., the *Confession* was written in a Westphalian convent (Essen); see Wadstein, I. c., p. 124.

bination of Low Franconian with Middle High German in Veldeke's poetry, or to that of Aeolic with Ionic and other Greek dialects in the Homeric poems. Such a blending of different dialects is in no case merely arbitrary. As a rule it is rather forced upon the poet by circumstances, and is generally due to a compromise between the dialect of the poet and that of his public, or more frequently that of an inherited poetry. In the latter case the mixture of dialects generally furnishes a valuable aid for tracing the different stages through which a certain species of poetry has gone. In case, e. g., of the Homeric poems the mixture of Aeolic, Ionic, and other dialects indicates that epic poetry was first developed among the Aeolic tribes in Asia Minor, that from these it passed to the neighboring Ionians, and afterwards to the Greeks of the islands and of the continent.

It seems to me that similar conclusions may be drawn from the language of the *Heliand*. For the *Heliand* belongs only to the latest stage in the development of Early Germanic epic poetry. The poet may have drawn on the heathen poetry of his people not only for his metre and rhythm, his style and his vocabulary, but also for his dialect. Not he then but the Old Germanic heroic poetry would be responsible for the admixture of Frisian and Franconian.

We might claim that this view was possible, or probable, even if there existed no remains of an earlier poetry with which to compare our poem. Yet we are fortunate to possess, in the song of Hildebrand and Hadubrand, at least one fragment of German heroic poetry from the time before the introduction of Christianity, and in this fragment we meet with a mixed dialect quite similar to that of the *Heliand*.

We need not concern ourselves here with the controversy whether this lay was originally composed in Low German or in High German. Nobody will deny that in its present shape its language forms a combination of the two dialects, and it suffices for our purpose that its 'Low German' elements show significant Frisian (or Anglo-Frisian) in addition

to the Saxon forms. E. g., the word for 'other' is in the *Hildebrandslied* *ōder* (l. 12, *ibu dū mī ēnan sagēs, ik mī de ōdre uuēt* 'if you tell me one, I know the others'); Mod. Germ. *kund* is *chūd* (= O. Fris. *kūth*); O. High Germ. *gund* 'combat' is *gūd* or *gūð* (= A.-S. *gūð*).¹ If the *Hildebrandslied* is a Low German poem, copied by a High German scribe, its language furnishes immediate proof of the existence in Low German poetry of Frisian forms. If it be a High German poem, transcribed (with frequent traces of its original dialect) into Low German, the conclusion would be that the Frisio-Saxon dialect in which it was clothed, was that of Low German heroic poetry.² In either case the mixture of Frisian and Saxon form appears as a significant feature of heathen poetry in Northern Germany.

Whether Low Franconian forms occurred in the *Hildebrandslied* to the same extent as in the *Heliand* it is impossible to decide. Since Low Franconian resembles in its consonantism the Old Saxon, in its vocalism the High German language, the Low Franconian forms cannot as a rule, in a text like the *Hildebrandslied*, be distinguished from those

¹ The loss of *n* before *th* is generally regarded as a peculiarity of Saxon as well as of Anglo-Frisian, and in every Old Saxon grammar (e. g., Holt-hausen's recently published *Altsächs. Elementarbuch*, § 191) words like *ōthar*, *sōth*, *kūth* are quoted as genuine Saxon. Yet in Middle Low German and in the Modern Low German dialects only the word for 'south' (MLG. *sūden*) has this syncope, and here it is shared by Middle High German. The phonetic law, therefore, which does away with *n* before *th*, is not Saxon but Frisian. Cf. Bauer's *Wald. Wtb.* (see above, p. 130, note), p. 70* seq., and Bremer in Paul's *Grundriss*, III², p. 866.

² The former alternative seems to me the more probable, and I trust that the theory set forth here may perhaps serve to weaken some of the objections which have been raised against Koegel's views (Paul's *Grundriss*, II, 1, p. 175 seq. of the first edition). We may, e. g., readily admit that the vocabulary of the *Hildebrandslied* agrees as much with Anglo-Saxon as with Old Saxon (see especially F. Kauffmann in *Philolog. Studien, Festgabe für Sievers*, p. 127 seq.). Considering the near relationship of Anglo-Saxon and Frisian this would not militate against Old Saxon origin, if we assume that Old Saxon heroic poetry preserved largely the vocabulary of its Frisian models.

which exhibit a mixture of Low German consonantism and High German vocalism. E. g., the diphthong *uo* in words like *enuosles* or *muotti* may be regarded as Low Franconian, or it may be in line with the High German *ch* in *chūd* or the *t* in *gihōrta* and many other examples. There is, however, as far as I am aware, nothing in the *Hildebrandslied* to contradict the opinion that its 'Low German' dialect compares as to the Low Franconian elements with that of the Munich manuscript of the *Heliand*.

Our manuscript of the *Hildebrandslied* was probably written between the years 809 and 817,¹ while the song itself is probably at least half a century older. The *Heliand* may be dated, in a round number, about 830. It follows then that there existed previous to the time of the *Heliand* an epic dialect, characterized by the same mixture of Low Saxon with Frisian—and, we may add, probably Low Franconian—elements. Thus the problem which the mixed dialect of the *Heliand* offered, is shifted back to the history of Early Germanic epic poetry, and it seems to me that on this ground we are able to arrive at a satisfactory solution.

For several centuries Germanic heroic poetry flourished especially among the Franks. To the Franks is due, more than to other Germanic tribes, the development of the great and complicated legend of the Nibelungen, whose historical elements incorporate (in the characters, e. g., of Dietrich and of the Burgundian kings) earlier Gothic and Burgundian traditions, while its mythical elements (viz. that part of the story which centres around the characters of Brünhild and Siegfried) seem to rest chiefly on Frankish or more particularly Rhinefrankish² legends. We are told that Charles the

¹ These dates have been ascertained by F. Kauffmann in *Festgabe für Sievers*, p. 136 seq.

² Cf. Sijmons, in Paul's *Grundriss*, III*, p. 656. Kauffmann has recently (*Zs. f. dt. Phil.* 31, 1899, p. 5) suggested that the Siegfried legend may have been combined with the story of the Burgundians as late as in the tenth

Great had the epic songs of the Franks written down. But the interest in these songs seems not to have been as strong during Charles's reign as formerly; and a century afterwards, at the time of the monk Otfried, they were completely forgotten,—for Otfried¹ tells us that the Franks have no poetry and that their language is not accustomed to the restraint of metre.

Meanwhile, however, the main body of Frankish heroic legends had found their way to the Northern countries, where they were embodied later on in the collection of alliterative songs which is familiar to us under the name of the *Edda*. Opinions differ as to the exact line on which the migration of these legends proceeded. But this much is certain that we have to distinguish in the Norse tradition at least two different layers, an earlier and a later one. As regards the latter there is no doubt that it is based on Low German sources and reflects the form in which the legends were current in Northern Germany at the end of the ninth or in the first half of the tenth century. It is probable, however, that also the earlier set, which seems to belong to the eighth century, goes back—directly or indirectly—to a Low Saxon source.²

The share which fell to the Saxons in the cultivation of epic song, reminds us of the part which they played at the end of the middle ages in the propagation of the beast epic. The Low German *Reinke de Vos*, destined to become the most popular form of the beast epic and the source of numerous translations, was nothing more than a skilful translation of a

century. His chief reason is that the obvious diversity in character between the two ought to prevent us from dating their union too far back. But do the two differ more fundamentally than the mythical and the historical elements in the Beowulf epic? It seems to me that stronger reasons would be required to convince us that a combination which heretofore has been regarded as one of the characteristic features of Early Germanic epic poetry, could militate against an early date.

¹*Liber Evangeliorum*, I, 1, 33–36.

²See for the particulars Sijmons, *l. c.*, pp. 632 and 663.

Flemish work. Similarly most of their heroic songs appear to have been mere adaptations from those of their western neighbors. For with the exception perhaps of the legend of Wieland the blacksmith, which is with some probability claimed as Low German,¹ there is apparently not a single subject in the earlier heroic legends which could be regarded as originally Saxon. This lack in originality is easily explained, if we assume that the Saxons became acquainted with the epic poetry of the Franks at a comparatively recent date, when the principal legends had obtained their definite poetic garb.

Not so their western neighbors, the Frisians, in spite of the unjust saying *Frisia non cantat*—which we may confidently change into *Frisia cantat*, or at least *Frisia cantabat*—and in spite of the unfortunate fact that not a single alliterative poem has been handed down in pure Frisian dialect.²

Frisian heroic poetry has left its traces in Anglo-Saxon epic songs. It is generally admitted that the fragment of the *Battle of Finnsburg* and the Finn-episode in *Beowulf* are derived from a Frisian source. But we are allowed to go further and to maintain that whenever subjects from continental epic poetry are met with in Anglo-Saxon poems, the

¹ Sijmons, l. c., p. 725. I should like to say, however, that even in this case the evidence of Saxon origin is far from being conclusive. It is true that in most of the later versions the scene is laid in Westphalia. But there remains the possibility that the legend was fixed only later on in a certain locality, or that the scene was changed to Saxony. In the earliest version (*Deor's Complaint*) there is no indication of Saxon origin, and even in the *Völundarkviða* the local names are partly fictitious. I do not see why under these circumstances the legend should not have originally been Rhinefrankish or Frisian. [I have not been able to consult the recent discussion of the Wieland legend by Jiriczek in his *Deutsche Heldensagen*.]

² From alliterative formulas, which occur frequently in the Old Frisian laws, Koegel, *Gesch. d. dt. Lit.*, I, 1, 242 seq., has attempted to reconstruct portions of a Frisian legal poetry. We need not follow Koegel in these experiments. But we may justly hold with Müllenhoff (*Beowulf*, p. 105) that the important part which alliteration plays in the legal prose of the Frisians, favors the view that it had also taken a firm hold of their poetry. See on this question especially Siebs in *Zs. f. dt. Phil.* 29, p. 405 seq.

immediate sources were as a rule Frisian poems.¹ Among the texts which come under this point of view, belong especially the fragments of *Waldere*, the account of Siegmund's heroic deeds in *Beowulf* (l. 875 seq.), and *Deor's Complaint*.

As regards the *Waldere* fragments, I agree with Learned² that they are based on an early 'Low German' version of the legend. Learned is inclined to ascribe this version to the Saxons, although he himself is in doubt as to this point. *Waldere* certainly differs somewhat from the later Saxon tradition, which is found in the *Thidrekssaga* and which in Müllenhoff's opinion³ goes back to a Frankish source. Matters may perhaps be adjusted if we assume that Frisian poems formed the connecting link between the continental and the Anglo-Saxon version on the one hand, and between the Frankish and the Saxon form on the other hand.

Of the passage on Siegmund in the *Beowulf* and of *Deor's Complaint* we may say that they represent a peculiar Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Frisian development of legends which apparently took an intermediate position between the early continental and the later Norse tradition. There is, therefore, at least some probability that here, as in the case of *Waldere*, the source of the Anglo-Saxon songs is to be sought in Frisian tradition.

The influence of Frisian heroic poetry is furthermore noticeable in the Middle High German popular epic. The well known poem of *Gudrun*, next to the *Nibelungenlied* the most important popular epic in Middle High German, is derived from Frisian heroic poetry and preserves the traces of its origin in its scenery, its principal characters, and in the very name of *Gūdrun*.⁴ For the genuine High German form of this name is *Gundrun* or *Kundrun*, while *Gudrun* (= *Gūðrūn*) points to a dialect in which *n* was lost before a following *þ*, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding

¹ Cf. Müllenhoff, *Beowulf*, pp. 104-108.

² *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, VII (1892), pp. 181-185.

³ *Zs. f. dt. Alt.* 12, p. 273 seq.

⁴ See Müllenhoff, *Zs. f. dt. Alt.* 12, p. 315, and Sijmons, l. c., p. 716.

vowel, just as in *ōpar*, *gūð-hamun* (*Hildebrandslied*), and in the other examples discussed above.

Finally it is of interest in this connection that the only North German rhapsodist whose name has been handed down to us from the time of Charles the Great was a Frisian. His name was Bernlēf, and he was a friend of the Frisian bishop Liudgēr († 809), the well known founder of the monastery of Werden on the Ruhr.¹

The above data, however few in number, allow of the interpretation that in heroic poetry—or at least in certain branches of heroic poetry—the Frisians were the pupils of the Franks and later on became the teachers of the Saxons. Looked upon in this light, the Frisian and Franconian forms² in the *Heliand* (as in the *Hildebrandslied*) find their natural explanation in the language of Saxon epic poetry, which in its dialect preserves the traces of its earlier history.

We cannot in these circumstances draw from the language of the *Heliand* any definite conclusions as to the home of the poet, just as we cannot tell from the language of the Homeric epic to which of the seven cities belonged the honor of having produced a Homer. This much may be said, however, that more general reasons—e. g., the close relation of Saxon to Frisian poetry, and the fact that most of the Old Saxon literary productions come from the Western part of the country—point to Western rather than to Eastern Saxony.

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¹ See on *Bernlēf* especially Müllenhoff, *Beovulf*, p. 105, and Koegel, *Gesch. d. dt. Lit.* I, 1, 141 seq. and 283.

² More exactly: those Frisian and Franconian forms which belonged to the original text of the poem and are accordingly found in most of our MSS. The preponderance of Franconian forms in *V* calls for a different explanation. If we may assume with Müllenhoff (*Denkm.*, I³, p. xxvii seq.; cf. Koegel, *Gesch. d. dt. Lit.*, I, 2, p. 558 seq.) that Rheno-Franconian was spoken at the Carolingian court, it seems possible to suggest that perhaps a copy of the poem was rewritten in Franconian dialect (without, however, effacing every trace of Saxon and Frisian) for the emperor Ludwig the Pious, and that from this manuscript the Vatican fragments were copied.

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VIII.—THE APPOSITIVE PARTICIPLE IN ANGLO-
SAXON.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

The twofold nature of the participle is sufficiently attested by the fact that it is universally defined as a verbal adjective. The genesis of this twofold nature has been interestingly discussed by Brugmann (*I. F.*, v, 88 ff.; *Gr. Gr.*³ §§ 479 f.) and by Delbrück (II, p. 477). Mine is the humbler task of pointing out the various manifestations of this dual nature as exemplified in the appositive use of the participle in Anglo-Saxon; to which is appended a brief survey of the same phenomena in the other Germanic languages. This is by no means an easy task, since the same participle may be dominantly adjectival in one sentence, prevailing verbal in another, and equally divided between the two in a third. Of course, too, a participle may be used as a noun; but in such case it ceases to be a participle; hence in this paper no account is taken of the substantivized participle. However, certain adverbial uses of the participle are treated.

The difficulty of our problem is further aggravated by the diversity of meaning attached to the same term by different

grammarians. At the outset, therefore, it is necessary to define the terms used in this monograph. The study is based upon a twofold classification of the participle: (I) According to the nature of the participle; (II) According to the relationship of the participle to its subject (or principal).

According to its nature, a participle is (1) verbal when the assertive force is dominant, and (2) adjectival when the descriptive force is dominant; as a rule, the verbal participle denotes an act in the widest sense, while the adjectival denotes a state. These terms, of course, are relative only, and under different collocations each is equally applicable to the same word. Thus, in the phrase, *the shining sun*, *shining* is adjectival, if not an adjective; while in the sentence, *The sun, shining through the trees, lighted our path*, the participle is verbal. But, despite this relativity, the distinction is of great importance; and it is possible to mark off certain more or less stable groups. The preterite participle, for instance, is more adjectival than the present; as the present participle with an object is more verbal than one without an object. Occasionally, too, a participle is so constantly used adjectivally that it becomes an adjective proper, as in the case of the Latin *sanctus*, the A.-S. *cwð*, etc. The completely adjectivized participle is not treated in this monograph.

According to its relationship to its principal, a participle is (A) independent (or absolute) when its subject is grammatically independent of the rest of the sentence, and (B) dependent (or conjoint) when its subject is not grammatically independent of the rest of the sentence, but is intimately bound up therewith. Examples are:—(A): *Bede*¹ 284. 20: *swa eallum geseondum upp in heofonas gewat* = *Bede*² 220. 11: *sic uidentibus cunctis ad alta subduxit* (see my *Abs. Ptc. in A.-S.*, p. 5 ff.);—(B): *Luke* 4. 40: *he syndrygum hys hand onsettende hig gehælde* = *ille singulis manus imponens curabat eos*. The dependent (or conjoint) participle may be subdivided into (1) predicative (or supplementary, cf. Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 877), when the participle is joined to its

subject by means of a verb; (2) non-predicative (or assumptive, cf. Sweet, § 44), when not joined to its subject by the instrumentality of a verb. The predicative participle may be subdivided into (a) predicate nominative and (b) predicate accusative; the non-predicative (or assumptive), into (a) attributive, when the connection between the participle and its principal is so close that the two constitute one indivisible idea, and (b) appositive, when the connection between the participle and its principal is so loose that the two seem to constitute two independent ideas; or, to use the words of Sweet (§ 90): "When the subordination of an assumptive (attributive) word to its head-word is so slight that the two are almost co-ordinate, the adjunct-word is said to be in apposition to its head-word." A few examples will suffice for illustration:—(1) Predicative (or Supplementary): (a) *Predicate Nominative*: *Elene* 492: *Stephanus wæs stanum worpod*;—*ib.* 486: *ða ðy ðriddan dæg lifgende aras*, etc.;—(b) *Predicate Accusative*: *Luke* 22. 56: *Ða hine geseah sum ðinen æt leohte sittende* = *quem cum vidisset ancilla quædam sedentem ad lumen*;—*Bl. Hom.* 218. 7: *ða mette he ðane man forðfæredne*, etc.;—(2) Non-predicative (or Assumptive): (a) *Attributive*: *Beow.* 741: *he gefeng hraðe forman siðe slæpendne rinc*;—*ib.* 581: *Ða mec sæ oðbær . . . wadu wealendu*;—*ib.* 1245: *ðær on bence wæs . . . yðgesene . . . hringed byrne*;—*ib.* 216: *guman ut scufof . . . wudu bundenne*, etc.;—(b) *Appositive*: *Mat.* 9. 12: *se Hælend cwæð, ðis gehyrende* = *At Jesus audiens, ait*;—*Luke* 1. 74: *ðæt we butan ege of ure feonda handa alysedu him ðeowian* = *Ut sine timore, de manu . . . liberati, serviamus illi*;—*Mat.* 8. 9: *Soðlice ic eom man under anwealde gesett* = *Nam et ego homo sum sub potestate constitutus*;—*Ælfr. Hom.* I, 62^a: *Iohannes beseah to heofonum, ðus cweðende*, etc.

. No originality is claimed for the above classification; for, although I have not found the system as a whole in any treatise, almost every one of the terms is substantially so used in one or more standard works. Nor is the system

looked upon as ideal; it is given merely because it seems a fair working scheme for this monograph. But, while I believe that all my terms are clear as above defined and exemplified, the word appositive demands more extended treatment, since it gives the title to this paper.

II.

Remoteness from the larger libraries precludes my giving a complete history of the phrase appositive participle; and I must content myself with a brief statement concerning the more important grammatical treatises that have been accessible to me. Fortunately, as a reference to the bibliography will show, I have been able to consult all the most significant monographs (old as well as new) on the participle in Anglo-Saxon and in the other Teutonic tongues.

The phrase appositive participle is not used as a distinct category by Grimm, Becker, Mätzner, Koch, March, Sweet, or Delbrück among the Germanic grammarians, or by Classen, Draeger, Gildersleeve, or Goodwin among the classicists. The locution seems to have been habitually used first¹ by Krüger and Curtius in their Greek grammars, by Madvig in his Latin grammar, by Gabelentz and Löbe in their Gothic grammar, and by Vernaleken in his *Deutsche Syntax*; and its present currency is perhaps largely due to the wide popularity of these works, especially the first three.

By the grammarians who regularly make use of the phrase, two distinct definitions have been given. The one set restricts the term appositive to the participle that is equal to a dependent adverbial (conjunctive) clause, while the other extends it also to the participle that is equivalent to a dependent adjectival (relative) clause. Judged by their definitions, Krüger and Curtius originally sided with the former. Krüger's state-

¹ In his Greek grammar of 1829 (pp. 469, 474), however, Bernhardt has a few words concerning the appositive use of the participle.

ment is as follows (p. 215¹): "Die appositive Participialconstruction und ihr zur Seite gehend die absolute sind eine unklarere Ausdrucksweise für Sätze die mit dem Hauptsatze in einem temporalen oder realen Verhältnisse stehen." Examples are cited of the appositive participle in (1) temporal, (2) conditional, (3) causal, and (4) concessive clauses, but not in adjectival (relative) clauses, though under the head of temporal uses (p. 217, 10, Anmk. 1) this remark is made: "In vielen Fällen übersetzen wir die Participia durch das Relativ oder durch Conjunctionen." To the same effect is the definition of Curtius (§ 579²): "Das Particip dient dazu, einem Substantiv etwas als eine nur vorübergehende Eigenschaft oder Thätigkeit beizulegen. In diesem Falle ist das Particip eine kurze und unbestimmtere Ausdrucksweise für das, was sonst durch Nebensätze mit Conjunctionen der verschiedensten Art ausgedrückt wird." In the following sections (580–583) he gives examples of the appositive participle in (1) temporal, (2) causal and final, (3) concessive, and (4) conditional clauses; adding this note³: "Bei dem mannichfaltigen Gebrauch der appositiven Participien ist nicht zu übersehen, dass ein solches Particip an sich keine der in §§ 580–583 entwickelten Bedeutungen deutlich ausdrückt, dass wir vielmehr nur zur Übersetzung uns der einen oder der andern Wendung bedienen, um dasselbe in schärferer Weise auszusprechen, was durch das Particip nur angedeutet

¹ I quote from the fifth edition of his *Attische Syntax* (Leipzig, 1873), but the same statement, I have been informed, occurs in the first edition (Leipzig, 1843).

² I quote from the ninth edition (Prag, 1870), but substantially the same statement is made in the first edition (Prag, 1852). And in the chapter on the Participle in his *Erläuterungen*³ (p. 203) Curtius thus acknowledges his indebtedness to Krüger: "In der Gliederung dieser Gebrauchsweisen bin ich wesentlich K. W. Krüger gefolgt, ohne jedoch in der Reihenfolge mich ihm anzuschliessen."—My quotation is from the third edition of the *Erläuterungen* (1875), but it does not differ essentially from the statement of the first edition (1863).

³ This note is not in the first edition of the grammar.

ist." Gering specifically restricts the appositive participle to adverbial clauses (p. 393): "Während das attributive particip bestimmend und erklärend zu dem nomen tritt, dient das appositive dazu, gewisse adverbialle nebenbestimmungen der handlung auszudrücken. Es bezeichnet daher, in welcher zeit, aus welchem grunde, in welcher absicht, unter welchen bedingungen oder einschränkungen, durch welche mittel, auf welche art und weise eine person oder ein gegenstand etwas ausführte oder erlitt. Characteristisch für das appositive particip ist es, dass es nie den artikel bei sich hat." The same restriction is made by Karl Köhler and by Kühn, though the latter does not use the term appositive, but speaks of the use of the participle "in eigentlicher participialer Funktion in Vertretung eines Adverbialsatzes."

| But, despite the high standing of Krüger, Curtius, and Gering, the restriction of the appositive participle to adverbial uses seems unwise. | Indeed, it may be doubted whether Curtius intended so to limit the term by the definition above quoted; if so, he afterwards changed his mind, for in his *Erläuterungen*³ (p. 203) he gives a definition of the appositive participle that includes its use in adjectival (relative) as well as in adverbial (conjunctive) clauses: "Der 'appositive Gebrauch' schliesst sich an die § 361, 12 gegebene Definition der Apposition an. Wie ich unter Apposition einer Zusatz loserer Art verstehe, welcher in der Regel synonym mit einem beschreibenden Zwischen—oder Nebensatz ist, so entsprechen die appositiven Participien als kürzere, losere und deshalb auch weniger bestimmte Ausdrucksweisen wesentlich demselben Zwecke, der in festerer Weise durch *relative*¹ und Conjunctionssätze erreicht wird." The remainder of his comment, though not on this point, is too instructive to omit: "Classen in seinen oben (S. 173) erwähnten Beobachtungen über den homerischen Sprachgebrauch nennt den von mir appositiv genannten Gebrauch

¹ The italics are mine.

prädicativ. Ich verkenne nicht, dass sich auch diese Bezeichnung rechtfertigen lässt, insofern als das appositive Particip, unterschieden vom attributiven, allerdings eine aussagende, prädicirende Kraft besitzt, die am entschiedensten in den absoluten Participialconstructions hervortritt. Allein es scheint mir doch gerathener, den Ausdruck prädicatives Particip mit Krüger auf denjenigen Gebrauch zu beschränken, bei welchem das Particip zur Ergänzung eines verbalen Prädicats dient (§ 589 bis 594) und als solches einen wesentlichen Theil der Aussage bildet." Vernaleken leaves no doubt as to his position (p. 502): "Das partizip welches dazu dient einem substantiv etwas als eine nur vorübergehende eigenschaft oder thätigkeit beizulegen, also appositionell steht, und so eine kürzere ausdrucksweise ist für das, was sonst durch nebensätze mit bindewörtern oder dem relativ ausgedrückt wird, findet sich," etc.; which definition clearly includes adjective (relative) as well as adverbial (conjunctive) clauses. With this O. Erdmann substantially agrees; for, while he does not use the phrase appositive participle, it is clear that his *selbständiges Participium* of the following quotation corresponds to Vernaleken's appositive participle (*Syntax d. Spr. Otfrids*, p. 214): "Die verbale Natur des Participiums tritt nicht immer in gleichem Masse hervor. Ich suche bei einem jeden der beiden Participia, welche die ahd. Sprache besitzt, die Belege mit Rücksicht hierauf zu ordnen, und unterscheide drei Abschnitte, je nachdem das Participium eine selbständige, von der Handlung des Hauptsatzes unterschiedene Tätigkeit aussagt, oder prädicativ mit dem Verbum zu dem Begriffe einer einzigen Tätigkeit verschmilzt, oder endlich attributiv wie ein Adj. gebraucht wird um eine dem Gegenstande, auf welchen es sich bezieht, stetig inwohnende Eigenschaft zu bezeichnen." In his examples Erdmann cites participles that represent adjectival as well as adverbial clauses; as does Mourek, who (p. 33) speaks of the participle "in selbständiger, prädicativer, satzvertretender apposition." With the exception of K. Köhler and of Kühn, who, as already stated,

restrict the appositive participle to adverbial clauses, all¹ the writers on Old English Syntax named in the bibliography include under the appositive use of the participle adjectival as well as adverbial clauses. Some (Conradi, Einkenel, Flamme, Höser, Kempf, Mohrbutter, Schürmann, Wülfig²) use the phrase appositive participle; others (Furkert, Hertel, Planer, Reussner, Seyfarth, Spaeth, Wohlfahrt) speak of the "eigentliches Participium zur Abkürzung eines Satzes" (Wohlfahrt, p. 39); and others (Koch, Mätzner, March, Sweet) have no specific designation for the construction.

Another apparently divergent interpretation calls for brief mention. The standard New High German grammars of Brandt, von Jagemann, Thomas, and Whitney regularly use the expression appositive participle to indicate, in the words of Thomas, "an appositional predicate, which denotes a concomitant act or state;" but "such a participle or participial phrase is," according to Whitney³ (§ 357), "used only in the sense of an adjective clause, and expresses ordinarily an accompanying circumstance, or describes a state or condition; it may not be used, as in English, to signify a determining cause, or otherwise adverbially." But, as a following note by Whitney and some examples cited by Thomas show, this statement is somewhat too strong, for in New High German an appositive participle is occasionally used in place of a dependent adverbial clause. Moreover, in making the above remark, Whitney intended to acquaint his reader with New High German usage and not to give a general definition of a grammatical term.

To sum up the matter: by a number of eminent grammarians the phrase appositive participle is not used as a distinct category; by others equally eminent it is habitually used, but in different senses. Of the latter some restrict

¹ Except the older grammarians (Hickes, Lye, and Manning), who do not treat the construction of the appositive participle.

² Wülfig's treatment of the Appositive Participle has not appeared as yet.

the appositive use to the participle that is equivalent to an adverbial clause, while others make it include adjectival as well as adverbial clauses. The latter usage, though not universal, is becoming general, especially with students of Germanic grammar.

To me the general introduction of this term into our text-books seems highly desirable, since it would extend to the use of the participle what the student had already learned with reference to the noun. As the statistics show, I include under appositive the participle that is equivalent to an adjectival clause as well as that which is equal to an adverbial clause. The uses of the adverbial appositive participle correspond closely to those of the subordinate adverbial clause, but are so varied as to call for treatment in a separate chapter (II.).

III.

The appositive use of the participle is common to the Indo-Germanic languages, but by no means equally common. Greek leads the others, and Latin is far in advance of the Germanic languages. An instructive general treatment of the subject is given by Jolly in his *Zur Lehre vom Particip* and by Delbrück in his *Syntax*. To the works named by Delbrück I may add those of Bolling, Fay, Helm, Köberlin, Milroy, and Tammelin, which throw no little light on the appositive participle in Latin and in Greek. Of works on the appositive participle in the Germanic languages exclusive of English a brief account is given in Chapter v.

In the article just referred to, Jolly maintains that the attributive use of the participle preceded the appositive, and that the appositive preceded the predicative, which latter he considers a younger variation of the appositive. In Anglo-Saxon it is probable, I think, that the attributive use preceded the appositive, the latter growing out of the former when thrust into post-position, either because the noun had several participles modifying it at once or because the participle was itself

modified (see section IV., below). The appositive use of the adjectival participle may have preceded the predicative use of the participle; for the appositive adjectival participle is common in Anglo-Saxon poetry, while, as Pessels (p. 49) has shown, the predicative participle of the progressive tenses is very rare in Anglo-Saxon poetry, though common in the prose. But the appositive use of the verbal participle, at least of the participle governing a direct object, is most probably of later development in English than the predicative use of the present participle; since the progressive tenses are very common in the works of Alfred (nearly 600 exs., according to Pessels, p. 51), while the appositive participle with a direct object is practically unknown to him (only 18 exs., of which 17 are in direct translation of a Latin appositive participle), and does not become frequent until the time of Ælfric (see Statistics). But we must turn from these speculative questions to matters about which a reasonable degree of certainty is possible.

IV.

In Anglo-Saxon the appositive participle occurs by far most frequently in the nominative case, as is true also in Lithuanian (Delbrück, p. 490) and in Old High German (Mourek). For the representation of the several cases in Anglo-Saxon see the statistics.

The inflexion of the appositive participle is as follows:—

(1) Present:—The nominative singular of all genders has *-ende*, with these exceptions: *-end* occurs three times in the masculine (*Boeth.* 8. 5, *Ælfr. L. S.* 282. 5, *Ælfr. Hept. (Judges)* 4. 22), and once in the feminine (*Bede*¹ 72. 3); by confusion of inflected infinitive with participle, *Benet* has *-enne* for *-ende* four times (95. 11, 114. 10, 61. 7, all masc.; 98. 6, fem.), *-an* for *-and* once (29. 11, masc.), and *-endre* for *-ende* once (16. 9); *Boeth.*¹ 73. 22 has *-inde*, m. The GSMN. has

-endes except once, in *Benet* (109. 2: *secgende*). The GSF. is *-endre* except once, in Ælfric (*L. S.* XXIII. B. 426: *ðencende*). The DSMN. is usually *-endum* (20 exs.), but is *-ende* occasionally (7 exs.: 1 in Ælfred, 1 in *Benedict*, 5 in Ælfric), and *-endan*, weak, once (*Luke* 6. 49). The DSF. is *-endre* normally (4 exs.), rarely *-ende* (1 ex.: Ælfric). The ASM. is *-endne* 21 times,¹ but *-ende* 28 times (Ælfred 3, Ælfric 8, *A.-S. Hom. & L. S.* 5, *Gospels* 6, *Poems* 6). The ASF. is invariably *-ende*. The ASN. is *-ende* except once (*Chron.* 656 E: *cwæðend*). The N. and APMFN. is *-ende* except twice in *Benet* (21. 7: *becumene* for *becumende*, apm.; 26. 14: *stirienda*, apn.). The GP. is *-endra* (14 exs.) except twice in *Benet* (69. 1: *etenda*, 78. 12: *utgangendre*). The DP. is *-endum* (30 exs.) except twice (*Ælfr. de v. et n. Test* 5. 34: *farende*; *A.-S. Hom. & L. of S.* I, 7. 151: *ib.*).

(2) Preterite:—The NSMN. is *-ed* (*-od*,² *-ad*²; *-t*,²) for weak and *-en* for strong verbs. The NSF. is regularly uninflected (64 exs.), being *-ed* for strong and *-en* for weak verbs; except twice in Ælfric (*Hom.* II, 90^{a2}: *fortredene*, weak; *L. S.* XXIII. B. 524: *gedrefedu*). The GSMN. is once *-es* (*Chron.* 1100 E) and once *-ed* (*Christ* 20: *forwyrned*). The GSF. is *-re* (2 exs.). The DSMN. is sometimes inflected (*-um* (*-an*): 11 exs.: EWS. 7, *Gosp.* 1, *Benet* 1, *Poems* 2), but is oftener not inflected (21 exs.: Ælfric 17, *A.-S. Hom. & L. S.* 2, *Poems* 2). The DSF. is occasionally inflected (*-re*: 4 exs.: Ælfred 1, Ælfric 2, *Gosp.* 1), but usually not (14 exs.: *Bl. Hom.* 1, Ælfric 12, *A.-S. Hom. & L. S.* 1). The ASM. is sometimes inflected (*-ne*: 47 exs.: Ælfred 10, Ælfric 17, *Gosp.* 11, *Poems* 8, *Benet* 1), sometimes not (33 exs.: Ælfred 1, Ælfric 28, *Poems* 4). The ASF. is half the time inflected (*-e*: 18 exs.: Ælfred 3, Ælfric 2, *A.-S. Hom. & L. S.* 1, *Gosp.* 1, *Wulfst.* 1, *Poems* 10), the other half not (17 exs.: Ælfred 1, Ælfric 6, *A.-S. Hom. & L. S.* 1, *Wulfst.* 3,

¹In one of these (*Benet* 107. 7) the text has *-enne* for *-endne*.

²These regular variants of *-ed-* will not be specified hereafter.

Benet 2, Poems 4). The ASN. is uninflected except in *Bede* 314. 14 (*getrymede*, but MS. Ca.: *getrymed*). The N. and APM. is habitually inflected (-e: over 200 exs., in all the texts), but occasionally not (15 exs.: E. W. S. 4, *A.-S. Hom. & L. S.* 1, *Benet* 1, Poems 9). The N. and APF. is invariably inflected (-e 29 exs.; -u 1 ex.: *Benet* 92. 15, but see note thereon in statistics). The N. and APN. is usually inflected (-e: 24 exs.; -an, weak, 1 ex.: *Bede*¹ 182. 23), but is uninflected at times (13 exs.: *Ælfred* 2, *Bened.* 1, Poems 10). The GP. is inflected regularly (-ra: 13 exs.) except once in the *Chron.* (656 E: *læred*). The DP. is inflected four times (-um), and is uninflected three times (*Ælfred* 1, *Ælfric* 2).

It is evident, therefore, that in Anglo-Saxon, especially in Late West Saxon and in the poems, the appositive participle is often not inflected, much oftener indeed than is stated in Sievers's *Angelsächsische Grammatik*.³ The same is true of Old High German (Mourek, p. 19; O. Erdmann, *Syntax d. Spr. Otfrids*, § 355) and of Old Saxon (Pratje, § 156), but not of Gothic (Gering, p. 393).

Again, the inflexion of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon is almost invariably strong. In this sentence from the *Blickling Homilies* (107. 20: Ða eaðmodan heortan and ða forhtgendan and ða biſigendan and ða cwacigendan and ða ondrædendan heora Scyppend, ne forhogað ða næfre God ne ne forsyhð), the weak participle, *ondrædendan*, has an object, and is partly attributive and partly appositive. The sentence illustrates well, I think, the passage of the attributive into the appositive use of the participle; the participle is thrust into post-position because its principal has several participial modifiers, and because the participle itself has a direct object (see section III., above). Sometimes, even in pre-position, the weak participle is strongly appositive, as in *Luke* 6. 49: *He is gelic ðam timbriendan men his hus ofer ða corðan* = *similis est homini aedificanti domum super terram*;—*Bede*¹ 182. 23: *wæs geworden ðætte ðære seolfan neahte ða brohton* (MS. B.:

gebrohtan) *ban ute awunedon* = 148. 17: *factum est ut reliquiae adlatae foris permanerent*; *ib.* 24. 22; *Ælfr. Hom.* II., 90^{a2}; *Ælfr. L. S.* XXVII. 117. Compare, too, *Bede*¹ 130. 33: *ƿæt he sceolde his freond ƿone betstan in neede gesetum* (MS. B.: *gesettan*) in *gold bebycgan* = 110. 9: *amicum suum optimum in necessitate positum auro uendere*. Mourek (p. 46) cites three examples of the appositive participle with weak inflection in Tatian.

In Anglo-Saxon the appositive participle regularly follows its principal (post-position), though occasionally it precedes (pre-position: about 100 exs. in all, of which 8 occur in the Poems). Typical illustrations are: *Matthew* 8. 25: *hy awehton hyne, ƿus cweðende* = *suscitaverunt eum, dicentes*; *Beowulf* 1819: *we sæliðend secgan wyllað, feorran cumene*; *Beow.* 721: *Com . . . rinc siððian dreamum bedæled*;—*Math.* 2. 11: *gangende into ƿam huse, hi gemetton ƿæt cild mid Marian* = *intrantes domum invenerunt puerum*; *Beow.* 1581: *slæpende fræt folces Denigea fyftyne men*. It should be added that it is particularly difficult to distinguish between the post-positive attributive and the appositive participle; but what Mourek (p. 44) says of Tatian seems to me true of Anglo-Saxon in general: most post-positive participles are appositive rather than attributive.

CHAPTER I.

STATISTICS OF THE APPOSITIVE PARTICIPLE
IN ANGLO-SAXON.*Explanatory Note.*

With the exception of the glosses and of a few out-of-prints, I have made a statistical reading of the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature and of the more definitely known Latin originals of the prose texts. For a detailed statement, see the bibliography.

Within the respective groups the works are arranged approximately in their chronological order, except the Minor Poems, which are given in their alphabetic order.

For the light that it throws upon Anglo-Saxon and Germanic syntax, the participle with an object is everywhere separated from the participle without an object. Obviously the distinction is of less importance for the preterite than for the present participle. As applied to the present participle, the term *object* has its usual signification; as applied to the preterite participle, it includes not only the object in the ordinary acceptance, but also any noun modifier of the participle.

To show the inflection of the participle, each case, number, and gender is cited separately. The abbreviations used to designate these are self-explanatory, as nsn. = nominative, singular, neuter, etc. Cases not cited do not occur. "Other examples" are throughout cited in the alphabetic order of the Anglo-Saxon participles. Compound participles are not separated from the simple ones.

For convenience I have not distinguished δ and β , but have uniformly used δ .

In all of the more definitely known translations the Latin original is given.

I have carefully compared my own statistics with those given in the monographs upon Anglo-Saxon syntax named in the bibliography; and but for the divergent views, already discussed, as to what constitutes an appositive participle, I should give in detail the results of my several collations. However, if the definition given in each treatise is observed, the difference is not great; hence I shall call attention to only the more noteworthy discrepancies disclosed by my collations.

I have tried to make the statistics complete according to the definition given in my Introduction. But, in such a mass of details, occasional omissions and misclassifications are inevitable; I can only hope that they will not prove so numerous or serious as to invalidate this history of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon.

Finally, I trust that these statistics, which at first doubtless appear unnecessarily detailed, may throw some light on several problems not germane to the purpose of this monograph, such as the contested authorship of the Alfredian works; the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary; the relationship of Anglo-Saxon to Latin syntax aside from the use of the participle, etc.;—some of which I hope to take up at another time.

I. IN THE PROSE WORKS.

BEDE¹ (180).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (107).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (93).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (58):—

NSM. (23):—22. 34: Ðæt sum on N. mægðe of deaðe *arisende* . . . segende wæs = 303. 24: Ut quidam . . . a

mortuis *resurgens* . . . narraverit; 102. 21 is sægd ðæt he *beotigende* forecwæde = 83. 27: fertur *minitans* praedixisse.— Other examples:—8. 19: *becumende* = 36. 4: *perueniens*; 24. 3: *ib.* = 311. 1: *ueniens*; 270. 4: *beotiende* = 211. 10: *minitans*; 22. 29; *bodiende* = 298. 27: *praedicans*; 12. 11: *cumende* = 97. 4: *ueniens*; 8. 16: *ib.* = 33. 21: *nauigans*; 8. 28: *ib.* = 39. 29: *reuersus*; 114. 21: *fleonde* = 92. 24: *fugiens*; 190. 18: *forhtigende* = 153. 1: *tremens*; 62. 13: *gefeonde* = 47. 22: *credens*; 442. 26: *gnorniende* = 314. 14: *merens*; 154. 3: *grimsigende* = 128. 6: *saeuiens*; 204. 17: *onhleoniende* = 160. 24: *incumbens*; *sorgende* = *sollicitus*, 186. 23 = 150. 29, 268. 7 = 210. 9; *sweltende* = *moriens*, 18. 18 = 220. 21 (or attrib. in A.-S.?) and 286. 6 = 221. 3; *ib.* = *moriturus*, 24. 5 = 313. 26; 410. 27: *swigende* = 297. 23: *tacitus*; 86. 22^a: *wæccende* = 60. 28: *sciens*; 86. 22^b: (no) *weotende* = 61. 1: *nesciens* (I insert *no* from MSS. Ca. and O.).

NSF. (3):—332. 2: ðreo & ðrittig ðæm ærestum heo æðelice gefylde in weoruldhade *drohtiende* = 252. 23: XXXIII primos in saeculari habitu nobilissime *conuersata* compleuit.— Other examples: 186. 31: *ondrædende* = 151. 10: *timens*; 18. 20: *utgangende* = 220. 22: *egressura*.

NSN. (1):—86. 10: mid ðy ðæt mood ðis ne *weotende* aræfneð = 60. 7: quia hanc animum *nescientem* pertulisse.

NSM. or F. (2):—240. 26: wol . . . *grimsigende* = 192. 4: *desaeuiens*; 264. 25: *ingongende* = 208. 25: *egressa* (the two preceding nouns are ða *stefn* and ðone *sang*. Of *ingressa* the subject is *vox*).

NPM. (8):—252. 2^a & ^b: se b. and heora lareowas *gefeonde* and *blissigende* ham hwurfon = 200. 7: sacerdotes, doctor-
esque . . . rediere *laetantes*.—Other examples:—310. 1: *feoh-
tende* = 238. 19: *compugnantes*; 284. 15: *forhtigende* = 220. 5: *tremefactae*; 312. 2: *ondettende* = 239. 24: *professi*;

¹In this text the superior letters distinguish different examples in the same line.

54. 4: *sarigende* = 32. 33: *dolentes*; 438. 30: *sittende* = 312. 11: *residens*; 186. 9: *sorgiende* = 150. 13: *solliciti*.

NPN (1):—158. 27: *ðider gefeonde coman* . . . folc Godes word to gehyranne = 132. 20: *confluebant ad audiendum verbum populi gaudentes* (or pred.?).

NDM. (2):—430. 27: *hwerfende* = 308. 7: *reuersi*; 424. 20: *suigiende* = 304. 30: *tacentes*.

GPN. (1):—104. 18: *seo is monigra folca ceapstow of londe and of sæ cumendra* = 85. 11: . . . *populorum terra marique uenientium*.

DSM. (3):—316. 18: *swa swa me seolfum frinendum* . . . W. *sægde* = 343. 12: *sicut mihimet sciscitanti* . . . W. *referebat*.—Other examples: 382. 22: *biddendum* = 280. 12: *roganti* (or attrib.?): 330. 14: *taltriendum* = 251. 34: *periclitanti*.

DSF. (1):—288. 34: *swa swa heo to hire lifigendre spræce, bæd ðæt*, etc. = 223. 5: *quasi uiuentem adlocuta, rogavit*.

DPM. (4):—382. 17: *ðæt hie mihton heora biddendum freondum syllan* = 280. 6: *quam rogantibus amicis dare* . . . *possent* (or attrib.?).—Other examples:—366. 21: *cumendum* = 271. 29: *aduenientibus*; 8. 2: *gelyfendum* = 28. 15: *credentes*; 336. 25: *wuniendum* = 255. 28: *manentibus*.

ASM. (3):—228. 19: *he eorre ðone cyning liggende gehran mid ðære gyrde* = 174. 6: *Iratus autem tetigit Regem iacentem*.—Other examples:—312. 27^b: *forðleorendne* = 240. 22: *precedentem*; 270. 22: *lifigende* (MS. Ca.: *lifigendne*) = 211. 30: *in carne manentem*.

ASN. (2):—140. 12: *he noht elles dyde* . . . *ðon ðæt cumende Cristes folc ðider of eallum tunum* . . . *mid godcundre lare timbrede* = 115. 4: *nil aliud ageret quam confluentem eo* . . . *plebem C.* . . . *verbo instruere*; 412. 13: *licgende* = 298. 9: *iacentem*.

APM. (2):—276. 12: *licade us efencuman æfter ðeawe arwyrðra rehta smeagende bi ðæm*, etc. = 215. 1: *placuit conuenire nos*, . . . *tractaturos de*, etc.; 10. 29: *hwylc wracu hi forhogiende æfterfyligde* = 81. 8: *quaeue illos spernentes*

ultio secuta est. [Miller and Smith have *him forhogiende*, in which case *forhogiende* would be a "crude" dative plural; but it seems preferable to read *hi forhogiende*, the variant given by Miller and Schipper, which corresponds better with the Latin. Though Miller apparently so translates, *him* could scarcely be the object of *forhogiende*, since according to Wülfing (p. 186) this verb governs the accusative only.]

APF. (2):—426. 33^{a & b}: *ða geseah ic mænigo ðara wergra gasta v. monna sawla grornende & heofende teon & lædan on* = 306. 13^{a & b}: *considero turbam malignorum spirituum, quae quinque animas hominum merentes heulantesque . . . trahebat.*

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which finite verb is usually in immediate connection with an appositive participle (5):—

NSM. (3):—160. 15: *he ða gifeonde ðearfum rehte and sealde* = 135. 28: *Cuncta . . . mox hauperibus . . . erogare gaudebat* (cf. *gefeonde* = *gaudentes* in 158. 27 = 132. 20, etc.).—Other examples:—88. 17^{a & b}: *goiende 7 geomriende cwæð* = 61. 25: *gemebat* *dicens.*

NPM. (2):—250. 28: *and Cristes noman . . . gefeonde* [MS. B.: *lustlice*] *andettan* = 200. 5: *ac nomen C . . . confiteri gauderent*; 240. 13: *Drihtne gefeonde ðeowodon* = 180. 25: *Christo . . . seruire gaudebant.*

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin gerund in the ablative (20):—

NSM. (16):—22. 17^{a & b}: *Ðæt he his preosta ænne . . . gebiddende 7 bletsigende fram deaðe gecyrde* = 289. 4^{c & d}: *orando ac benedicendo a morte reuocauerit.*—Other examples:—348. 25: *bebeodende* = 262. 18: *commendando*; 270. 34: *dwoliende* = 212. 11: *errando*; 346. 3: *eodorcende* = 260. 31: *ruminando*; 246. 25^b: *gongende* = 195. 21^b: *incedendo*; *gebiddende* = *orando*, 8. 23^b = 37. 5, 12. 10 = 93. 26, 16. 2 = 158. 27, 20. 29 = 271. 3, 22. 7^b = 281. 2, 22. 11 = 285. 1, 22. 14 = 288. 1; *ib.* = *benedicendo*, 22. 9

= 282. 30; 246. 25^a: *ridende* = 195. 21^a: *equitando*; 348. 24: *segniende* = 262. 17: *signando*.

NSF. (2):—72. 3^{a & b}: *ðætte oft* [*cirice* is to be supplied from earlier part of sentence] *ðæt wiðerworde yfel abeorende and ældend* (MS. O.: *yldende*) *bewereð* = 51. 29, 30: *ut saepe malum quod aduersatur portando et dissimulando conpescat*.

NPM. (1):—72. 9: *ða ðe him ne ondrædað weotonde syngian* = 52. 1: *qui non metuunt sciendo peccare*.

ASM. (1):—22. 16^a: *Ðæt he his preosta ænne of horse fallende & gebrysedne gelice gebiddende & bletsigende fram deaðe gecyrde* = 289. 4^a: *Ut clericum suum cadendo contritum, aequè orando ac benedicendo a morte reuocauerit*.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (2):—

NSM. (1):—204. 3: *he . . . on ðære styðe stondende forðferde* = 160. 5: . . . *adelinis destinae . . . spiritum, uitae exhalaret ultimum*.

NPM. (1):—54. 5: *sume forhtiende on eðle gebidon* = 33. 1: *alii perstantes in patria trepidi . . . agebant*.

5. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (1):—

NSM. (1):—142. 8: *sægde he ðæt he hine cneoht weosende gesawe* = 116. 12: *et se in pueritia vidisse testabatur*. [*hine* here stands for *here*, 'sanctuary.'—Cf. *Bede* 188. 1: *in ðam mynstre . . . in ðam cneohtwesendum* *ðis hælo wundor geworden wæs* = 151. 15: *in eodem monasterio . . . in quo tunc puero factum erat hoc miraculum sanitatis*, in which *cneohtwesendum* is perhaps a substantive. Cf. further *Widsið* 39; *Beow.* 46, 372, 535, 1187.]

6. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adverb (2):—

NSM. (1):—38. 1: *Ða . . . he ealle ða witu . . . geðyldelice and gefeonde for Drihtne abær and aræfnde* = 20. 1: *Qui . . . patienter hæc pro Domino immo gaudenter ferebat*. [Perhaps it is better to consider *gefeonde* here as a pure adverb.]

NPM. (1):—310. 30: Ðas we seondon arfæstlice fyligende & rihtwuldriende = 239. 23: Hos itaque sequentes nos pie atque *orthodoxe*. [Pure adverb? Cf. 310. 25: we wæron smeagende rehtne geleafan & *rehtwuldriende* = 239. 17: fidem rectam & *orthodoxam* exposuimus, where *rehtwuldriende* is an adjective.]

7. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin future infinitive (2):—

NPM. (2):—266. 32^{a & b}: æfter seofon dagum heo eft *hweorfende* & *cumende* me gehehton; 7 me ðonne mid him lædan woldon = 209. 34: se *redituros*, ac me secum adducturos *esse* promiserunt.

8. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (3):—

NSM. (1):—464. 16: *gefeonde* ða heofonlican rico gestah & gesohte = 330. 1: no Latin correspondent.

NPM. (1):—100. 12: Ða ondetton eac Brettas *scomiende* ðæt heo ongeton = 82. 14: Tum Brettones confitentur quidem intellexisse se.

ASM. (1):—214. 32: ða gegreopon ða unclænan gastas ænne of ðam monnum ðe heo in ðæm fyre bærndon and ðræston 7 wurpon swa *beornendne* on hine & he gehran his sculdra 7 his ceacan 7 hine swa forbærndon = 166. 26: arripientes immundi spiritus unum de eis, quos in ignibus torrebant, iactaverunt in eum, et contingentes humerum maxillamque eius incenderunt.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (14).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (14):—

NSM. (8):—378. 25: he mid ðy mæstan gewinne mid his crycce hine *wreðigende* ham becom [MS. B.: hine gewreðede & ham becom] = 278. 15: maximo cum labore baculo *innitens* domum peruenit. Cf. 380. 7: his leomo mid his crycce *wreðigende* eode in cyrican [MS. B.: gewreðede &

eode] = 278. 27: artus baculo *sustentans* intrauit ecclesiam.—
 14. 4: Ðæt se ylca cyning *biddende* . . . biscope onfeng
 Aidanum on naman gehatene = 131. 4: Ut . . . rex *postu-*
lans antistitem . . . acceperit Aidanum. Cf. 10. 12: andsware
biddende onfeng = 48. 2: responsa *petens* acceperit.—10. 7:
 and swa . . . G. word *bodigende* on Cent eode = 44. 25: sic
 . . . Cantiam *praedicaturus* intrauerit.—352. 14: ðætte . . .
 ongan, swa he eft for intingan ðære godcundan lufan *lust-*
fulliende ðam ecum medum fæstlice forðlæste = 264. 12:
 quod . . . iam causa diuini amoris *delectatus* praemiis inde-
 fessus agebat.—450. 20: mid ðy he wæs godre gleaunesse
 eniht 7 he ða ylde mid ðeawum *oferstigende* [MS. B.: wæs
oferstigende] & he swa gemetfæstlice & swa ymb sceawiwendlice
 hine sylfne on eallum ðingum beheold ðæt = 322. 27: atque
 aetatem moribus *transiens*, ita . . . gereret ut (or pred.?).—
 16. 8: Ðæt se . . . b. *onfonde* . . . sume stowe mynster on to
 timbrianne, & ða mid halgum gebedum & fæstenum Drihtne
 gehalgode = 174. 22: Ut idem episcopus locum . . . *accipiens*
 . . . Domino consecraverit.

NPM. (3):—312. 23^{a&b}: we wuldriað usserne D. swa swa
 ðas wuldredon . . . noht *toætecende* oððe onweg *ateonde* =
 240. 18^{a&b}: glorificamus D. sicut . . . nihil *addentes* uel *sub-*
trahentes.—312. 25: ða ðe heo onfengon we eac swelce onfoð
 . . . *wuldriende* God Fæder, etc. = 240. 20: suscepimus,
glorificantes Deum, etc.

GSN. (1):—426. 30: gehled & ceahetunge swa swa unge-
 læredes folces & *biosmriendes* gehæftum heora feondum =
 306. 10: cachinum crepitantem quasi uulgi indocti captis
 hostibus *insultantis*.

APM. (2):—54. 31: sende munecas mid hine Drihten
ondredende = 42. 21: misit monachos *timentes* Dominum.—
 358. 10: Ac forðon ðe he ne wolde ðy ærran geare gehyran
 ðone arwyrðan fæder Ecgberht, ðæt he Sceottas hine noht
seeððende ne afuhte = 267. 7: sed quoniam noluerat audire
 E., ne Scottiam nil se *ledentem* impugnaret.

Note.—In *Bede*¹ 430. 18 (in ðære ic eac swylice ða swetestan stæfne geherde Godes lof *singendra* = 307. 31 : in qua etiam uocem *cantantium* dulcissimam audiui) we have a substantivized participle with an object.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (73).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (60).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (47):—

NSM. (14):—318. 1: ðæt . . . lichoma *bebyrged* brosnian ne meahte = 243. 24: *sepulta* caro corrumpi non potuit.—Other examples:—400. 25: *bewrigen* = 290. 15: *obtectus*; 396. 20: *forðfered* = 288. 9: *defunctus*; 442. 22: *ge-eadmoded* = 314. 10: *humiliatus*; 8. 23^a: *gehæfd* [MS. B.: wæs gehæfd] = 37. 5: *detentus*; 442. 23: *geniðerad* = 314. 12: *damnatus*;—*geseted* = *positus*, 20. 27 = 268. 20 & 444. 5 = 314. 21; 10. 10: *geworden* = 48. 1: *factus*; 260. 7: *haten* = 205. 28: *iussus*; 278. 18^b: *ib.* = 216. 16^b: *invitatus*; 92. 17: *oferswiðed* = 71. 23: *uictus*; 352. 13: *onbryrded* = 264. 11: *compunctus*; 278. 18^a: *onfongen* = 216. 16^a: *susceptus*.

NSF. (4):—330. 30: heo of eorðan *alæded* leorde ðy fiteogeðan dæge = 252. 20: de terris *ablata* transiuit.—Other examples:—340. 16: *afyrhted* = 257. 20: *perterrita*; 470. 25: *geriht* [MS. B.: geriht wæs] = 346. 12: *correcta*; 104. 17: *geseted* = 85. 10: *posita*.

NSN. (1):—78. 15: wiif in blodes flownesse *geseted* = 52. 1: in fluxu *posita*; *ib.* 78. 28 = 56. 5.

NS. M. or N. (1):—150. 13: . . . mæl & cælic . . . gehalgad = 126. 9: calicem . . . *consecratum*.

NS. N. or F. (1):—262. 22: wæl & moncwild *gesended* = 207. 21: clades *missa*.

NPM. (7):—164. 7: oððæt heo styccemælum *aafedde* . . . beboda onfon meahte (MS. Ca.: mihten) = 137. 17:

donec paulatim *enutriti* . . . ad capienda . . . praecepta sufficerent.—Other examples:—202. 20: *afyrhte* = 159. 21: *territi*; 160. 26: *bescorene* = 136. 10: *adtonsi*; 234. 1: *forðferde* (MS. Ca.: *forðferende*) = 176. 30: *morientes*; 8. 5: *genedde* = 29. 12: *coacti*; 58. 24: *gewelgade* = 45. 33: *praediti*; 310. 2: *togotene* = 238. 22: *refusi*.

NPN. (2):—140. 3: *wæron eac gefulwade oðer his bearn of A. ðære cwene acende* = 114. 25: *Baptizati sunt alii liberi eius de A. progeniti*.—182. 23: *wæs geworden ðætte ðære seolfan neahte ða brohton* (MS. B.: *gebrohtan*) *ban ute awunedon* = 148. 17: *factum est ut . . . reliquiae adlatae foris permanerent* (may be attrib.).

DSF. (1):—320. 7: *cwomon heo to sumre ceastre gehrorenre noht feor ðonon* = 245. 1: *uenerunt ad ciuitatulam quondam desolatam, non procul inde sitam*.

DSN. (1):—338. 32: *in oðrum mynstre fyrr gesettum* = 257. 2: *in alio longius posito monasterio*.

ASM. (8):—312. 27^a: *we eac swelce onfoð, wuldriende God Fæder & his Sunu ðone acennedan of Fæder acennedne ær worulde* = 240. 21: . . . *glorificantes Deum & filium eius unigenitum ex Patre generatum*.—Other examples:—288. 12: *bewundenne* = 222. 14: *inuolutum*; 380. 24: *forðferedne* = 279. 14: *defunctum*; 22. 16^b: *gebrysedne* = 289. 4^b: *contritum*; 88. 15: *gebundenne* = 61. 23: *ligatum*; 246. 7: *gelæredne* = 194. 28: *instructum*; 94. 14: *genumen* (MS. B.: *genumenne*) = 79. 9: *sumtum*; 130. 33: *gesetum* (MS. B.: *gesettan*) = 110. 9: *positum*.

ASF. (3):—58. 25^{a & b}: *Bæron . . . anlicnesse Drihtnes Hælendes on brede afægde and awritene* = 46. 2: *ferentes . . . imaginem . . . in tabula depictam*; 484. 28: *geðyde* = 359. 29: *adiectum*.

ASN. (3):—122. 12: *Hæfde he . . . twiecgæ handseax geættred* = 99. 3: *qui habebat sicam bicipitem toxicatam*.—Other examples:—106. 7: *gehalgod* = 86. 12: *dedicatum*; 314. 14: *priuilegium of ðære apostolican aldorlicnesse getrymede* (MS. Ca.: *getrymed*) = 241. 14: . . . *epistulam priuilegii*

ex auctoritate apostolica firmatam (*getrymede* due to close following of *firmatam*?).

APM. (1):—296. 7: Geseah he . . . ðry wæpnedmen to him cuman mid beorhtum hræglum *gegyrede* = 226. 21: Uidit enim . . . tres ad se uenisse uiros claro *indutos* habitu.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin predicative participle (1):—

NSN. (1):—272. 6: Is ofer his byrgenne stowe treowge-weorc on gelicnesse medmicles huses geworht, mid hrægle *gegyrwed* = 212. 17: Est autem locus idem sepulcri tumba lignea in modum domunculi facta *co-opertus*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (3):—

NSM. (3):—342. 4^{a & b}: In . . . mynstre wæs sum broðor syndriglice mid godcundre gife *gemæred* ⁊ *geweorðad* = 258. 28: In m. fuit frater quidam diuina gratia specialiter *insignis*; 88. 25: *geneded* = 62. 2: *inuitus*.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (1):—

NSM. (1):—16. 15: Ðæt E. se halga wer of Angelecyntes cynne *acenned* munuclif wæs lædende on Hibernia = 191. 26: Ut E., uir sanctus *de natione Anglorum*, monachicam in H. uitam duxerit.

5. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (8):—

NSM. (5):—20. 28: Ðæt se wer on ancerlife *geseted* . . . gelædde = 271. 3: Ut idem in uita anachoretica . . . produxerit. *Ib.*: 22. 7^a = 281. 2. [Cf. *geseted* = *positus* in 20. 27 = 268. 20, 444. 5 = 314. 21.]—Other examples:—114. 14: *geswenced* & werig [MSS. B. & C.: wæs] = 92. 17; 258. 28: *haten* ('called') = 205. 15; 434. 24: *haten* ('called') = 310. 6.

ASM. (1):—14. 5: Ðæt se ylca cyning biddende . . . biscope (MS. B.: bysceop) onfeng Aidanum on naman *ge-hatenne* = 131. 4: Ut idem rex postulans antistitem . . . acceperit Aidanum. [Cf. 158. 12: him biscop sendon, Aidan

wæs haten = 131. 15: *accepit namque pontificem Aed-
num.*]

APM. (1):—328. 7: *ða stafas mid him awritene hæfde* (or pred.?) = 250. 28: no Latin equivalent. [MS. B. omits *awritene.*]

APN. (1):—108. 17: *ða ðing ðe ðær gedemed wæron . . . wrat and fæstnade ond eft hwearf to B. 7 ða mid hine on Ongolcīricum to healdenne awriten brohte* = 88. 22 (or pred.?).

II. WITH AN OBJECT (13).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (12):—

NSM. (3):—214. 11: eft *onlysed* *ðy lichoman byrneð* = 166. 4: ita *solutus* corpore ardebit.—Other examples:—478. 1: eldo *fornumen* = 349. 29: *consumtus* aetate; 440. 20: witum *underðeoded* = 313. 3: *pænis subditus*.

NSF. (1):—332. 16: Forðon ðe . . . Hereswið . . . re-
gollicum ðeodscipum *underðeoded*, baad ðone ecan sige =
253. 10: Nam H. . . . regularibus *subdita* disciplinis ex-
pectabat.

GSF. (1):—172. 26: Ðisse fæmnan Gode *gehalgodre*
monige weorc . . . gewuniað . . . sægd beon = 143. 1: Huius
autem uirginis Deo *dicatae* solent, etc.

GPF. (1):—284. 32: in ðara fæmnena mynstre Gode
gehalgodra = 220. 26: in uirginum Deo *dedicatarum* cella.

DSM. (1):—16. 12: Se cyning for ðam sige *sealdan* him
. . . sealde, etc. = 129. 11: pro *adepta* uictoria . . . dederit.

DPF. (1):—14. 15: be E. and A. Gode *gehalgedum*
fæmnum = 142. 2: de E. and Æ., *sacratīs* Deo uirginibus.

DPN. (1):—24. 22: mid him ðam *underðeoddum* myn-
strum = 346. 14: cum *subiectis* sibi monasteriis (or attrib.?).

ASF. (1):—232. 2: ne ðonne nemne medmicel dæl hlafes
and an henne æg mid litle meole wætre *gemengede* he onfeng
= 175. 30: cum paruo lacte aqua *mixto* percipiebat.

ASN. (1):—344. 28: *ðy betstan leoðe geglenged* him asong

and ageaf, ðæt him beboden wæs = 260. 24 : optimo carmine, quod iubebatur, *compositum* reddidit.

APN. (1):—212. 23 : Geseah he eac feower fyr onæled on ðære lyfte noht micle fæce betweoh him *tosceaden* = 165. 20 : . . . quatuor ignes . . . non multo . . . spatio *distantes*.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin gerundive (1):—

NSF. (1):—236. 29 : Ða eode seo . . . dohtor . . . Gode *gehalgod* in ðæt mynster = 179. 1 : Intrauit filia Deo *dedicanda* monasterium.

BOETHIUS¹ (27).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (17).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (17).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (2):—

NSM. (1):—14. 16 : se broc, ðeah he swife of his rihtryne, ðonne¹ ðær micel stan *wealwiende* of ðam heohan munte oninnan fealð & hine todælð & him his rihtrynes wiðstent = 23. 16 : Quique uagatur montibus altis defluus amnis, sæpe resistit rupe *soluti* obice saxi.

NSF. (1):—81. 27 : Swa ðu gesceope ða saule ðæt hio sceolde ealne weg hwearfian on hire selfre, swa swa eall ðes rodor hwerfð, oððe swa swa hweol onhwerfð, *smeagende* ymb hire sceoppend oððe ymbe hi selfe = 71. 13 : Tu triplicis mediam naturae cuncta moventem conectens animam per consona membra resoluis. Quae cum secta duos motum glomeravit in orbes, in semet *reditura* meat mentemque profundam circuit et simili conuertit imagine caelum.

2. The A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which verb is in immediate connection with an appositive participle (1):—

¹ I have expanded the contractions of this text.

NPM. (1):—108. 14: *irnað hidres ðidres dwoligende* under ðæm hrofe eallra gesceafta = 93. 78: *sed circa ipsam rerum summam uerticemque deficiunt* nec in eo miseris contingit effectus quod solum dies noctesque moliuntur.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin substantive in the ablative (2):—

NSM. (2):—8. 8^{1&2}: *wepende & gisciende* = 3. 2: *fletibus*.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds loosely to a Latin substantive in the nominative (1):—

NPM. (1):—74. 31: *dwoliende* = 67. 9: *error* etc.

5. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (2):—

NSM. (2):—8. 15: *geomriende* asungen hæfde = 4. 2: *querimoniam lacrimabilem*; 8. 6: *ic sceal nu heofiende* singan = 3. 1: *flebilis*.

6. The A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (9):—

NSM. (9):—3. 7: *Hu B. hine singende* gebæd; *singende* cwæð: 9. 29, 46. 2, 48. 22, 60. 27, 71. 4, 8. 5 (*singend—*), 73. 22 (*singinde—*); 17. 14: *sorgiende* anforlete.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (0).

No example.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (10).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (10).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (3):—

GPM. and N. (2):—11. 27, 28¹: *Ne me na ne lyst mid glase geworhtra* (or attrib.?) *waga ne heahsetla mid golde & mid gimum gerenodra* = 19. 21: . . . *comptos* ebore ac uitro parietes.

ASN. (1):—133. 22: *God seleð ægðer ge good ge yfel gemenged* = 112. 140: *mixta*.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin absolute participle (1):—

NS. F. or N. (1):—91. 8: *wuht . . . ðe ungened lyste forweorðan* = 78. 45: *nullis cogentibus*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb (1):—

NSM. (1):—46. 27: *se nama mid feaum stafum awriten* = 47. 17: *signat nomen literis*.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (1):—

NP. F. or N. (1):—100. 22: *gesceafta hiora agnum willum ungenedde him wæren underðiodde* = 83. 47: *uoluntaria sponte*.

5. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (4):—

NSN. (1):—131. 27: *gemenged* = 111. 96 (cf. 133. 22: *gemenged* = 112. 140: *mixta*).

NPM. (2):—30. 25, 26: *ðonne sint hi ðe pliolicran & geswincfulran hæfd ðonne næfd*.

GPF. (1):—11. 28: *boca mid golde awritenra* = 19. 21 (an ap. ptc. occurs in the Latin of this sentence, but not corresponding to *awritenra*).

II. WITH AN OBJECT (0).

No example.

GREGORY¹ (82).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (58).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT. (56).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (9):—

NSM. (2):—261. 11: *Se ilca suigende geðafode swingellan* = 196^{b1}: *tacitus flagella toleravit*; 225. 22; *ðeahtigende* = 170^b: *retractantes*.

¹In this text *a* refers to the top and *b* to the bottom of the page.

NSN. (1):—431. 18: Swa bið ðæt mod *slæpende* gewundad swa hit ne gefret, ðonne etc. = 356^a: Mens quippe a cura suae sollicitudinis *dormiens* verberatur et non dolet, quia etc.

NPM. (3):—405. 31: Ac ða hie wendon hiera bæc to him, ða hi *ofermodgiende* his gebod forhogdon = 326^a: *superbiens* ejus jussa contempsit.—Other examples:—259. 19: *suigende* = 196^a: *taciti*; 171. 9: *ðurhwuniende* = 126^a: *inhuerentes*.

DSM. (2):—93. 9: Hit is gecueden ðæt se sacerd scolde sweltan, gif se sweg nære of him gehiered ge *inngongendum* ge *utgongendum* = 62^b: Sacerdos namque *ingrediens* vel *egrediens* moritur, se de eo sonitus non auditur.

ASM. (1):—399. 14: Sio Segor gehælde Loth *fleondne* = 318^a: Segor civitas, quae *fugientem* salvet infirmum.

Note.—In 159. 18 (ðæt hi ðonne gehieran ðreagende of ðæs lariowes muðe hu micle byrðenne hie habbað on hiera scyldum = 116^a: ut cum culpa ab auctore non cognoscitur, quanti sit ponderis, ab *increpantis* ore sentiatur) ðreagende, as Cosijn suggests (vol. 2, p. 97), is doubtless used adverbially. We should expect the genitive, ðreagendes, to agree with lariowes. Compare the use of ðreatigende in 315. 23, etc.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which finite verb either is subordinate or is in immediate connection with an appositive participle that has been turned into an A.-S. finite verb (6):—

NSM. (5):—93. 6: Hit is awriten ðæt he scolde *inn-gongende* & *utgongende* beforan Gode to ðam halignessum beon gehiered his sueg, ðylæs he swulte = 62^b: Scriptum quippe est: “Ut audiat sonitus, *quando ingreditur* et *egreditur* sanctuarium in conspectu Domini, et non moriatur.”—151. 24: he hit him ðeah *suigende* gesæde = 110^a: et hoc ipsum tamen, *quia tacuerit*, dixit. [Just before this, however, occurs *tacens* et *quasi non videns*].—369. 4: *siofigende* cwæð = 286^a: *queritur* dicens.—315. 23: ðreatigende cwæð = 244^a: *redarguit* dicens.

NPM. (1):—215. 7: *unwillende* = 162^a: quae non *appetunt*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin gerund in the ablative (18):—

NSM. (13):—101. 14: & eft hine selfne ofdune *astigende* he cuðe gemetgian his hieremo[n]num = 70^a: quia noverat eundem se auditoribus *condescendendo* temperare.—379. 19: ðætte he eac *cigende* & *lærende* oðre ðider tio & laðige ðider he getogen bið = 294^b: Ut . . . illuc etiam *clamando* alios quo ipse rapitur trahat.—Other examples:—27. 21: *geðafiende* = 8^a: *permittendo*; 127. 6: *oliceende* = 88^b: *demulcendo*; 49. 20 and 81. 10: *sprecende* = 26^b and 54^a: *loquendo*; 123. 21: *stirende* = 86^a: *corrigendo*; 127. 7: *ðreatigende* = 88^b: *terrendo*; 383. 8: *ib.* = 298^a: *increpando*; 295. 12 and 297. 15: *wandigende* = 222^b and 224^b: *parcendo*; 81. 11: *wyrcende* = 54^a: *ostendendo*.

NSN. (1):—433. 6: ðæt is ðæt hit [= mod] ða gedonan unðeawas *swincende* gebete, & ða ungedonan foreðoncelice becierre = 358^a: ut et praesentia *laborando* subjiciat, et contra futura certamina *prospiciendo* convalescat.

NPM. (4):—439. 15: ðæt hi ongiten *feallende* ðæt hie ær hiora agnes ðonces ne stodon = 364^b: et *cadendo* discunt non fuisse proprium quod steterunt.—Other examples:—91. 22: *hlydende* = 62^a: *clamando*; 345. 22: *ofermodgiende* = 266^b: *superbiendo*; 101. 21: *upsceawiende* = 70^a: *contemplando*.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin gerund in the genitive (1):—

NPM. (1):—191. 4: ðæt hie wel *libben[de]* gode bisene astellen ðæm ðe him underðiedde sien = 142^a: discant . . . isti quomodo etiam commissis sibi exempla bene *vivendi* exterius praebeant.

5. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (7):—

NSM. (4):—397. 27, 28: Ne cweðo ic no ðæt ðæt ic ær cwæð *bebeodende*, ac *lærende* & *geðafiende* = 316^a: Hoc autem dico *secundum indulgentiam* non *secundum imperium*; 253. 6: *geomriende* = 192^a: *in dolore*.

NSN. (1):—417. 11: *geðafigende* = 338^b: *ex deliberatione*.

NPM. (2):—415. 6: Wuton cuman ær his dome *andettende* (or pred.?) = 336^a: *Praeveniamus faciem Domini in confessione*; 123. 16: *weaxende* = 286^a: *ad interitum*.

6. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin substantive in the ablative of manner or of means (6):—

NSM. (4):—415. 18: & he ða hi swa unrote *oleccende* to him gelocode = 336^b: *tristemque blanditiis delinivit*.—Other examples:—53. 16: *egesiende* = 30^a: *terroribus*; 53. 16: *hiertende* = 30^a: *favoribus*; 379. 23: *hreowsigende* = 294^b: *magna voce pœnitentiae*.

NPM. (2):—185. 7: is cynn ðætte we for hira modes hælo *olicende* hi on smyltnesse gebringen mid ure spræce = 138^a: *dignum est, ut ad salutem mentis quasi dulcedine citharæ locutionis nostræ tranquillitate revocetur*; 117. 17: *suigende* = 82^a: *tacita cogitatione*.

7. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adverb (1):—

NPM. (1):—381. 25: . . . Godes ðegnas, ða ðe *unwandiende* ðara scyldegena gyltas ofslogen = 296^b: *qui delinquentium scelera incunctanter ferirent* (or pure adverb?).

8. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin infinitive (3):—

NSM. (2):—403. 6: Forðæm se ðe hine selfne maran godes behæt, & ðonne forlæt ða maran god, & went hine to ðæm læssum, ðonne bið hit swutol ðæt he bið *fromlociende* oferswiðed = 322^a: *Iui igitur fortiori studio intenderat, retro convincitur respicere, si relictis amplioribus bonis adminima retorquetur*.—61. 3: Se læce bið micles to beald & to scomleas ðe gæð æfter oðra monna husum *læcnigende* (or pred.?), & hæfð on his agnum nebbe opene wunde unlacnode = 36^a: *Si ergo adhuc in ejus opere passionēs vivunt, quā præsuntione percussum mederi proprat, qui in facie vulnus portat?*

NPM. (1):—297. 4: Sua, ðonne ðonne hatheortan hie mid nane foreðonce nyllað gestillan, ac sua *wedende* folgiað hwam sua sua Assael dyde Æfnere, & næfre nyllað gesuican,

ðonne is micel ðearf etc. = 224^a: Sed cum iracundi nulla consideratione se mitigant, et quasi Asael persequi et *insanire* non cessant; necesse est etc.

9. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin substantive in the nominative (1):—

NSM. (1):—207. 22: Forðæm he spræc ðas word ðe he wolde ðara scamleasna scylda *tælende* geopenian = 156^a: ut et illorum culpas *increpatio* dura detegeret.

10. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (3):—

NSM. (3):—185. 9: æresð mon sceal spreca *asciende*.—153. 5: Ac ðonne se lareow *ieldende* secð ðone timan etc.—39. 16: *suigende* he cwæð.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (2).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (1):—

NSM. (1):—99. 4: & ðætte hie [Cotton MS.: he] sua heallra ðinga *wilnigende* ne forsio his niehstan untrume & scyldige = 68^a: ne aut alta *petens* proximorum infirma despiciat.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin gerund in the ablative (1):—

NPM. (1):—171. 13: Ðæt is ðonne ðæt mon ða earce bere on ðæm saglum, ðætte ða godan lareowas ða halgan gesomnunge *lærende* ða niwan & ða ungeleaffullan mod mid hire lare gelæde [*sic!*] to ryhtum geleafan = 126^a: Vectibus quippe arcam portare, est bonis doctoribus sanctam Ecclesiam ad rudes infidelium mentes *praedicando* deducere. [Cotton MS. has *beoð lærende*.]

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (24).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (23).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (11):—

NSM. (4):—443. 22: Ac ða he swa *gebreged* on eorðan feoll, & acsode, & cwæð etc. = 370.^b Nam cum *prostratus*, requireret, dicens.—Other examples:—135. 23: *gehefegad* and *ofersuiðed* = 96^b: *victam*; 51. 1: *unclænsod* = 26^b: *non purgatus*.

NPF. (1):—153. 1: Ac monige scylda openlice *witene* beoð to forberanne = 110^a: Nonnulla autem vel aperte *cognita*, mature toleranda sunt.

NPN. (2):—245. 8: Hwæt getacniað ðonne ða truman ceastra butan hwurfulu mod, *getrymedu* and *ymbtrymedu* mid lytelicre ladunge? = 184^b: Quid enim per civitates munitas exprimitur, nisi suspectae mentes et fallaci semper defensione *circumdatae*?

DPM. or N. (1):—155. 10: ðonne he ongiet be sumum ðingum oððe ðeawum utanne *ætiwedum* eall ðæt hie innan ðenceað = 112^a: qui discussis quibusdam signis exterius *apparentibus* ita corda subditorum penetrat ut etc.

ASM. (2):—383. 32: gif mon on niwne we[a]ll *unadru-godne* & *unastiðodne* micelne hrof & hefigne onsett, ðonne etc. = 300^a: quod structuris recentibus necdum *solidatis* si tignorum pondus superponitur etc.

ASN. (1):—403. 20: ðæt hi hit huru *tobrocen* gebeten = 322^b: bona . . . saltem *scissa* resarciant.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (2):—

NPM. (1):—227. 25: ðe . . . gefeohtað & eft innan hira burgum fæste *belocene* ðurh hiera giemelieste hie lætað gebindan = 172^b: qui victores sunt, sed per negligentiam postmodum *intra urbis claustra* capiuntur.

NPF. (1):—407. 30: forðæm gif hie geðenceað ðara gesælða ðe him *ungeendode* æfter ðæm geswincum becuman sculon = 328^a: Si enim attendatur felicitas quae *sine transitu* attingitur.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin ablative of manner or of cause (1):—

NPM. (1):—435. 2: gif hi færlecor syngoden *unbeðohte* = 360^a: si in his sola *præcipitatione* cecidissent.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin dative of cause (1):—

NPM. (1):—109. 23: Hie sculon forðy *ofdræd[de]* . . . liegean astreahte etc. = 76^a: quia videlicet etc. ex ea debent etiam *formidini* jacere substrati.

5. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adverb (2):—

NPM. (2):—117. 23: . . . sua . . . sua we for monnum orsorglicor *ungewitnode* syngiað = 82^a: Tanto . . . quanto apud homines *inulte* peccamus.—137. 19: *Ungeniedde*, mid eowrum agenum willan, ge sculon ðencean = 98^b: *non coacte*, sed spontanee etc. [Or are both pure adverbs?].

6. An A.-S. appositive participle loosely corresponds to a Latin substantive in the nominative (2):—

NPM. (2):—302. 10: *unmidlode* and *aðundene* = 228^b: *effrenatio* etc.

7. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (2):—

NSM. (2):—227. 21: & he ðonne sua *gebunden* . . . sargað etc. = 172^b: ut plerumque vir patiens . . . *captivus* crubescat; 317. 12: *ungeðingod* = 244^b: *repentina* (or pure adverb?).

8. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (2):—

NPM. (1):—105. 1: . . . clænran ðonne hie . . . wæren, mid ðæm tearum ðara gebeda *aðwægen*.

DPF. (1):—343. 8: æhtum *gereafodu[m]*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (1).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin substantive in the accusative (1):—

ASM. (1):—197. 20: hit no gedæfenlic nære ðæt hie slogon Gode *gehalgodne* kyning = 148^a: fregit eos responsi-

onibus, quia manum mittere *in Christum* Domini non deberet (or attrib. ?).

OROSIUS¹ (21).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (16).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (14).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (4):—

NSM. (2):—200. 32: he him *wepende* (ðære bene) ge-tygðade, for ðon ðe (he) sceolde *Italiam* forlætan = 201. 30: *flens* reliquit *Italiam*; 240. 9: *wepende* mænde ða unare = 241. 8: *deplorans* injurias.

NSF. (2):—12. 32, 33: & ðonne forð ðonan west *irnende* heo tolið on twa ymb an igland ðe mon hæst Meroen, & ðonan norð *bugende* ut on ðone Wendelsæ = 13. 20, 22: deinde diu ad occasum *profluens*, faciensque insulam nomine Meroen in medio sui: novissime ad septentrionem *inflexus* . . . plana *Ægypti* rigat.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin substantive (2):—

NSM. or N. (2):—166. 17, 18: ægðer ge he(self) *wepende* hamweard for, ge ðæt folc ðæt him ongean com, eall hit him *wepende* hamweard folgade = 167. 8: . . . ad cujus conspectum *plangentium* junguntur agmina.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (2):—

NSM. (2):—294. 11: hiene siððan mid rapum be ðæm sweoran up aheng, gelicost ðæm ðe he hiene self(ne) *unwitende* hæfde awierged = 295. 8: strangulatus, atque ut *voluntariam* sibi conscivisse mortem putaretur, laqueo suspensus est (notice the mistranslation); 40. 18: *fleonde* = 41. 16: *profugum*.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (6):—

NSM. (4):—178. 24: *searigende*; *unwitende*: 248. 14, 250. 12; 140. 7: *witende*.

ASM. (1):—258. 12: *slæpendne*.

APM. (1):—200. 21: *fleonde*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (2).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (1):—

NPM. (1):—32. 21: *geforan Roðum ðæt igland, wilniende* ðæt hi ælcum gewinne oðflogen hæfdon = 33. 19: *credentes* quod se . . . abstraherent, Rhodum insulam . . . ceperunt.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (1):—

NSM. (1):—52. 27: *sona ðæs folces ðone mæstan dæl fleonde* mid ealle forlædde [*dæl* seems to be the object of *forlædde* as well as of *fleonde*].

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (5).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (5).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (2):—

NPF. (1):—14. 18: *ðæs landes is xliii [sic] ðeoda, wide tosetene* for unwæstmbærnesse ðæs londes = 15. 20: *gentes sunt quadraginta duae, propter terrarum infæcundam diffusionem late oberrantes*.

ASN. (1):—168. 14: *swa he hit him eft ham bebead on anum brede awriten* etc. = 169. 10: . . . *per tabellas scriptas* etc.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (1):—

DPF. & M. (1):—88. 13: *Æfter ðæm wæs an ger full* ðæt ofer eall Romana rice seo eorðe wæs cwaciende & berstende & ælce dæge mon com unarimedlice oft to (ðæm) senatum, &

him sædon from burgum & from tunum on eorðan *besuncen* = 89. 10: Per totum fere annum tam crebri, tamque etiam graves in Italia terrae-motus fuerunt, ut *de innumeris quassationibus ac ruinis* villarum oppidorumque assiduis Roma nuntiis fatigaretur.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (2):—

NPM. (2):—92. 30: *bewopene*; 250. 14: *ungeniedde*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (0).

No example.

PSALMS, THORPE (24).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (20).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (7).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (1):—

NSM. (1):—17. 3: *herigende* ic clypige to ðe, Drihten = *laudans* invocabo Dominum.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (1):—

NSM. (1):—50 Int. (= Introduction): *hreowsiende* = Bruce 93: *Sub occasione pœnitentiae*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin gerund in the genitive (2):—

NSM. (2):—34 Int.^{1&2}: *ma witgiende*, ðonne wyrgende oððe *wilniende* = Bruce 86: *non malevolentia optandi*, sed *praescientia prophetandi*.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin substantive in the ablative (1):—

NSM. (1):—34 Int.³: *wyrgende* = Bruce 86: *malevolentia*.

5. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (2):—

NSM. (2):—30 Int.: *gebiddende to*; 5. 7: *hopiende to*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (13).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin absolute clause (1):—

NSM. (1):—38 Int.:—*seofigende* = Bruce 87: *Argentibus . . . mœroribus*.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adverbial phrase (1):—

NSM. (1):—34 Int.: *siofigende* = Bruce 85: *Occasione ærumnarum suarum*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin equivalent (11):—

NSM. (11):—37 Int.: *andettende*; 28 Int.: *bebeodende*; 33 Int.: *gehatende*; 39 Int.: *gylpende*; 32 Int.: *herigende* (cf. 17. 3, where *herigende* = *laudans*); 47 Int.: *mycliende*; 37 Int.: *seofigende*, *ib.* 43 Int.; 32 Int.: *ðanciende*, *ib.* 45 Int.; 31 Int.: *wundriende*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (4).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (4).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (2):—

APF. (2):—44. 15: *beslepte* and *gegyrede* = *circumamicta*.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (1):—

ASN. (1):—20. 3: *astœned* = *de lapide*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (1):—

DSN. (1):—41 Int.: *folce gehæftum* etc. = Bruce 89: *populus captivus* etc.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (0).

No example.

THE CHRONICLE* (46).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (13).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (9).

NSM. (2):—1097 E^{a, b} (p. 233^b): Ða uppon sancte Michaelles mæssan iiiⁱ°N^o October ætywde an selcuð steorra on æfen *scynde* & sona to setle *gange* (or pred.?).

NPM. (7):—1069 D^{a, b, c} (p. 204^m): & heom com ðær togenes Eadgar cild & Waldðeof eorl & Mærleswegen & Gospatric eorl mid Norðymbrum & ealle ða land leoden *ride* & *gange* (or both pred.?) mid unmætan here swiðe *fæge* & swa ealle anrædlice to Eoferwic foron.—1075 D^{a, b} (p. 210^m): ac he sylf & his ferestan menn ferdon eft ongear to Scotlande, sume hreowlice on fotan *gange* & sume earmlice *ride* (or both pred.?).—1123 E (p. 251^t): & riden ðær *sprece* (or pred.?). Ða aseh dune se biscop etc.—1086 E^a (p. 218^b): & twegen halige menn ðe hyrsu-medon Gode on ancersetle *wuni* ðær wæron forbearnde.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (4).

NSM. (1):—1087 E (p. 223^m): Ðas ðing *gese* se arwurða biscop Wlstan wearð swiðe gedrefed on his mode.

NPM. (1):—1083 E: & sume crupon under & gyrne cleopodon to Gode, his miltse *bidd*.

ASN. (2):—656 E^b (p. 33^t): seo papa seonde ða his writ, ðus *cwæðend*: Ic Uitalianus papa etc.—Cf. 675 E (p. 35^b): And seo papa seonde ða his gewrite to Englalande, ðus *cwæðend*.

Note: Latin Participles in The Chronicle.—Several instances of a Latin appositive participle occur in the *Chronicle* but are not translated into A.-S.: 431 E: *apparens*; 625 E: *constans*.

*The superior letters outside the parenthesis distinguish the several examples of the same year; those inside the parenthesis are explained by Plummer.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (33).

1. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (33).

NSM. (12):—1104 E (p. 239^t): on ðam Tiwæsðæge ðær æfter ætywdan feower circulas to ðam middæge onbutan ðære sunnan hwites hiwes, ælc under oðran *gebroiden* swylce hi gemette wæron.—50 F: Her Paulus *gebunden* wearð gesend to Rome (or pred.?).—755 F: & Sibertes broðer, Cynehard *gehaten*, ofsloh Cynewulf on Merantune. So: 604 A (or pred.?), 777 E, 1130 E.—Other examples:—1118 E and 1127 E^b: *gewundod*; 1154 E: *luued* (or post-positive attrib.?): 3 A: *ofsticod*; 1086 E^b: *ungederad* (or pred.?): 1048 E: *unswican* (or pred.?).

NSN. (1):—1127 E^a (p. 256^b): ðær wæs se Scotte kyng Daudid & eall ða heaued *læred* & læuued ðæt wæs on Engleland. [May be considered plural as by Plummer.]

NPM. (15):—1066 D^{a, b, c} (p. 199^m): ða Engliscan hi hindan hetelice slogon oð ðæt hig sume to scype coman, sume *adruncen* & sume eac *forbærnde* & swa mislice *forfarene*, ðæt ðær wæs lyt to lafe.—Other examples:—*gehadode*: 995 F, 1012 E, 1095 E, 1102 E; 449 A: *geleaðade*; 1083 E^a: *gewepnede* (or pred.?): *hadode*: 1014 E, 1023 D, 1046 E (manig mann ðærto ge *hadode* ge læwede); 1096 E: *hungerbitene*; 911 A: *unbefohtene* (or pred.?): 1070 E: *wepnode*.

GSM. (1):—1100 E (p. 235^b): ælces mannes *gehadodes* & læwedes.

GPM. (1):—656 E^a (p. 29^b): be his broðre ræd . . . & be al his gewiten ræd, *læred* & lawed, ðe on his kynerice wæron.

DSM. (1):—1053 C^o: se Wulfwi feng to ðam biscoprice ðe Ulf hæfde be him libbendum & *ofadræfdum*.

ASN. (2):—992 E^{a, b}: & ðæt scip genamon eall *gewæpnod* & *gewædod*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (0).

No example.

Note.—As the examples show, in many instances the participles (both present and preterite) above cited from the *Chronicle* are in immediate juxtaposition with intransitive verbs like *ætiewan* and *faran*; hence even more examples than those queried may be predicative rather than appositive.

THE LAWS (19).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (4).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (3).

ASM. (1):—Ine, c. 35: Se ðe ðeof slihð, he mot aðe gecyðan, ðæt he hine *fleondne* for ðeof sloge.

ASN. (2):—Cnut II., c. 24, Int.^{a & b}: nan ðinge . . . ne *libbende* ne *licgende*.

Note: Accusative Compounds.—Three accusative-compound participles occur in the Laws:—Ine, c. 45: Burg-bryce mon sceal betan . . . gesiðcundes monnes *landhæbbendes* xxxv; and Ine, c. 51^{a & b}: Gif gesiðcund mon *landagende* forsitte fierd, geselle cxx scill. and ðolie his landes; *unlandagende* lx scill. As the examples show, however, the participles are used attributively rather than appositively.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—Wihtræd, c. 18: Preost hine clænsie sylfæs soðe, in his halgum hrægle ætforan wiofode, ðus *cweðende*: “Ueritatem dico Christo, non mentior.”

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (15).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (15).

NSM. (1):—Ine, c. 39: Gif hwa fare *unaliefed* fram his hlaforde (MS. B. has *unalyfede*, which is perhaps a pure adverb).

NSN. (2):—Cnut II., c. 71, § 4^{a & b}: twa hors, I. *gesadelod* and oðer *ungesadelod*.

NPM. (2):—Æthelred VII., Appendix, § 7: ealle . . . *gehadode* and læwede; Wihtræd, c. 4: *ungestrodyne*.

NPN. (4):—Cnut II., c. 71, Introduction: ðæt syndon VIII. hors, IV. *gesadelode* & IV. *unsadelode*.—So *gesadelode* and *unsadelode* in Cnut II., c. 71, § 1^{a & b}.

GPM. (1):—Eadmund II., Introduction: mid minra witena geðeahte, ge *hadedra* ge læwedra.

DSM. (2):—Ine, c. 18, title: Be cirlicum ðeofe *gefongennum*; Ine, c. 20, title: Be feorran cumenum men butan wege *gemetton* [MS. H.: *gemettum*].

DSN. (2):—Ælfred, c. 10, title: Be twelfhyndes monnes wife *forlegennum*; Ælfred, c. 9, title: Be bearneacnum wife *ofsløegennum* [MS. B: Be ðam ðæt man ofslea wif mid cilde].

ASM (1):—Ælfred, c. 35, § 4: Gif he hine to preoste bescire *unbundenne*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (0).

No example.

BENEDICT¹ (72).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (63).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (25).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (12):—

NSM. (3):—2. 18: and ðus *acsiende* cwyð = 4. 21: Et *quaerens* Dominus . . . iterum dicit.—Other examples:—47. 16: *arisende* = 88. 17: *surgentes*; 52. 9: *wuniende* mid *upahefednesse* = 98. 2: *elatus*.

NPM. (9):—47. 12: hy butan elcunge *arisende* cafllice gehwylc oðerne forestæppe and to ðam Godes weorce efste = 88. 13: *absque mora surgentes* festinent.—Other examples:—

62. 15^b: *drincende* = 118. 2: *bibentibus*; 62. 15^a: *etende* = 118. 1: *comedentibus*; 134. 17*: *libbende* = 231. 8: *victitantes*; 135. 23^b*: *sittende* = 231. 36: *sedentes*; 138. 2*: *ðurhwuniende* = 233. 22: *persistentes*; *wuniende* (*fram*) = *remoti*, 134. 18* = 231. 11; = *stantes*, 135. 23^a* = 231. 35; 137. 14*: *wyrcende* = 233. 6: *operantes*.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which finite verb is usually subordinate or in immediate connection with an appositive participle (3):—

NSM. (2):—133. 13: Swa hwyle swa *onettende* efst to ðam heofonlican eðle, gefreme ærest = 206. 11: *Quisquis ergo ad patriam cœlestem festinas . . . perface*; 68. 14: *hreou-sigende* = 128. 20: *pœniteat*.

NPM. (1):—68. 21: wen is, ðæt sume oððe sleaclice lagon and slepon, oððe *sittende* mid idelre spellunge deofle to micelne forwyrcdes intingan gesealden = 130. 4: *erit forte talis qui se aut recollocet et dormiat, aut certe sedeat sibi foris, vel fabulis vacet, et detur occasio maligno*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin ablative of manner or of means (1):—

NSM. (1):—71. 7: butan he ðærrihte beforan eallum hine *dædbetende* geeaðmede = 134. 15: *nisi satisfactione ibi coram omnibus humiliatus fuerit*.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (1):—

NPM. (1):—9. 23: æfre unstaðolfæste and *woriende* = 16. 9: *semper vagi et numquam stabiles*.

5. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (1):—

NPM. (1):—9. 7: geleorniað ðæt hie *anstandonde* . . . ongean deofol . . . winnan magan = 14. 4: *et beni instructi . . . jam sine consolatione alterius . . . contra vitia pugnare sufficiunt*.

*All starred references are to the Appendix of Benedict¹.

6. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (7):—

NSM. (4):—31. 14: *geomriende* clypude = 58. 13; 24. 6: *smeagende* gehealde = 46. 24; 4. 15^c: *tremegende* = 8. 21; 60. 1: *cweðe* . . . *ðanciende* = 112. 3.

NPM. (3):—132. 1: *betende* = 204. 3; 2. 10: *elciende* = 4. 15; 135. 6: *swindende* = 231. 20.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (38).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (25):—

NSM (11):—22. 15: *wið ðone unðeaw hine bewarode se witega, ðus cweðende* = 44. 16: *quod se cavere Propheta indicat, dicens*.—So *cweðende* = *dicens*: 4. 7 = 8. 13; 24. 14 = 48. 7.—Other examples: 26. 14: *geefenlæcende* = 52. 5: *imitans*; 4. 15: *gefyllende* = 8. 21: *complens*; *gehyrende* = *audiens*, 2. 19 = 4. 25, 15. 6 = 26. 17; 30. 3: *healdende* = 56. 19: *habens*; 27. 2: *ne lætende* = 52. 10: *sustinens*; 54. 9: *ondrædende* = 100. 14: *timens*; 4. 15^a: *wyrcende* = 8. 21: *complens*.

NSF. (1):—2. 9: *sio godcunde stefn myngað and clypað, ðus cweðende* = 4. 14: *divina quotidie clamans quid nos admoneat vox dicens*.

NSN. (3):—25. 12: *Be ðam halig gewrit monað, ðus cweðende* = 50. 9: *Unde Scriptura praecipit, dicens*.—So *cweðende* = *dicens*, 27. 19 = 54. 2, 28. 15 = 54. 14.

NPM. (10):—64. 13: *we ðeah manna untrumnesse and tydernesse besceawiende gelyfað, ðæt etc.* = 122. 5: *Tamen infirmorum contuentes imbecillitatem, credimus*.—Other examples: 134. 24^{*}: *ascyriende* = 231. 16: *remoti*; 135. 27^{*}: *begytende* = 232. 2: *captantes*; 59. 21: *biddende* = 112. 2: *postulantes*; 4. 3: *clipiende* = 8. 10: *dicentes*; 70. 7: *clypiende* = 132. 14: *dicens*; 3. 14: *cweðende* = 6. 17: *dicentes*; 11. 8: *forhogiende* = 18. 21: *contemnentes*; 27. 22: *gefyllende* = 54. 5: *adimplentes*; 87. 5: *secgende* = 154. 7: *dicens*.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which finite verb generally is subordinate or is in immediate connection with an appositive participle (7):—

NSM. (6):—25. 10: *clypiende* = 50. 3: *dicit*; *cweðende* = *dicat*, 11. 6 = 18. 18, 26. 2 = 50. 20; *ib.* = *ait*, 21. 9 = 42. 8; *ib.* = *dicit*, 51. 14 = 96. 9; *ib.* = *dicant*, 82. 24 (Wells Fragment) = 152. 5.

NSN. (1):—22. 10: *clypiende* = 44. 12: *clamat*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (1):—

NPM. (1):—134. 13*: ðe . . . westestowa and ælætu and anwunung gelufiað. *geefenlæcende* Elian etc. = 231. 6: *ad imitationem* scilicet Eliae.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin equivalent (5):—

NSM. (2):—4. 10: *clypiende* = 8. 16; 101. 6: *fæstniende* = 166. 16.

NPM. (3):—131. 15: *awyrpende* (MS. F.: *awyrpen*) = 204. 1; 6. 1: *geefenlæcende* = 12. 2; 138. 8: *ðicggende* = 233. 27.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (9).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (8).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (2):—

NSM. (2):—2. 3: *gegremed* = 4. 6: *irritatus*; 28. 2: *geondead* = *angaritia*: 7. 54.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin gerundive (1):—

NSM. (1):—34. 2: æfter ðam fylige capitel of ðæra apostola lare gemyndelice butan bec *gesæd* = 64. 7: *Lectio sequatur, ex corde recitanda*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (2):—

NPM. (2):—44. 22^{a & b}: *eala ðær we asolcene and awacode on anre wucan gelæsten* = 82. 26: *quod nos tepidi utinam septimana integra persolvamus*.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin equivalent (3):—

NSM. (1):—28. 6: *geneadod* = 54. 9 (cf. 28. 2, where *geneadod* = *angariati*).

NPM. (2):—11. 16^{a & b}: *getrymede* and *anbryrde* = 20. 5.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (1).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (1):—

DPM. (1):—25. 16: *and nu fram ðam englum us betæhtum ure weore . . . beoð gebodude* = 50. 13: *et ab Angelis nobis deputatis . . . opera nostra nuntiantur*.

THE BLICKLING HOMILIES (52).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (36).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (27).

NSM. (10):—235. 12: *Ond ðus cweðende se halga Andreas asette his heafod ofer ænne his discipula & he onslep*.—Other examples:—133. 17: *cumende*; 193. 8: *dvolgende*; 249. 20: *efstende* (or pred. ?); 113. 29: *gnorningende* (by Flamme classed as pred. (§ 169), by Morris translated as appos.); 179. 20: *leogende*; *lociende*: 229. 28, 245. 8^a, 245. 16; 231. 9: *ðurhwunigende*.

NSF. (5):—5. 8^{a & b}: *Gehyron we nu to hwylcum gemete seo arwyrðe fæmne & seo halige, on hire cantice gefeonde and blissigende, sang & ðus cwæð*.—7. 16: *ðæt Maria . . . smeade & swigende ðohte hwæt seo halettung wære*. [Flamme (§ 169. 2) classes *swigende* as pred.; but Morris correctly translates: "and silently considered." *Swigende* may be considered an adverb.] 249. 1^{a & b}: *hrymende, wepende*.

NSN. (1):—199. 17 : *Da wæs he mid yrre swiðlice onstýred, forðon ðe hit [= hryðær] swa wedende eode, & swa ofermodlice ferde.* [Flamme (§ 169) classes *wedende* as pred.; but Morris correctly translates: “because it had gone about so madly and had behaved so arrogantly.” Clearly *wedende* is coördinate with *ofermodlice*, and may like it be classed as an adverb.]

NPM. (5):—225. 17 : *cumað arisende wulfas, todrifað ðine heorde.*—Other examples:—*gefeonde*: 201. 10, 203. 2 (or pred.?), 207. 8 (or pred.?): 239. 27 : *ingangende*.

NPN. (1):—243. 5 : and *ingangende* on ðæt carcern hie [= ða deoflu] gestodon on gesihðe ðæs eadigan Andreas.

DSM. (2):—115. 18^a : we him *fleondum fylgeað.*—245. 3 : *Ðus gebiddende ðam halgan Andrea Drihtnes stefn wæs geworden on Ebreisc, cweðende.*

DPM. (2):—171. 11^{a & b} : *swa him Drihten Crist, eallum rihtgelyfdum mannum wunigendum for his noman, & ðurhwuniggendum in tintregum on soðre andetnesse oð ende his lifes untweogendlice, geheht & cwæð.*

ASM. (1):—115. 18^b : & hine *feallendne lufiað.*

II. WITH AN OBJECT (9).

NSM. (4):—239. 22 : he gesæt be ðam swere *anbidende* hwæt him gelimpan scolde (or pred.?): 249. 17^{a & b} : he ðær wunode mid him seofon dagas, *lærende* and *strangende* hira heortan on geleafan . . . Cristes.—57. 7 : *spiwende.*

NSF. (2):—*cweðende*: 229. 27, 245. 4.

NPM. (1):—133. 27 : Swylce is gecweden ðæt hie ealle on yppan wunedon, ðonen *bidende* ðæs Halgan Gastes.

NPN. (1):—243. 7 : hie [= ða deoflu] gestodon on gesihðe ðæs eadigan Andreas, and hine *bismriende* mid myclere bismre, and hie cwædon.

ASM. (1):—215. 21 : *cweðendne.*

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (16).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (15).

NSM. (4):—89. 34^b: raðe he lifgende ut eode of his byrgenne mid his agenre mihte *aweht*.—87. 36: & *befealden* to Hælendes cneowum he cwæð:—Other examples:—187. 28: *gebeagod*; 225. 33: *getrymed*.

NSF. (1):—197. 20: Ðonne is ðær on neaweste sum swiðe mære burh betwih ðære sæ seo is nemned Adriaticus on ðæm munte Garganus *geseted* se is haten Sepontus.

NPM. (5):—85. 9: Hie ða swiðe forhte & *abregde* ðus cwædon.—Other examples:—221. 28^c: *gegyrede*; 221. 28^a: *gesceldode*; 221. 28^b: *gesperode*; 171. 28: *geweorðode*.

NPF. (1):—209. 36: he geseah ðæt on ðæm clife hangodan on ðæm is gean bearwum manige sweorte saula be heora handum *gebundne*. [Flamme (§ 174. 2) says this wavers between appos. and pred.]

NPN. (1):—127. 33: Swylce eac syndon on ðære myclan cirican ehta eagðyrelu swiðe mycele of glæse *geworht*. [Flamme (§ 173) thinks that *geworht* is possibly predicative, but Morris translates it as appositive.]

ASM. (2):—11. 7: Arweorðian we Crist on binne *asetene*; 181. 1: *beheafðodne*.

APF. (1):—31. 20: ðas dæda ðus *gedone* from Drihtne (but the text is corrupt).

II. WITH AN OBJECT (1).

DSF. (1):—197. 6: se ðe is on ealra ymbhwyrfte to weorðienne & to wuldrienne his ciricean, gehweðer ge his agen geweorc ge on his naman *gehalgod* (but the passage is corrupt).

Note.—The text is too corrupt to construe *ahafen* in 115. 32.

ÆLFRIC'S HOMILIES,* THORPE (676).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (477).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (203).

NSM. (90):—II. 78^b: *se sceaða on hine gelyfende his synna geandette*. So: I. 62^{b1}; II. 130^{a6}.—II. 132^{b1&2}: *se biscop, scinende on . . . geearnungum and . . . geðincðum, on heofenan rice, mid ðam Ælme Sc. on ecere blisse rixiende wuldrað*. So *scinende*: I. 466^a; II. 352^{a2}, 502^{b1}.—Other examples:—I. 386^{a2}: *andbidigende*; I. 390^{b3}: *arisende*; I. 226^b: *astigende*; II. 136^{a1}: *awegferende*; II. 176^{b1}: *bifigende*; *blissigende*: I. 340^{a1&2}, 580^b, 596^{a4&5}, II. 426^a; II. 300^{b1}: *byrnende*; I. 516^b: *cnucigende*; I. 124^a: *dædbetende*; *drohtni(g)ende*: I. 398^b, II. 546^{b1}; II. 82^b: *ehtende*; *fægnigende*: I. 596^{a1}, II. 312^{a3}; II. 442^b: *farende*; *feallende*: I. 380^{b2}, 390^{b2}; *forhtigende*: II. 40^b, 142^{b2}, 176^{b2}; *forðstæppende*: I. 278^a, 500^{a2}, II. 90^{a1}; II. 360^a: *fundigende*; II. 176^{b4}: *ge-seonde*; I. 56^{b1}: *gewitende*; I. 410^a: *gyddigende*; II. 246^{a1}: *haftigende*; *hangi(g)ende*: I. 594^{a1}, 596^{b8}, II. 256^a, 260^b; I. 380^{b3}: *hreosende*; II. 302^a: *hrymende* (or *pred.*?); II. 152^{b1}: *liegende*; II. 474^b: *lutiende*; *lybbende*: II. 152^{b2}, 364^{b1}, 500^{a2}, 502^{b2}; I. 54^b: *miltsigende*; II. 182^{a2}: *onbe-seonde*; II. 134^a: *plegende*; I. 294^b: *reordigende*; *sittende*: I. 346^{a1}, 548^b, II. 134^{b2}, 382^{b1}; II. 500^{a1}: *smeagende*; II. 138^{a2}: *standende*; *suwi(g)ende*: II. 230^a, 350^{a2}; I. 480^b: *sweltende*; I. 338^{b2}: *syngigende*; I. 596^{b2}: *tihtende*; *truwi-(g)ende*: I. 2^b, II. 478^{a1}; I. 374^a: *ðeotende*; II. 168^{a3}: *ðrutigende*; II. 204^{b1}: *ðurhwunigende*; II. 130^{a3}: *underfonde*; II. 140^{b3}: *unforhtigende*; II. 164^b: *wedende*; I. 52^b: *welwillende* (or *adverb.*?); *wepende*: II. 134^b; *writende*: II. 332^{b1}, 348^{a1}; *wunigende*: I. 134^a, 150^{a2&3}, 232^a, 326^b, 346^{a2}, II. 142^{b3}, 440^a, 498^{b1}; I. 432^a: *ysrigende*.

* The superior letters (a and b) refer respectively to the top and the bottom of the page; the superior figures distinguish the several examples.

NSF. (11):—I. 438^{b 1 & 2}: heo drohtnode gemænlice mid ðam apostolicum werode, *infarende* and *utfarende* betwux him.—Other examples:—I. 98^{a 2}: *donde*; I. 146^b: *lybbende*; I. 66^{b 1}: *rarigende*; I. 440^{a 1}: *smeagende*; I. 564^{a 2}: *utflo-wende*; *wepende*: I. 566^{b 1}, II. 146^b; II. 434^b: *writende*; II. 182^{b 4}: *wunigende*.

NSN. (7):—I. 372^{b 2}: Ðæt folc ða mid anre stemne *clypigende* cwæð. So: I. 594^{b 2}.—Other examples:—I. 566^{b 2}: *blissigende*; II. 140^{a 3}: *bræstligende*; II. 450^b: *hreosende*; II. 142^{b 1}: *sprecende*; I. 296^b: *wunigende*.

NS. M. or F. (2):—I. 546^{b 1 & 2}: fyligde heap . . . manna . . . *ðurhwunigende*, to Criste *geðeodende*.

NS. F. or N. (1):—I. 324^{b 1}: gecynd . . . *wunigende*.

NPM. (62):—I. 610^{a 2 & 3}: Sind eac sume steorran leocht-beamede, færllice *arisende* and hrædlice *gewitende*.—I. 592^{b 1 & 2}: ðær ge symle blissiað, *blowende* and mid Criste *rixigende*. So *rixigende* in I. 500^b.—Other examples: I. 534^b: *bid-dende*; *blissigende*: I. 56^{b 4}, 564^a; II. 258^a: *bugende*; I. 596^{b 4}: *clypigende*; II. 454^{a 1}: *cumende*; I. 68^b: *dædbetende*; *drohtni(g)ende*: I. 536^b, II. 158^{b 2}, 296^{b 2}, 404^a; *dweligende*: I. 340^b, II. 124^b; *feallende*: I. 38^b, 560^{a 2}, II. 126^b, 214^a, 236^b, 246^{b 1}; II. 34^{a 2}: *feohtende*; II. 334^{a 1}: *fleogende*; I. 352^a: *forðstæppende*; II. 130^{b 1}: *gelyfende*; I. 46^b: *hrymende*; II. 138^{a 3}: *licgende*; I. 544^{b 2}: *lutigende*; II. 130^{a 4}: *lybbende*; *miltsigende*: I. 370^a, 540^b; I. 78^{b 2}: *niðerfeallende*; *scinende*: II. 136^{b 1}, 496^a; I. 606^{b 3}: *singende*; *sprecende*: II. 248^b, 284^{a 2}; II. 136^{b 2}: *stymende*; II. 212^b: *suwigende*; *sweltende*: II. 34^{a 3}, 554^a; I. 496^{b 2}: *syngigende*; I. 606^{b 1}: *tæcende*; I. 606^{b 2}: *tihtende*; I. 84^{a 1}: *upaspringende*; I. 334^{b 3}: *wædli-gende*; *wedende*: I. 50^{b 1}, 470^a, II. 232^b; II. 454^{a 2}: *wepende*; *wunigende*: I. 150^{a 3}, 228^{b 2}, 238^a, 338^a (cf. *Abs. Ptc. in A.-S.*, p. 11), 406^{a 2}, 544^{b 1}, 610^b, II. 204^{b 2}; II. 236^a: *yrsigende*.

NPN. (2):—II. 336^a: Ða deoflu *feohtende* scuton heora fyrenan flan ongean ða sawle;—II. 350^{b 3}: *hlihhende*.

NP. M. or N. (1):—I. 60^{a 1}: weras and wif . . . *fægnigende*.

GPM. (2):—I. 30^{b 2}: wearð gesewen micel menigu heofon-lices werodes God herigendra and *singendra* (or substantive?). So: I. 38^{a 2}

DSM. (4):—I. 494^a: and *clypigendum* Drihtne to ðam ecan life caſſice geandwyr̃t (or Abs.? Cf. *Abs. Ptc. in A.-S.*, p. 10).—I. 324^{b 3}: to ðam geleaffullan heape, on ðysre worulde *wunigende*.—Other examples:—I. 362^a: *cumendum* (or Abs.? Cf. *Abs. Ptc. in A.-S.*, p. 10); II. 180^{b 1}: *ridendum*.

DPM. (6):—II. 186^{b 1 & 2}: cyððe his forðsið on ær sumum his leorning-cnihtum mid him *drohtnigendum* and sumum oðrum on fyrlenum stowum *wunigendum*.—Other examples:—*gelyfendum*: I. 228^b, II. 284^{a 3}; I. 440^{a 2}: *onlociendum*; II. 284^{a 4}: *sprecendum*.

DDM. (1):—II. 172^{b 2}: ne æteowode ic inc bam *slapendum*?

ASM. (4):—II. 418^{a 3, 4, 5}: underfoh me nu *behreowsiendne*, ðone ðe ðu oð ðis *andigendne* and *tælendne* forbære; I. 496^{b 1}: *lutigende*.

ASF. (2):—I. 376^a: se dry worhte ða ærene næddran, *styrigende* swylce heo cucu wære; II. 344^{a 2}: *byrnende*.

ASN. (2):—II. 508^{b 1}: cwæð ðæt he hit [= *treow*] underfenge *feallende* to foldan.—II. 150^a: *licgende*.

APM. (4):—II. 246^{b 4}: *feallende*; I. 334^{b 1}: *licgende*; II. 154^a: *lybbende*; II. 242^{b 2}: *sittende*.

APF. (2):—II. 350^{b 1 & 2}: ða deoflu gelæddon fif manna sawla, hreowlice *gnorniende* and *grimetende*, into ðam fyre.

2. WITH AN OBJECT (274).

NSM. (176):—II. 142^a: Ða begann se wer dreorig wepan, *anðracigende* ðæs ungelimpes.—II. 188^a: stod sum arwurðe wer mid . . . gyrlum, *arigende* etc.—II. 164^{a 2}: Benedictus . . . tæhte him ðæs dædbote, *bebeodende* ðæt etc.—I. 372^{b 1}: Se apostol genealæhte ðam lice mid aðenedum earmum, ðus *biddende*. So: I. 126^{a 1}, 418^{b 1}, 428^{a 1} (w. gen.), 434^b (ib.), 452^a (ib.), 456^b, 464^{b 1}, 598^{a 3}, II. 26^a, 110^b, 134^{b 3}, 138^b, 144^{b 2}, 180^{b 2}, 304^{a 2}, 304^b, 418^{a 1}, 498^{b 2} (w. gen.), 504^{b 2}.—I.

62^a: Iohannes beseah ðus *cweðende* (*cwæðende*). So: I. 50^{b 2}, 66^{b 3}, 78^{b 1 & 3}, 88^b, 98^{a 1}, 120^{a & b}, 124^b, 126^a, 192^b, 206^a, 208^b, 222^b, 242^a, 264^a, 294^a, 314^b, 324^{b 2}, 328^a, 350^b, 358^{a 1 & 2}, 364^a, 366^a, 370^a, 376^b, 380^a, 380^{b 1}, 390^a, 390^{b 1}, 404^b, 406^{a 1}, 418^{b 2}, 430^a, 436^b, 442^b, 450^a, 450^b, 480^a, 482^a, 502^{b 2}, 510^{b 2}, 520^a (= *dicens*), 522^{a & b}, 530^a, 534^a, 538^{b 1}, 548^a, 550^{a 2}, 560^{b 3}, 568^{a 1 & 2}, 568^{b 2}, 570^b, 572^{b 2}, 576^a, 596^{a 3}, 600^{b 1}, 604^b, 606^a, 610^{a 4}; II. 10^b, 12^b, 14^a, 16^a, 34^{a 4}, 52^b, 62^{a 2}, 72^b, 84^{a 1}, 112^{a 1 & 2}, 182^{b 1}, 266^b, 288^a, 312^{b 1}, 328^b, 384^a, 400^{a 1}, 406^b, 414^{b 2}, 418^{a 2}, 428^{a 1}, 428^b, 432^b, 464^b, 468^{a 1}, 538^a, 542^b, 562^b, 576^a.—Other examples:—II. 540^{b 1}: *belæwende*; *bigende*: II. 298^b, 408^b; II. 184^{b 1}: *blissigende*; *bodi(g)ende*: I. 370^{b 1}, 560^{a 1}, II. 130^{a 1}; II. 414^{b 1}: *bysmrigende* (w. dat.); I. 48^a: *clypigende*; I. 66^{a 2}: *ferigende*; II. 446^{b 2}: *forbugende*; II. 130^{a 2}: *forhogiende*; II. 168^{b 1}: *forhtigende*; II. 352^{a 3}: *fylgende* (w. dat.); II. 418^{b 1 & 2}: *geefenlæcende*; I. 78^{a 2}: *gehyrende*; II. 376^{b 1 & 2}: *getacnigende*; *hæbbende*: I. 126^a, 130^{a 2}; II. 432^b: *herigende*; *lærende*: I. 370^{b 2}, 596^{a 2}; I. 400^{b 1}: *liccetende*; I. 600^{b 2}: *manigende*; II. 320^a: *ofersceawigende*; II. 446^{b 1}: *ondrædende*; I. 508^a: *onstandende* (should be *on standende* ?); *reccende*: II. 350^{a 1}, 356^b; I. 388^b: *sawende* (or pred. ?); *sceawi(g)ende*: II. 32^{a 2}, 120^{a 3}; *secende*: I. 338^{b 1} (or pred. ?), II. 358^{a 2}, 448^a; I. 596^{b 3}: *secgende*; I. 388^{a 1}: *seðende*; II. 138^{a 1}: *syngende*; II. 334^b: *smeagende*; II. 182^{a 3}: *swerigende*; *swuteligende*: II. 400^{a 2}, 466^a; II. 540^{b 2}: *teonde*; *tihtende*: I. 528^{a 1}, II. 328^a; II. 326^{b 1}: *toctypigende*; *todælende*: I. 322^b (w. dat.), II. 338^b, 344^{a 1}; I. 106^b: *towurpende*; II. 128^b: *ðeowigende* (w. dat.); *ðreagende*: II. 170^b, 256^{a 2}; I. 608^{a 1}: *undergynnende*; II. 346^{b 2}: *wilnigende* (w. gen.); *writende*: II. 272^{b 3}, 364^{b 2}; I. 572^{b 1}: *wyr-cende*.

NSF. (16):—II. 76^b: Seo endlyfte tid bið seo forwerode ealdnyss, ðam deaðe *genealæcende*.—Other examples:—*aræf-ni(g)ende*: I. 30^{b 3}, 42^{b 1 & 2}; *biddende*: I. 66^{b 2}, 566^{a 2}, II. 184^{a 1}; *cweðende*: I. 104^b, 194^b, 388^{a 2}, 426^{a 3}, II. 42^a, 432^{b 2}; *heorc-nigende*: II. 438^b (w. dat.), 440^{a 2} (*ib.*).—I. 98^{a 3}: *ondrædende*; II. 182^{b 3}: *ðeowigende*.

NSN. (8):—II. 578^b: folc ham gewende, *ðancigende* ðæm Ælmihtigan ealra his goda.—Other examples:—*biddende*: I. 68^a³, II. 140^b²; *cweðende*: I. 200^a, 594^b³, II. 110^a, 114^a; II. 256^b: *ðreagende*.

NS. M. or N. (1):—II. 342^a: sang . . . *cweðende* etc.

NPM. (61):—I. 38^a³: hi . . . godum mannum sibbe bodedon, swutellice *æteowiende* ðæt etc.—Other examples:—II. 200^b: *anbidigende* (w. gen.); II. 548^a: *andswariende*; *befrinende*: I. 78^a, 104^a (= *dicentes*); *biddende*: I. 74^a, 562^b, II. 30^b², 160^b², 176^a, 396^b, 484^a, 486^b; II. 252^b¹: *bigende*; *bodigende*: II. 492^b¹; II. 506^a: *clypigende*; *cweðende*: I. 4^a, 64^a, 68^b², 510^b¹ (= *dicentes*), 538^b⁴, 560^b³, 596^b⁵, II. 112^a³, 172^b¹, 252^b², 300^a, 484^b, 488^a¹; II. 168^b²: *cyðende*; II. 534^b²: *drincende*; II. 492^b³: *dweiliende* (or pred. ?); II. 534^b¹: *etende*; I. 588^b: *ferigende*; I. 526^a: *gadrigende*; II. 226^b: *geueenlæcende*; I. 560^a³: *gehyrsumigende* (w. dat.); I. 90^a: *hæbbende*; *healdende*: I. 528^a², 538^b³; *herigende*: I. 32^a², 42^b⁴; II. 474^a: *leasetende* (or pred. ?); *mærsigende*: I. 544^a², II. 194^b; II. 248^b²: *meldigende*; II. 34^a¹: *oferswiðende*; II. 490^b²: *onlihtende*; II. 248^a: *sleande*; I. 426^b¹: *swingende*; *ðancigende* (w. dat. and gen.): I. 102^a, 606^b⁴, II. 272^b¹; *ðeowigende* (w. dat.): II. 70^b, 310^a; II. 250^a¹: *wre-gende*; *wuldrigende*: I. 32^a, 42^b³; II. 130^a⁵: *wundrigende* (w. gen.); II. 490^b¹: *wyrcende*.

NPN. (4):—II. 56^b: Æt ðam giftum wæron gesette six stæne wæterfatu, *healdende* ænlipige twyfealde gemetu oððe ðryfealde.—II. 548^a: stodon twa heofonlice werod ætforan ðære cytan dura, *singende* heofonlicene sang (or pred. ?);—*cweðende*: II. 414^b³, 416^a².

NP. M. or N. (1):—I. 60^a²: weras and wif . . . *cweðende*.

GP. (2):—I. 30^b¹: wearð gesewen micel menigu heofonlices werodes God *herigendra*. So: I. 38^a¹.

DPM. (1):—II. 440^b¹: swa swa he behet eallum him *ðeniendum*.

APM. (4):—I. 334^b²: Manega Lazaras ge habbað nu liegende æt eowrum gatum, *biddende* eowre oferflowend-

nysse. So: II. 330^a.—Other examples:—I. 28^a: *bodigende*; I. 296^a: *cweðende*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (199).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (194).

NSM. (94):—II. 182^{a1}: he ða ðearle *abbliged* aweg tengde.
—I. 10^a: ðeos ðrynnys is an God; ðæt is se Fæder and his wisdom of him sylfum æfre *acenned*. So: I. 34^b, 150^{a1}, 222^a, 278^{b2}, 464^{b2}, 500^{a1}, II. 42^{b3}, 204^{b3}, 366^a.—Other examples:—II. 352^{a1}: *afylled*; II. 510^b: *afyrht* (or pred. ?); I. 550^{a1}: *ahafen*; *ahangen*: II. 598^a, 606^b; *astreht*: I. 426^{b2}, II. 186^{b3}; II. 332^{b3}: *æðelboren*; I. 434^{a2}: *awed*; II. 254^b: *awend*; I. 598^b: *aworpen*; II. 120^{a1}: *befangen*; I. 426^{a2}: *befrinen*; I. 56^{b2}: *bewæfed*; II. 382^{b3}: *fornumen*; I. 66^{a1}: *forseyldigod*; II. 424^a: *fulfremed*; I. 594^{b1}: *geæbyligd*; I. 414^{b2}: *geancsumod*; II. 250^{a2}: *gebolgen*; *gebyld*: II. 390^b, 412^{b2}; *gedrefed*: I. 414^{b1}; II. 140^{a1}: *geflogen*; *gefrætewod*: II. 118^b; II. 306^{a1}: *gefullod*; I. 52^{a2}: *gefultumod*; *geglen(e)g(e)d*: II. 512^{b2}, 518^{b2}; II. 130^{b2}: *gehadod*; II. 244^a: *gehalgod*; *gehaten*: I. 502^a, II. 152^{a2}, 304^{a1}, 308^{a1}, 332^{b2}, 348^{a2}, 412^{b1}, 488^{a2}; *gehathyr*: II. 374^b, 424^b; II. 250^{b2}: *gelædd*; *gelaðod*: I. 128^a, II. 54^a; II. 270^b: *geliffæst*; II. 250^{b1}: *gelogod*; *gelyfed*: II. 152^{a1}, 332^{b4}; I. 468^{b2}: *gemartyrod*; II. 158^{b1}: *gemenged*; II. 348^{a3}: *gemetegod*; I. 588^b: *geneadod*; II. 24^b: *geripod*; II. 42^{b2}: *gesceapen*; *gescryd(d)*: I. 528^b, 578^b (or pred. ?), II. 312^{b3}, 382^{b2}, 512^{b1}; *geset(t)*: I. 126^{a3}, 130^{a1}, 218^{a1}; II. 234^b: *gesworen*; I. 428^b: *gelogen*; I. 614^b: *geðread*; II. 36^b: *geðungen*; II. 516^{b2}: *gewæht*; *gewæpnod*: I. 450^{b2}, II. 334^{a2}, 502^a; *geworht*: I. 278^{b1}, II. 42^{b1}; I. 426^{a1}: *gewreged*; II. 518^a: *gewuldrod*; I. 52^{a1}: *oftorfod*; II. 150^b: *onbryrd*; I. 290^a: *rihtgelyfed*; II. 514^a: *toswollen*; II. 372^a: *unabeden*; II. 204^{a1}: *unbegunnen*; I. 428^{a2}: *ungeaxod*; II. 336^b: *ungederod*; II. 204^{a2}: *ungeendod*.

NSF. (14):—II. 546^{b3}, 548^{a1}: Hire modor, Redempta *gehaten*, stod hire ofer, micclum *afyrht* for ðam heofonlican

leohte. So *gehaten*: II. 284^{a1}, 306^{a2}, 584^a.—Other examples:—I. 446^a: *ahafen*; II. 58^a: *astreht*; I. 502^b: *aðrawn*; I. 60^b: *awreht*; II. 90^{a2}: *fortredene*; II. 138^{b2}: *gelaðod*; II. 308^b: *getintregod*; II. 498^a: *geworht*; II. 586^b: *ymbscryd* (or pred.?).

NSN. (16):—I. 184^{b1&2}: *ða fif hlafas wæron swylce hit sæd wære, na on eorðan besawen, ac gemenigfyld fram ðam ðe eorðan geworhte*.—Other examples:—II. 572^a: *afyrht*; II. 494^{b1&2}: *agoten*; I. 352^b: *beclysed*; II. 140^{a2}: *bepæht*; II. 326^{a2}: *forscyldgod*; II. 272^{b2}: *geblodgod*; *gehaten*: II. 312^{b2}, 438^a; I. 508^{b2}: *gescrydd*; I. 508^{b1}: *gesett*; II. 510^{b3}: *geðuht*; II. 140^{b1}: *ofscamod*; II. 510^{b2}: *toslopen*.

NS. F. or N. (1);—I. 42^{b4}: *gemynd . . . geswutelod*.

NPM. (20):—I. 608^{a2}: *ðæt we huru his genealæcendan dom, mid mislicum swinglum afærede, ondrædon*.—Other examples:—II. 326^{b2}: *acennede*; I. 98^{a4}: *ascyrede*; *asende*: I. 348^{a1&2}, 540^a; I. 560^{b1}: *fordemde*; *fornumene*: II. 246^{b2}, 348^b; I. 84^{a2}: *forsodene*; I. 566^{a1}: *gedrehte*; I. 298^b: *geglengede*; I. 504^b: *gelærde*; I. 10^{a2}: *gesceapene*; I. 538^{b2}: *gescrydde*; II. 396^{b4}: *gewæhte*; II. 246^{b3}: *gewæpnode*; I. 526^b: *gewriðene*; I. 544^{b4}: *gewunode*; I. 610^{a1}: *leoht-beamede*.

NPF. (3):—II. 174^a: *Twa mynecenna wæron drohtnigende on gehendnysse his mynstres of æðelborenre mægðe asprungene*.—Other examples:—I. 366^b: *bepæhte*; II. 298^a: *geendode*.

NPN. (3):—II. 380^a: *deoflu, ðe feollon to his fotum, mid fyrhte fornumene* (or pred.?).—II. 326^{a1}: *comon cwelmbære deoflu swutellice gesewene, on sweartum hiwe, in to ðam cilde*.—II. 354^b: *He befran ða hwam ða gebytlu gemynte wæron, swa mærllice getimbrode*.

GPM. (1):—II. 290^a: *gelaðunge gecorenra manna to ðam ecan life*.

DSM. (2):—II. 546^a: *G. awrat be sumum geðyldigan were, Stephanus gehaten*.—II. 308^{a2}: *æt foran ðam casere, Aurelianus genamod*.

DSF. (2):—II. 494^a: becomon to anre heafodbyrig, Suanir *gehaten*;—II. 546^{b2}: be sumere mynecyne, Romula *gehaten*.

DPM. (1):—II. 286^a: Sume gewemdon englum on heora gesthusum *underfangenum* ðurh cumliðnyse.

ASM. (21):—II. 596^{b1, 2, & 3}: Ic gelyfe on ænne Crist, Hælend Drihten, ðone ancennedan Godes Sunu, of ðam Fæder *acenned* ær ealle worulda, God of Gode, Leoht of Leohte, Soðne God of Soðum Gode, *acennedne* na *geworhtne*. So *acennedne*: I. 198^a.—II. 168^{a1}: asende his swurdboran, Riggo *gehaten* (*sic!*). So *gehaten* = an accusative: II. 358^{a1}, 468^{a2} (= *eo nomine*), 480^b, 492^{b2}.—II. 162^{b1}: asende him ænne focan to lace mid attre *gemencged*.—Other examples:—II. 112^b: *befangenne*; II. 598^{b2}: *forlorenne*; II. 92^a: *forðræstne*; II. 280^a: *gebrædne*; II. 252^a: *gecigedne*; II. 120^{a2}: *geendbyrdne*; I. 210^a: *gefreatewodne*; I. 330^b: *geglenegedne*; II. 416^{b2}: *gehæftne*; *gescrydne*: II. 168^{a2}, 500^b.

ASF. (2):—II. 182^{b2}: se halga wer hæfde ane swustor, Scolastica *gehaten*; II. 124^a: *afandode*.

ASN. (7):—II. 264^{a2}: Ne ete ge of ðam lambe nan ðing hreaw, ne on wætere *gesoden*, ac *gebræd* to fyre. So *gesoden*: II. 278^{b1}.—Other examples:—II. 260^{b2}: *gedeced*; II. 198^b: *gefadod*; I. 42^{a2}: *gehalgod*; I. 134^b: *gelacod*; I. 42^{a1}: *gewemmed*.

APM. (3):—II. 516^{b1}: oððe hwam betæhst ðu us nu *forlætene*?—Other examples:—II. 486^{b1}: *gedrehte*; I. 568^{b1}: *gescrydde*.

APF. (3):—I. 68^{a1 & 2}: ge begeaton eow ðeosterfulle wununga mid dracum *afyllede*, and . . . mid . . . witum *afyllede*.—I. 506^a: Ða gesawon hi ætforan ðære cyrcan norðdura, on ðam marmanstane, swilce mannes fotlæsta fæstlice on ðam stane *geðyde*. [Though Sweet and others give *fotlæst* as masculine only, it seems to be feminine here. See, too, I. 508^a.]

APN. (1):—I. 218^{a2}: se sacerð bletsian sceole palmtwigu and hi swa *geblotsode* ðam folce dælan.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (5).

NSN. (1):—I. 594^{a2}: *ðu ceaf, ecum ontendnyssum gegearcod, gehyr me.*

NPM. (1):—I. 544^{b3}: *deorum gefeſlæhte, to engelicum spræcum gewunode, on micclum wundrum ſcinende wæron.*

NPN. (1):—II. 314^b: *manega ſind beboda mannum geſette (or pred. ?).*

GSF. (1):—II. 292^a: *tihð ðurh miltsunge him forgyfenre mihte (or Abs. Dat. ? See Abs. Ptc. in A.-S., p. 11).*

APM. (1):—II. 598^{b1}: *geſcyld ðine ðeowan ðinum mægenðrymme underðeodde.*

Note: Latin Participles occur as follows:—(1) untranslated: credentes, persuadentes, secuti, in Pref. to I.; (2) translated: dicens (dicentes) = cweðende, I. 510^{b1}, 520^a = befrinende in I. 104^a;—raptum = ðe wæs gegripen, II. 332^b;—circumdata = ymbſcryd, II. 586^b.

ÆLFRIC'S LIVES OF SAINTS (543).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (335).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (129).

NSM. (54):—442. 24: *com se arwurða swyðun to sumum . . . smyðe on swefne æteowiende wurðlice geglencged.*—xxviii. 6: *Se casere wæs cene and reðe and deofolgild beeode dwollice libbende.*—482. 182: *he sona wearð hal beorhte locigende se ðe blind wæs.*—Other examples:—478. 92: *blyssigende*; xxiii. B. 199¹: *clypigende*; 156. 134: *drohtnigende*; xxiii. B. 640: *eftcyrrende*; 448. 100: *fægningende*;—*feallende*: 396. 222, xxviii. 114; 282. 5: *feohtend [sic]*; xxiii. B. 199²: *forðgangende*; 14. 77: *forðsteppende*; xxiii. B. 645: *geðrystlæcende*;—*hangigende*: 428. 212, 227, xxix. 254; xxiii. B. 733: *hawigende*; *heofende*: xxx. 180; xxiii. B. 366: *hlihhende*; 526. 617: *hlydende*; 466. 417: *hoppende*; xxiii. B. 726: *hreowsigende*; 174.

66: *licgende*; xxx. 47: *nytende*; xxiii. B. 154: *restende*; *riri(g)ende*: 146. 474, 412. 480; 178. 158: *scinende*; xxiii. B. 153²: *sittende*; 452. 184: *siðigende*; xxiii. B. 667¹: *smeagende*; xxiii. B. 664: *sorgigende*; xxiii. B. 164: *standende*; xxv. 156: *sweltende*; 76. 443: *teonde*; xxv. 14: *truwigende*; xxiii. B. 186²: *ðenigende*; xxx. 3²: *ðeonde*; xxiii. B. 231: *ðeowigende*; xxv. 472: *understandende*; xxx. 258: *utgangende*; 82. 550: *waciende*; xxiii. B. 162: *wendende*; *wepende*: 158. 199, 510. 371, xxiii. B. 191, xxx. 327; *wundrigende*: 518. 513, 534. 745; *wunigende*: 12. 33, 78. 494¹, 336. 1, 470. 472¹.

NSF. (37):—xxiii. B. 431: *ic cwæð to hire geornlice and unforbugendlice behealdende and cweðende*.—xxiii. B. 472: *mine cneowa gebigde beforan ðam halgan andwritan ðysum wordum biddende*.—212. 34: *Heo aras ða bifigende for ðære beorhtan gesihðe (or pred. ?)*. So: xxiii. B. 461.—Other examples:—192. 378: *blissigende*; *cweðende (cwæðende)*: xxiii. B. 264¹, 636, 696; xxiii. B. 668¹: *eftcyrrende*; 196. 16²: *egsigende*; 434. 42: *fæstende*; xxiii. B. 510: *fleonde*; *gangende*: xxiii. B. 685, xxvi. 219; xxiii. B. 511²: *gehihtende*; xxiii. B. 702: *geomrigende*; xxiii. B. 274: *hangigende*; xxiii. B. 486: *hawigende*; *heofende*: xxiii. B. 428, 721; xxiii. B. 544: *hreafigende*; xxiii. B. 334: *licgende*; xxiii. B. 701: *locigende*; 196. 16¹: *olecende*; *scinende*: 250. 197, xxvii. 117; xxiii. 548: *sorgigende*; xxiii. B. 283: *syrwiende*; xxiii. B. 457: *ðrystlæcende*; *wepende*: xxiii. B. 485, 494, 496, 541, 546, 720; *wunigende*: 20. 177², 38. 230.¹

NSN. (5):—78. 468: *wunode an mæden mærllice drohtnigende geond feowertig geare fec fægre gehealden*.—Other examples:—xxvi. 159: *feallende*; 88. 652: *flitende*; 184. 242: *grymetende*; 44. 327: *wunigende*.

NPM. (17):—98. 154: *Ða eoden ða hæðengyldan into heora temple clypigende hlude to ðam leasan gode*.—226. 110: *ða clypodon ðær ðry weras cnucigende æt ðæm geate*.—Other examples:—438. 99: *blyssigende*; 514. 445: *dreori-*

gende; 192. 379: *drohtniende*; XXIII. B. 115: *gereordende*; 110. 338¹: *glitiniende*; 240. 18: *libbende*; *liegende*: 54. 62, XXV. 496; XXV. 513: *ridende*; 326. 83: *sprecende*; XXV. 779: *standende*; 326. 100: *ðancigende*; 94. 77: *ðeonde*; XXVI. 186: *wundrigende*; 70. 330: *wunigende*.

NPN. (4):—224. 86^{1 & 2}: *binuan ðam wæron ealle cuce nytenu creopende and gangande* (or pred.?).—Other examples:—XXVII. 39: *dynigende*; XXIV. 53: *grymetende*.

DSM. (2):—14. 79: *Nis nanum menn on . . . life libbendum nanes ðinges swa mycel neod*.—XXIII. B. 673: *Ðus mid tearum biddende, him eft oðer geðanc on befeoll ðus cweðende*. [I omit *he* after *Ðus*, as does Skeat's "B."]

DSF. (3):—212. 40: *forgif me ða to clænnysse to criste farendre*.—XXIII. B. 752: *geic eac gebiddan ðeahhwæðere for me of ðyssere worulde hleorende on ðam monðe etc.*;—36. 185: *liegendre*.

ASM. (2):—78. 489: *gelædde hine on mergen forð swiðe fægres hiwes buton ælcum womme and wel sprecande*;—78. 481²: *unsprecende*.

ASF. (2):—334. 216: *Se sang geswutelað ða halgan ðrynnysse on anre godcundnysse æfre wunigende*; *ib.* XXIX. 5(?).

APM. (3):—388. 80: *se cyning sende swyðe fela ærendracan to . . . eardum embe ðe axiende*.—Other examples:—XXX. 429: *gebiddende* (or pred.?): 32. 130: *liegende*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (206).

NSM. (114):—XXVI. 137^{1 & 2}: *he ðærbinnan wunode godes lof arærende and gerihltæcende ðæt folc*.—XXIII. B. 96: *ðas weorc Zosimus behealdende hine sylfne geornlice to fulfremednysse aðened[e] gemang ðam emnwyrhtum*. So: XXX. 233.—60. 166: [he] *com to basilie biddende fulluhtes*.—62. 193: *Ða asende se ealdorman sona to basilie, biddende earmlice ðæt etc.*—78. 487: *ac se bisceop . . . wacode ealle ða niht mid ðam wædlian hreoflian, biddende ðone hælend*

ðæt he etc.—410. 443: Ða . . . mannases . . . to ðam ælmihtigan clypode, *biddende* miltsunge ealra his mandæda. Other instances of *biddende*: 66. 278, 106. 278, 122. 115, 224. 69, 312. 80, 314. 109, 316. 135, 420. 95, 448. 103, 458. 273, xxiii. B. 719, xxv. 487, xxvii. 212, xxix. 56.—96. 91: he him asende ðisne frofer ðus *cwæðende* etc. So *cwæðende* (*cwæðende*): 22. 190, 154. 106² (or pred.?), 182. 203², 250. 212², 314. 109, 364. 3, 378. 216, 386. 29, 408. 417, 444. 64; xxiii. B. 667², 668², 670, 674, xxiv. 103, xxvi. 100; xxx. 45, 98.—Other examples:—xxiii. B. 161: *ahæbbende*; xxiii. B. 672: *berende*; xxiii. B. 796²: *bletsigende*;—*bodigende*: 346. 135 (or pred.?), xxix. 114 (or pred.?), 144 (or pred.?)—xxiii. B. 153¹: *brucende* (w. gen.); 366. 48: *bysmrigende*; *clypigende*: 180. 181 (or pred.?), 182. 203¹, 250. 212¹, 474. 49, xxiii. B. 601; 220. 33: *cunnigende*; xxiii. B. 638: *cyssende*; xxiii. B. 639²: *donde*; xxiii. B. 271: *foresettende*; 90. 666: *fremiende* (w. dat.); 64. 221: *gebysmriende*; *gehyrende*: xxiii. B. 587, xxx. 246; xxiii. B. 678: *geseonde*; *hæbbende*: 284. 10, xxiii. B. 78, 151, 669; *herigende*: 80. 523, 156. 139, 222. 35, xxiii. B. 796³, xxix. 296 (or pred.?): xxx. 179: *hopiende* (w. gen.); 154. 106¹: *hrymende* (or pred.?): xxiii. B. 292: *hyrende*; xxiii. B. 689: *hyrsumigende* (w. dat.); xxiii. B. 363: *ofergeotende*; xxiii. B. 185: *ofergetiligende*; xxx. 4: *oferhtlifigende*; xxviii. 37: *offrigende*; 320. 5: *sawende*; *seegende*: 246. 135, 300. 242, 410. 422, 462. 331, xxv. 541¹, xxvii. 190²; xxv. 541²: *seðende*; 28. 59: *singende*; xxvii. 190¹: *sleande*; *smeagende*: xxiii. B. 280 (= *putans*), xxvii. 137; *tihtende*: 84. 574, 96. 103, 306. 313; xxiii. B. 680: *tweonigende*; ðanci(*g*)ende (w. gen. & dat.): 28. 75, xxvii. 102; ðeowigende (w. dat.): 330. 152, 486. 251; 82. 538: ðingiende (w. dat.); xxiii. B. 186¹: *understandende*; *wilnigende* (w. gen.): 220. 28, xxvi. 56; *wuldrigende*: xxiii. B. 639¹, 679, 796¹, xxvii. 217; *wundriende* (w. gen.): 54. 77, 56. 98; *wurðigende*: xxvii. 105, xxix. 232; *wyrcende*: 78. 494², 470. 472².

NSF. (36):—206. 178 : *arn seo burhwaru endemes to ðam arleasan axiende mid gehlyde etc.*—Other examples:—XXIII. B. 538 : *adreogende*; XXIII. B. 511¹ : *anbidigende*; XXIII. B. 398 : *beswicende*; *biddende* (w. ac. or w. gen.): 82. 533, 554; 178. 154, 180. 200, 182. 224, XXIII. B. 560; *clypi(g)ende*: 80. 501, 210. 25, 224. 87, 92; 226. 101, 332. 191 (*clypiende stemn* = *vox clamantis*), XXIII. B. 487; *cnyssende*: XXIII. B. 542, 549; *cweðende* (*cwæðende*): 82. 533; XXIII. B. 282, 432, 454, 489, 591; XXX. 241, 343, 444; XXIII. B. 319 : *forhælende*; XXIII. B. 397 : *gegadrigende*; XXIII. B. 597 : *halsigende*; XXIII. B. 521 : *notigende*; XXIII. B. 581 : *smeagende*; XXIII. B. 400 : *teonde*; XXIII. B. 495 : *towriðende*; XXIII. B. 426 : *ðencende*.

NSN. (5):—XXIII. B. 595 : *ac godes word is cucu and scearp, innan lærende ðis mennisce andgyt.*—Other examples:—*biddende*: 60. 171, XXV. 716; XXIII. B. 324 : *cweðende*; XXIII. B. 287 : *hæbbende* (= *reducens*).

NPM. (44):—472. 9 : *gebugon to fulluhte behreowsigende heora synna.*—Other examples:—*biddende* (w. g. or ac.): 46. 357 (?), 70. 334, 138. 352, 240. 40, 242. 75, 400. 258, 448. 121, 452. 188; XXV. 336, 768; XXIX. 172; XXVI. 79 : *bodigende*; 136. 305 : *clypigende*; *cweðende*: XXX. 140, 281, 425; XXIX. 192 : *cyðende*; XXVI. 238 : *fecceende*; XXVIII. 10 : *folgiende* (w. dat.); XXIII. B. 139 : *gefyllende*; *geseonde*: XXIII. B. 377, XXX. 184; 148. 24 : *halsigende*; *heri[g]ende*: 70. 349 (or pred.?), 102. 222, 110. 338,² 138. 351, 142. 403; *mærsigende*: 26. 37, 230. 162, 242. 51 (or pred.?): XXV. 495 : *sceotiende*; 54. 56 : *secende* (or pred.?): *seegende*: 146. 458, XXV. 121; *ðanci(g)ende* (w. dat. & gen.): 114. 410, 132. 249, 438. 85, 460. 322, 478. 96, XXV. 453; 80. 526 : *wuldrigende*; 184. 249 : *wurðigende*.

NP. F. or M. (1):—224. 66 : *wydeowan and ðearfan . . . æteowigende.*

GSF. (1):—XXIII. B. 426 : *ða onhran soðlice min mod and ða eagan minre heortan hælo andgit mid me sylfre*

ðencende ðæt me ðone ingang belucen ða onfeormeganda (*sic*) minra misdæda (but, as is evident, the text is very corrupt).

DSM. (3):—XXIII. B. 246: Ða forgeaf heo Zosime *and-swarigende* Amen. [The text seems corrupt. Skeat translates: "Then she gave Zosimus [her blessing, he] answering 'Amen.'"]—XXIII. B. 674: Ðus mid tearum biddende, him eft oðer geðanc on befeoll, ðus *cweðende*. [I here follow Skeat's "B" and omit *he* after Ðus.]—82. 540: Se wyle ðe gehyran me *ðingiende* to him.

ASM. (2):—480. 143: het se foresæda dema gelædan ðone halgan on heardre racenteage feorr on wræcsið *ferigende* on scipe.—XXX. 411: se casere . . . het hine ungyrdan and bewæpnian and beforan his ansyne ætstandan mid his wife and his cildum swilce *ofergægendne* his hlafordes bebod.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (208).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (205).

NSM. (87):—14. 76^{1&2}: se halga gast is æfre of him bam, na *acenned* ac forðsteppende. So *acenned* in 12. 34, 36.—114. 428: Ða fleah martianus for nean *adyd*.—206. 180: Ða fleah quintianus *afyrht* for ðam gehlyde. So: 348. 166.—Other examples:—386. 48: *afunden*; *afylled*: 194. 424, 314. 125, 330. 153, 330. 157; 466. 420: *ahred*; *asend*: 48. 413, 396. 207, XXIV. 140; XXVI. 173: *asmiðod*; XXX. 3¹: *æðelboren*; 84. 593: *awend*; 158. 174: *awreht*; XXIII. B. 235: *belocen*; XXV. 782: *beswungen*; XXXI. 36: *betæht*; 428. 228: *fordemed*; XXV. 498: *fornumen*; 446. 96: *gebiced*; 394. 179: *gebolgen*; *gebyld*: 58. 142, XXIX. 143; *geci(e)ged*: 238. 10, XXVI. 9; XXX. 234: *gedrefed*: XXIII. B. 179: *gefremed*; 422. 126: *gefullod*; 150. 40: *gefullumod*; 456. 238: *gegleneged*; 462. 336: *gehæled*; *gehaten*, "called, named:" 28. 58, 54. 63, 84. 567, 136. 322, 154. 126, 186. 296, 398. 228, 408. 389, 426. 196, 436. 62, 472. 14, 476. 72, XXIV. 69; XXV. 7, 298, 594, 749; XXVI. 2, 120, 257; XXVII. 22, 47; 126. 159: *gehaten*, "summoned;" 446. 95: *ge-*

hoferod; XXIX. 81: *gelæred*; 96. 99: *gelaðod*; *gelyfed*: 422. 125; XXVI. 3, 8; XXVII. 46; XXIII. B. 706: *gereht*; 14. 63¹: *gesceapen*; 162. 247: *gescryd*; XXIII. B. 234: *gewæced*; 66. 273: *gewæpnod*; XXIII. B. 218: *gewend*; 14. 63²: *geworht*; 92. 22: *gewyssod*; XXV. 616: *geyrsod*; 532. 718: *ofdræd*; XXIII. B. 322: *ofergoten*; XXIX. 64: *ofwundrod*; 208. 219: *onœled*; 12. 16¹: *unbegunnen*; 222. 45: *unbunden*; *uncwð*: 66. 272, 116. 17; *ungeendod* (*un-gæendod*): 12. 16², 268. 103; XXXI. 42: *ungewemmed*.

NSF. (14):—180. 180: *arn seo burhwaru ablycged ðider*.—XXIII. B. 427: *Ða ongan ic biterlice wepan and swiðe gedrefed mine breost cnysan*.—XXIII. B. 524: *Heo ða gedrefedu him andswarode*.—420. 108: *Ða wæs ðær gehende ðam halgan wære an myrige dun mid wyrtum amet*.—Other examples:—20. 177¹: *befangen*; XXIII. B. 477: *forðoht*; 222. 55: *geciged*; XXIII. B. 238: *gefremed*; 222. 56: *geglencged*; 386. 50¹: *gehaten*; 222. 54: *gelyfed*; 386. 50²: *gemodod*; XXIII. B. 264²: *gewend*; 38. 230²: *uncwð*.

NSN. (15):—78. 469: *wunode an mæden mærllice drohtnigende geond feowertig geare fec fægre gehealden*.—298. 229: *ðæt oðer folc fleah afyrht for heora hreame*.—Other examples:—XXVI. 183: *astreht*; XXV. 567: *befangen*; 236. 250: *fulfremed*; XXVI. 214: *gebrocod*; XXIII. B. 749: *gewcwen*; 32. 134: *gecyged*; *gehaten*: 44. 327, 170. 7¹, 236. 249; *gelyfed*: 170. 7², 194. 2; 30. 94: *uncwð*; XXIII. B. 285: *ymbseald*.

NPM. (37):—180. 167: *ac hi . . . ablicgede cyrdon to heora . . . hlaforde*.—468. 437: *ðeah ðe ða Iudeiscan ðurh deofol beswicene nellon gelyfan*.—Other examples:—*afyllede*: 126. 168, XXVIII. 60; *afyrhte*: 166. 317, XXV. 611, XXVI. 231, XXIX. 305; 54. 53: *alysde*; 116. 25: *æðelborene*; XXVI. 93: *cumene*; *fornumene*: 58. 138 (or pred.?), 204. 148, 326. 96; 126. 167: *geborene*; 342. 73: *gebundene*; *gebylde*: XXV. 488, XXVII. 149; 208. 216: *geegsode*; XXV. 339: *gehyrte*; 318. 172: *geleofede*; *gelyf(e)de*: XXIV. 2, XXV. 109, XXVIII. 15; 184. 245: *gemartyrode*; XXV. 558:

getemode; 460. 319: *geuntrumode*; *gewæpnode*: 190. 359, xxv. 333; xxv. 559: *gewenode*; *geworhte*: 386. 38, 408. 386; 506. 300: *ofdrædde*; 298. 228: *ofhrorene*; xxv. 497: *ofslagene*; 54. 58: *onbryrde*; xxiii. B. 571: *totorene* (but the passage is corrupt).

NPF. (1):—xxv. 813: on ðysre worulde synd ðreo ende-byrdnysse on annysse *gesette*; ðæt synd etc.

DSM. (7):—462. 351: oððæt hi becomon to sumum ænlicum felda fægre *geblowen*.—xxv. 757: sum leogere . . . sæde ðam ealdormenn Apollonius *geciged*.—140. 368: Nicostratus . . . wearð . . . toforan ðam deman gebroht, fabianus *gehaten*. So *gehaten*: 224. 79, 402. 317, xxv. 331, xxvi. 121.

DSF. (11):—xxiii. B. 438: forðon witodlice genoh rihtlic is me swa *besmitenre* fram ðinre clænan ungewemmednysse beon ascirod.—xxiii. B. 598: Nu ic ðe . . . andbidde . . . ðæt ðu for me earmlicre *forlegenre* gebidde.—54. 83: gewendon to anre widgyllan byrig, Antiochia *geciged*. So *geciged*: 146. 462.—54. 66: ferde to ðære [flowendan] ea iordanis *gehaten*. So *gehaten*: 68. 325, 184. 264, 238. 11, xxv. 413, xxix. 4, 146.

DSN. (2):—196. 10: betæhte hi anum fulum wife Afrodosia *geciged*.—xxxi. 11: Martinus . . . wæs geboren on ðam fæstene Sabaria *gehaten*.

DS. M. or N. (1):—172. 36: He geglængde me mid orle of golde *awefen*.

ASM. (20):—44. 350^{1&2}: Basilla hæfde enne hæðene wogere, pompeius *gecyged*, swiðe æðelboren. So *geciged*: xxix. 213.—312. 68: A. . . genam ænne mycelne bollan mid bealuwe *afylled*.—xxvii. 11: forlet ða ænne dæl on ðære ylcan byrig ðe Crist on ðrowode, swa swa us cyðað gewritu, mid seolfre *bewunden*.—Other examples:—200. 75: *gebigedne* (or pred.); xxiii. B. 661: *gefyllædne*; *gehaten*: 28. 67, 104. 230, 124. 125, 194. 409, 222. 42, 302. 277, 408. 396, xxv. 761, xxvi. 53, xxix. 204, 214; 78. 481¹: *toswollen*; 78. 482: *unafunden*.

ASF. (4):—xxviii. 36: *wið ane litle burh Octodorum gehaten*. So *gehaten*: xxxi. 59.—xxiii. B. 500: *ic becom to sanctes iohannes cyrcan ðæs fulwihteres wið iordanen gesette*.—436. 80: *geworht*.

ASN. (2):—92. 26: *Ða fundon his magas sum æðelboren mæden basilissa gehaten*; 132. 258: *untobrocen*.

APM. (1):—246. 146: *unscrydde*.

APF. (2):—xxiii. B. 128: *sum [bær] beana mid wætere ofgotene*; *ib.* xxiii. B. 663.

APN. (1):—24. 225: *ealle lichamlicra ðinga hiw heo mæg on hyre sylfre gehiwan, and swa gehiwode on hyre mode gehealden*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (3).

NSN. (1):—288. 71: *forðan ðe heo gebedhus is, gode gehalgod*.

ASM. (1):—xxiii. B. 676: *Eala me ungesæligan swa rihtwislicre gesihðe afremdad me*.

ASF. (1):—xxiii. B. 442: *gefultuma me nu anegre ælces fylstes bedæled* (MS. G: *bedælede*).

Note: *Latin Participles* occur in 332. 191 (*vox clamantis = clypiende stemn*), 338. 33 (*vir videns deum = Ðæt is on Engliscre spræce: se wer ðe god gesihð*), xxiii. B. 280 (*putans = smeagende*), xxiii. R. 287 (*reducens = hæbbende*).

ÆLFRIC'S DE VETERI ET DE NOVO TESTAMENTO (41).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (15).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (5).

NSM. (4):—18. 32: *he bifiende feoll to i. fotum* (or *pred.*?).—20. 24: *Bellatores . . . ure burga healdað . . . feohtende mid wæmnum; libbende (lybbende)*: 2. 26, 12. 40.

DPM. (1):—5. 34: [*mete*] *him ælce dæg com edniwe of heofenum feowertig wintra fyrst on ðam westene farende*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (10).

NSM. (7):—18. 33²: he . . . feoll to I. fotum . . . *biddende* miltsunge.—Other examples:—16. 32: *bodigende* (or pred.?); 16. 10: *cweðende*; 16. 30²: *lærende*; 20. 10: *secgende*; *wyrcende* (*wircende*): 15. 23, 16. 30¹.

NPM. (3):—19. 45: ðær ðær hig blissiað *andbidiende* git ðæs ecan lifes; *heriende*: 5. 28, 8. 27.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (26).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (26).

NSM. (13):—2. 9, 10: Her is seo halige ðrinnis on ðisum ðrim mannum . . . se . . . fæder of nanum oðrum *gecumen*, and se micla wisdom of ðam wisan fæder æfre . . . *acenned*.—Other examples:—3. 25: *adrenced*; 13. 40: *ahangen*; 3. 2: *awend*; 2. 44: *gefæstnod*; *gehaten*: 9. 20, 11. 4; 11. 5: *gelyfed*; 17. 24: *gestrangod*; 12. 34: *geðogen*; 18. 33¹: *ofergocen*; 18. 34: *ofsceamod*.

NPM. (3):—20. 20: *Laboratores* sind yrðlingas and æhte men to ðam anum *betæhte* etc. So: 20. 22.

NPF. (2):—14. 12: ðæt syndon ðreo bec mid lufe *afyllede* folce to lare; 11. 21: *gehatene*.

DSM. (1):—16. 24: binnan anum igoðe feor on wræcsiðe, Pathmos *gehaten*.

ASM. (4):—3. 23: se acwealde his broðor Abel *gehaten* unscildigne mannan. So *gehaten* = acc. sing. masc.: 7. 18, 8. 20, 11. 9.

ASF. (1):—15. 44: he awrat ða boc on his wræcsiðe Apocalipsis *gehaten*.

ASN. (2):—7. 34^{1&2}: He arærde . . . ðæt . . . tempel . . . swa fægere *getimbrod* and swa fæste *getrymmed*; 7. 35: *oferworht*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (0).

No example.

ÆLFRIC'S HEPTATEUCH (99).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (61).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (25).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (15):—

NSM. (9):—Judges 4. 20: gif her ænig man cume *acsi-gende* embe me = cum venerit aliquis *interrogans* te (or pred.?).—Gen. 19. 14: Ða wæs him geðuht, swilce he *gamnigende* spræce = Et visus est eis quasi *ludens* loqui.—Other examples:—*ingangende* = *ingrediens*: Deut. 28. 6¹, 19¹; Num. 22. 34: *nitende* = *nesciens*; Gen. 15. 17: *smoci-ende* = *fumans* (or attrib.?): Num. 16. 48: *standende* = *stans*; *utgangende* = *egrediens*: Deut. 28. 6², 19².

NSN. (2):—Ex. 2. 23: Israela bearn clypode *geomriende* for ðam weorcum = *ingemiscentes* filii Israel propter opera vociferati sunt; Job. 1. 19: *hreosende* = *corruens*.

NPM. (3):—Judges 15. 14: urnon him togeanes ealle *hlydende* = Et cum Philistiim *vociferantes* occurrissent ei (or pred.?).—Other examples:—Ex. 1. 7¹: *spryttende* = *germinantes*; Num. 16. 18: *standende* = *stantes*.

NPN. (1):—Gen. 8. 3: Ða wæteru ða gecirdon of ðære eorðan ongearn *farende* = *Reversæque* sunt aquæ de terra *euntes* et *redeuntes*.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which finite verb is usually subordinate or is in immediate connection with an appositive participle (5):—

NSM. (1):—Gen. 22. 3: Abraham ða aras on ðære ylcan nihte and ferde mid twam cnapum to ðam fyrlenum lande and Isaac samod on assum *ridende* = Igitur Abraham de nocte consurgens *stravit* asinum suum, *ducens* secum duos juvenes et Isaac filium suum abiit in locum.

NPM. (4):—Num. 14. 45: and hig micclum slogon and *ehtende* adrifon = et percutiens eos atque occidens *persecutus* est eos.—Other examples:—Num. 20. 30: beweoƿon *geomeri-*

ende = *flevit* (there is an ap. ptc. in the sentence); Josh. 8. 16: hrymdon *ridende* = *vociferantes persecuti sunt eos*; Job 2. 12²: hrymdon *wepende* = *exclamantes ploraverunt*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (1):—

NSM. (1):—Gen. 24. 63: He eode ut on ðæt land *ðen-cende* = *Et egressus fuerat ad meditandum* in agro.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle has no exact Latin correspondence (4):—

NSM. (2):—Judges 4. 22: *acsigend* (*sic*: cf. Judges 4. 20, where *acsigende* = *interrogans*) (or pred. ?); Gen. 37. 35: *wepende* (cf. Gen. 37. 34, in which *lugens* occurs).

NPM. (2):—Job 2. 12¹: *cumende*; Josh. 7. 6: *licgende*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (36).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (25):—

NSM. (12):—Gen. 1. 22: And bletsode hig, ðus *cweðende* = *Benedixitque eis dicens*. So *cweðende* = *dicens*: Gen. 2. 16, 8. 15, 17. 17; Ex. 3. 16, 5. 6; Deut. 32. 48, 34. 4.—Other examples:—Job 1. 8²: *yfel forbugende* = *recedens a malo*; Job 1. 8¹: *ondrædende* = *timens*; Job (Exposition), p. 266, l. 20: *secende* = *querens* (for Latin cf. I. Peter 5. 8); Gen. 2. 6: *wætriende* = *irrigans*.

NSF. (5):—Gen. 18. 12: (Sarrah) hloh digellice, ðus *cweðende* = *Quæ risit occulte, dicens*. So *cweðende* = *dicens*: Gen. 15. 4; Num. 16. 41.—Other examples:—Num. 10. 33: *sceawiende* = *providens*; *secgende* = *dicens*: Gen. 15. 1.

NSN. (1):—Judges 6. 7: Swa Israela folc ða earmlice clipode to ðam . . . gode, his helps *biddende* = *Et clamavit Israel ad dominum, postulans auxilium*.

NPM. (1):—Gen. 3. 5: ge beoð ðonne englum gelice *witende* ægðer ge god ge yfel = *et eritis sicut dii, scientes bonum et malum*.

ASF. (1):—Gen. 1. 12¹: seo eorðe forð ateah growende wırte and sæd *berende* be hire cinne = protulit terra herbam virentem et *facientem* semen juxta genus suum.

ASN. (4):—Gen. 1. 11^{1&2}: Spritte seo eorðe growende gærs and sæd *wircende* and æppebære treow wæstm *wircende* æfter his cinne = Germinet terra herbam virentem et *facientem* semen et lignum pomiferum *faciens* fructum juxta genus suum; *ib.* Gen. 1. 12²; Gen. 1. 12³: *hæbbende* = *habens*.

APF. (1):—Gen. 1. 29: ic forgeaf eow eall gærs and wyrta sæd *berende* ofer eorðan = dedi vobis omnem herbam *afferentem* semen super terram.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which finite verb is usually either subordinate or is in immediate connection with an appositive participle (3):—

NSM. (1):—Deut. 4. 45: . . . æ, ðe Moises foresette and laga and domas, ðus *cweðende* = . . . lex, quam proposuit M., et . . . judicia quae *locutus est*.

NSF. (1):—Josh. 10. 6: Ða sende seo burhwaru . . . to Iosue *biddende* ðæt etc. = miserunt ad Iosue et *dixerunt* ei.

ASN. (1):—Deut. 11. 25: Ge . . . gehirdon his word, ðus *cweðende* = . . . et *locutus est* vobis.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle has no exact Latin correspondence (8):—

NSM. (2):—Judges (Epilogue), p. 264, l. 14: *gewilniende*; Judges 5. 32 (Exposition): *heriende*.

NPM. (6):—Judges 5. 32 (Exposition): *ahebbende*; *biddende*: Judges, Preface, l. 10, 3. 15, 4. 3; Judges, Epilogue, p. 265, l. 15: *ðanciende*; Judges, Epilogue, p. 265, l. 13: *wilniende*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (38).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (38).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (11):—

NPM. (3):—Num. 15. 44: Hig swa ðeah *ablende* beotlice astigon = At illi *contenebrati* ascenderunt.—Other examples:—Ex. 1. 7²: *gestrangode* = *roborati*; Num. 16. 33: *ofhrorene* = *operti*.

ASM. (3):—Gen. 22. 13: geseah ðær anne ramm betwux ðam bremelum be ðam hornum *gehæft* = viditque . . . arietem inter vepres *hærentem* cornibus (or pred.?).—Other examples:—Ex. 9. 24: hagol wið fyr *gemenged* = *mista*; Ex. 29. 23: *gesprengedne* = *conspersæ*.

ASN. (2):—Ex. 12. 8: And eton ealle ðæt flæsc on fyre *gebrædd* = Et edent carnes nocte illa *assas* igni:—Ex. 12. 9: *gesoden* = *coctum* aqua.

APM. (1):—Levit. 2. 4: Bring clæne ofenbacene hlafas mid ele *geasmirede* = panes *conspersos* oleo.

APN. (2):—Ex. 31. 18: He sealde Moise twa stænene wexbreda mid godes handa *agrafene* = duas tabulas lapideas *scriptas* digito dei; Gen. 41. 6: *forscruncene* = *percussæ*.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which finite verb is usually subordinate or is in immediate connection with an appositive participle (1):—

NSN. (1):—Judges 16. 4: Hine beswac swa ðeah siððan an wif, Dalila *gehaten* = Post hæc amavit mulierem, *quæ vocabatur* Dalila.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (2):—

NPM. (2):—Ex. 12. 19^{1&2}: ne ete ge nan ðing onhafenes, ne utan *cymene* ne innan lande *geborene* = tam *de advenis* quam *de indigenis* terræ.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin substantive in the ablative (1):—

NSM. (1):—Judges 13. 2: An man wæs eardigende on Israhela ðeode, Manue *gehaten* = Erat autem quidam vir *nomine* Manue.

5. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (1):—

NPM. (1):—Ex. 4. 31: and hig gebædon hig to gode nywel *astrehhte* on eorðan = et *proni* adoraverunt.

6. An A.-S. appositive participle has no exact Latin correspondence (22):—

NSM. (5):—Num. 22. 27: *afirht* (or pred. ?); Judges 16. 5: *bepæht*; Judges 4. 14: *gebyld*; Judges 4. 17: *geegsod*; Judges (Epilogue), p. 265, l. 1: *gehaten*.

NSF. (1):—Gen. 21. 6: *ofwundrod*.

NSN. (1):—Num. 16. 34: *afirht*.

NPM. (3):—Gen. 14. 10: *afirhte*; Gen. 19. 1: *asende*; Judges 6. 2: *gewæhte*.

DSM. (4):—Judges 6. 1: ðam . . . leodscipe Madian *geweden*; Judges 4. 2: sumum . . . cininge Iabin *gehaten*; Judges 16. 23: heora gode, Dagon *gehaten*; Judges (Epilogue), p. 264, l. 32: on ðam miclan ea, Eufrates *gehaten*.

DSF. (1):—Judges 16. 1: to anre birig, Gaza *gehaten*.

DPM. (1):—Judges 16. 7: mid seofon rapum of sinum *geworhte*.

ASM. (6):—Josh. 10. 33: ðone oðerne kyning Hiram *gehaten*. So: Judges 4. 6, 4. 7, 6. 14, 11. 1.—Gen. 19. 24: god sende . . . renscur mid swefle *gemencged*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (0).

No example.

ANGLO-SAXON HOMILIES AND LIVES OF SAINTS, I. (89).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (49).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (25).

NSM. (5):—3. 105: Be ðam sang se witega ðisum wordum *cweðende*. So: 4. 41.—Other examples:—*lybbende*: 1. 87, 9. 195; 3. 78: *secgende* ðisum wordum.

NSF. (2):—1. 24: *Deos is seo halige ðrynnys, ðe ealle ðing gesceop, on anre godcundnysse æfre wunigende.*—So: 3. 130.

NSN. (2):—3. 437: *Sum . . . wif . . . his fet aðwoh and gelome hi cyste, liegende æt his fotum; 9. 80: wunigende.*

NPM. (11):—6. 113: . . . gif we her nu swincað, *feohtende* mid geleafan wið leahtras.—Other examples:—9. 357: *hlydende; libbende*: 7. 6, 9. 60; 9. 61: *swylltende; truwigende*: 9. 88, 9. 350²; *wunigende*: 3. 132, 3. 527, 6. 66, 9. 133.

NPN. (1):—3. 324: *ðeah ðe hi [= mædenu] clæne beon on mægðhade lybbende.*

NP. M. or F. (1):—3. 12: *lybbende.*

DPM. (1):—7. 151: [mete] *heom ælce dæge com edniwe of heofenum xl wintra fyrst on ðam wæstene farende.*

ASM. (1):—9. 330: *ac . . . he asende me ongean on his sige blissigende and on eowre alysednysse.*

APM. (1):—9. 103: *god hi ða gelædde . . . ealle ofer ða . . . sæ, siðigende be ðam grunde.*

II. WITH AN OBJECT (24).

NSM. (4):—1. 304: *se . . . lareow lærde us ðus cweðende.*—Other examples:—4. 55: *secende; secgende*: 3. 181, 3. 531.

NSF. (3):—8. 176: *heo . . . fæste, biddende æt gode, ðæt etc.*—Other examples:—9. 318: *cweðende*; 9. 417: *ðeowigende* (w. dat.).

NSN. (2):—9. 111: *Ðæt godes folc ða eode upp be ðam grunde, herigende heora drihten; 3. 479: singende.*

NPM. (14):—5. 75: *reaferas urnon geond ða burh mete gehwær secende.* So: 9. 366.—Other examples:—9. 82: *abugende; biddende*: 9. 59, 9. 72; 9. 162: *cweðende*; 1. 90¹ (foot-note): *fyiligende* (w. dat.); 7. 145: *herigende*; 1. 90² (foot-note): *lærende*; 2. 142: *strynende*; *ðeowigende* (w. dat.): 2. 185, 204, 220; 9. 451.

APM. (1):—2. 117: *Iohannes . . . geseah Crist standan and ðone clænan flocc mid him, hundteontig ðusenda and*

feower and feowertig ðusenda, swiðe hlude *singende* ðone heofonlican sang.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (40).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (40).

NSM. (13):—1. 67: he us alysde . . . mid his agenum deaðe, on rode *ahangen*.—Other examples:—7. 28: *awend*; *gehaten*: 5. 9; 8. 2, 78, 127; 9. 193; 8. 268: *gehathyr*; 9. 194: *gelyfed*; 7. 23: *ifæstnod*; *ihaten*: 7. 214, 287; 7. 288: *ilyfed*.

NSF. (3):—9. 207: heo fæste symle buton on freolsdagum, mid hæran *gescryd* to hire lice æfre.—Other examples:—7. 61: *aðwogen*; 3. 27: *gesceapen*.

NSN. (4):—3. 349: Iacobes wif, Rachel *geciged*, twentig wintra wunode etc.—Other examples:—3. 334: *gehaten*; 8. 149: *tostenced*; 3. 95: *ungewemmed*.

NPM. (11):—1. 43, 44: hi forleton his hlafordscipe ealle swyðe unwislice, fram him *ascyrede* mid andan *afyllede*. So *afyllede*: 8. 110.—Other examples:—1. 81: *arærde*; 9. 58: *fornumene*; 9. 2: *geweden*; 3. 293: *gelærede*; 3. 295: *gemartirode*; 3. 38: *ofslagene* (or pred.); 2. 213: *onbryrde*; 9. 69: *ymbtrymde*.

NPF. (1):—7. 302: Twa bec beoð isette . . . machabeorum *ihatene*.

DSM. (1):—3. 25: And eac his godcundnyss wæs on ðære menniscnyss to anum soðan Criste of hyre acenned, æfre *unbegunnen* on ðære godcundnyss.

DSF. (1):—2. 114: on his gastlican gesihðe, Apocalipsis *gehaten*.

DSN. (1):—3. 362: mid his wife, Elisabeth *genamod*.

ASM. (4):—3. 332: behet, ðæt hi habban sceoldon sunu, Isaac *gehaten*. So: 9. 46; *ihaten*: 7. 49, 292.

ASF. (1):—9. 9: towænde se cyning heora . . . burh, Hierusalem *gehaten*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (0).

No example.

ANGLO-SAXON HOMILIES AND LIVES
OF SAINTS, II. (22).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (16).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (11).

NSM. (2):—15. 353: ic hit *unwillende* do; 10. 90: *scamiende*.

NSF. (6):—18. 25: swilce heo *dweliende* ðyder come. So: 18. 29.—Other examples:—10. 181: *geomriende*; *wepende*: 10. 100, 10. 180; 18. 32: *woperiende*.

NPF. (1):—15. 51: hire fostermoder hi het gan mid oðrum fæmnum on feld, sceap to hawienne, and hi swa dydo[n] *spinnende*.

APM. (2):—15. 242^{1 & 2}: Sume ic *slæpende* beswac and sume eac *wacigende* = 19. 265: Et cum *dormiunt*, venio super eos et excito illos a somno.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (5).

NSM. (4):—15. 52: Ða ferde Olibrius to Anthiochiam, *axiende* etc.; *cweðende*: 18. 57, 80, 109.

DSM. (1):—11. 16: *Audiens* ex ore meo sermonem meum, adnuntiabis eis ex me, non ex te. Ðæt is on urum geðeode: Of minum muðe *gehlystendum* [for *gehlystende* by attraction to *muðe*?] ðu bodast hym mine spræce of me, næs of ðe.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (6).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (5).

NSM. (1):—15. 12: wæs sum hæðen cyninge, Theodosius *gehaten*.

NSF. (1):—15. 44: heo cwæð: ic eom ðin ðeowa [*sic!*] clæna and *ungewæmmed*.

NSN. (1):—16. 55: hig hym dryncan sealdon, ðæt wæs wyn and eed *gemenged* togædere.

NPM. (1):—12. 45: hwilum willes, hwilum *geneadode* gewuniað of to drincanne.

ASF. (1):—15. 45: Ðe ic me betæce *ungewæmmode*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—17. 23: ic eam of Grecane rice and ic of Iudean wæs, ðan Pontisscen Pilate *underðeodd*.

Note: Latin Participles.—Latin participles occur in 11. 16 (quoted under dative above), in 13. 13 (*sciens* = ða wiste se hælend), in 13. 59 (*sciens* = He wiste), and in 18. 68 (*et videns* filium etc. = no A.-S. equivalent). Again in no. 19, which is entirely in Latin and which is the basis, though not the literal equivalent, of no. 15 (Anglo-Saxon), about 55 appositive participles occur; but, as no one of these is translated by an appositive participle in Old English, it seems unnecessary to cite them.

GOSPELS¹ (280).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (237).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (115).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (107):—

NSM. (52):—L. 23. 5^a & ^b: he astyrað ðis folc, *lærende* ðurh ealle iudeam *agynnende* of [galilea oð hyder] = *Commovet populum docens per universam Judeam, incipiens a Galilæa usque huc*.—Other examples:—L. 23. 14: *ahsiende* = *interrogans*; L. 24. 12^a: *alutende* = *procumbens*; *andswari(g)ende* = *respondens*: Mat. 11. 25, 20. 13; Mk. 9. 12, 10. 24, 11. 22, 13. 5, 14. 48; Luke: 4. 12, 5. 5, 5. 22, 7. 40, 13. 2, 14.

5, 15. 29, 17. 17; Mk. 1. 35: *arisende* = *surgens*; L. 5. 3^a: *astigende* = *adscendens*; Mk. 7. 34: *behealdende* = *suspiciens*; L. 3. 18: *bodigende* = *exhortans*; Mk. 1. 7: *bugende* = *procumbens*; *clypiende* = *clamans*: Mk. 15. 39, L. 23. 46^a; *ib.* = *exclamans*: Mk. 1. 26^b; Mat. 12. 44: *cumende* = *veniens*; Mk. 9. 20: *fæmende* = *spumans*; Mat. 4. 9: *feallende* = *cadens*; *gangende* = *ambulans*: Mat. 14. 25 (or pred.?), Mk. 6. 48 (or pred.?): *ib.* = *transiens*, L. 12. 37; L. 15. 5: *geblissiende* = *gaudens*; Mk. 1. 31: *genealæcende* = *accedens*; *hrymende* = *clamans*: Mk. 5. 5 (or pred.?), 5. 7; *ib.* = *exclamans*: Mk. 9. 26^a, L. 8. 28; *ingan(c)gende* = *ingressus*: Mk. 1. 21, L. 1. 28; *lærende* = *docens*: Mat. 4. 23, 9. 35^a, Mk. 12. 35; L. 17. 24: *lyhtende* = *coruscans*; L. 5. 3^b: *sittende* = *sedens*; Mk. 7. 33: *spærende* = *exspuens*; L. 4. 39: *standende* = *stans*; Mk. 15. 30: *stigende* = *descendens*; L. 1. 78: *upspringende* = *oriens*; *utgangende* = *egressus*: Mk. 1. 45, L. 4. 42.

NSF. (3):—L. 2. 38: And ðeos ðære tide *becumende* drihtne andette = Et hæc, ipsa hora *superveniens*, confitebatur Domino.—Other examples:—L. 2. 19: *smeagende* = *conferens*; L. 2. 37: *ðeowigende* = *serviens*.

NSN. (4):—Mk. 5. 33^{a & b}: Ðæt wif ða *ondrcædende* & *forhtigende* com & *astrehte* hi = Mulier vero *timens* et *tremens* . . . venit et procidit; *gangende* = *introiens*: Mk. 7. 15, 7. 18.

NPM. (30):—Mk. 15. 31: heahsacerdas *bysmriende* be-twux ðam bocerum cwædon = sacerdotes *illudentes* . . . dicebant.—Other examples:—Mk. 7. 1: *cumende* = *venientes*; L. 22. 65: *dysigende* = *blasphemantes*; L. 2. 16: *efstende* = *festinantes*; Mk. 16. 20: *farende* = *profecti*; *gangende* = *intrantes*, Mat. 2. 11; *ib.* = *incedentes*, L. 1. 6; *gehyrende* = *audientes*: Mat. 13. 13^b, Mk. 4. 12^b, L. 8. 10^b; *geseonde* = *videntes*: Mk. 4. 12^a, L. 8. 10^a; Mk. 11. 24: *gyrnende* = *orantes*; Mat. 9. 27: *hrymynde* = *clamantes*; Mat. 12. 45: *ingangende* = *intrantes*; Mat. 5. 11: *leogende* = *mentientes*; *lociende* = *videntes*: Mat. 13. 13^a, 13. 14; L. 2. 48: *sari-gende* = *dolentes*; Mat. 27. 36: *sittende* = *sedentes*; Mat. 17.

3: *sprecende* = *loquentes*; Mat. 6. 5: *standende* = *stantes*; Mk. 6. 32: *stigende* = *adscendentes*; L. 5. 5: *swincende* = *laborantes*; *utgangende* (*utgangynde*) = *exeuntes*: Mat. 8. 28, 9. 31, Mk. 3. 6, 6. 12; L. 20. 26: *wundrigende* = *mirati*; L. 22. 44: *yrnende* = *decurrentis*.

NPN. (1):—Mat. 8. 32: *hig* [= *ða deofla*] *ða utgangende ferdon on ða swin* = *At illi exeuntes abierunt in porcos*.

NDM. (1):—L. 24. 17: *hwæt synt ða spæca ðe gyt recceað inc betwynan gangende?* = *Qui sunt hi sermones quos confertis ad invicem ambulantes?*

GPM. (1):—L. 18. 7: *Soðlice ne deð God his gecorenra wrace clypiendra to him dæges & nihtes* = *Deus autem non faciet vindictam electorum suorum clamantium ad se die ac nocte*.

GPN. (1):—L. 8. 32: *And ðar wæs micel heord swyna on ðam munte læsiendra* = *Erat . . . grex porcorum . . . pascentium in monte*.

DSN. (1):—Mat. 13. 47^b: *Ēft is heofena rice gelic asendum nette on ða sæ & of ælcum fisc-cynne gadrigendum* = *Iterum simile est regnum cælorum sagenæ missæ in mare, et ex omni genere piscium congreganti*.

DPM. (5):—L. 6. 17: *And mid him farendum he stod on feldlice stowe* = *Et descendens cum illis stetit in loco campestri*. [Or shall we emend *farendum* to *farende* in accordance with the Latin?]
—Other examples:—Mk. 9. 42: *gelyfendum* = *credentibus*; Mk. 16. 10^a: *heofendum* = *lugentibus*; Mat. 11. 16: *sittendum* = *sedentibus*; Mk. 16. 10^b: *wependum* = *flentibus*.

DPN. (2):—L. 7. 32^{a & b}: *Hi sint gelice cildum on stræte sittendum & specendum betwux him* = *Similes sunt pueris sedentibus in foro, et loquentibus ad invicem*.

ASM. (4):—Mk. 15. 21: & *genyddon sumne wegferendne simonem cireneum cumende of ðam tune . . . ðæt he etc.* = *Et angariaverunt prætereuntem quempiam, Simonem Cyrenæum venientem de villa etc.*—Other examples:—J. 1. 9:

cumendne = *venientem*; L. 17. 7^a: *eregendne* = *arantem*; Mat. 9. 2: *liegende* = *jacentem*.

ASN. (1):—L. 6. 38^b: god gemet & full geheapod and *oferflowende* hig syllað = *mensuram, bonam . . . et superefluentem* dabunt.

APM. (1):—Mat. 4. 24: *yfeihæbbende* = *male habentes*.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which finite verb is usually subordinate or is in immediate connection with an appositive participle (2):—

NSM. (2):—Mk. 11. 17: & he ða *lærende* ðus cwæð = Et *docebat*, *dicens* eis.—Mat. 26. 27^a: And he genam ðone calic *ðanciende* & sealde hym ðus cweðende = Et *accipiens calicem, gratias egit*, et *dedit illis, dicens*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin gerund in the ablative (2):—

NSM. (2):—L. 15. 13: & forspilde ðar his æhta, *lybbende* on his gælsan = et ibi *dissipavit substantiam suam vivendo* luxuriose;—L. 12. 25: *ðencende* = *cogitando*.

4. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin prepositional phrase (1):—

NSM. (1):—Mk. 9. 24: *wepende* cwæð = *cum lacrymis* aiebat.

5. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin ablative absolute clause (1):—

NSM. (1):—L. 6. 20: Ða cwæð se hælend *beseonde* to his leorning-cnihtum = Et ipse *elevatis oculis* in *discipulos* suos, *dicebat*.

6. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (2):—

NSM. (1):—Mk. 5. 40: He . . . ineode *swigende* (Hat. MS.) ðar ðæt mæden wæs = Ipse . . . *ingreditur* ubi etc.

NSF. (1):—L. 2. 51: And his modor geheold ealle ðas word on hyre heortan *smeagende* = Et mater ejus *conservabat omnia verba in corde suo*. [Cf. L. 2. 19, where *smeagende* = *conferens*.]

II. WITH AN OBJECT (122).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (117):—

NSM. (57):—Mk. 1. 41: & his hand aðenode & hine *æthrinende* [Hat. MS. *æthrinede*] & ðus cwæð = *extendit manum suam, et tangens eum, ait illi*.—Mat. 10. 5^a: Ðas twelf se h. sende, him *bebeodende* = *Hos duodecim misit J., præcipiens eis*.—L. 3. 3: he com into eall iordanes ricæ *bodiende* dædbote fulluht & synna forgyfenesse = *venit in omnem regionem Iordanis, prædicans baptismum pœnitentiæ in remissionem peccatorum* (or *pred.?*). So *bodi(g)ende* = *prædicans* in: Mat. 9. 35^b, Mk. 1. 14 (or *pred.?*); = *evangelizans* in L. 8. 1^b (or *pred.?*).—Mat. 9. 18: & ge-eaðmedde hyne to him, ðus *cweðende* = *et adorabat eum, dicens*. So *cweðende* (*cweðynde*) = *dicens* in: Mat. 8. 6, 9. 29, 9. 30, 10. 5^b, 13. 3, 13. 31, 26. 27^b, 26. 44, 27. 11; Mk. 1. 15 (or *pred.?*), 9. 25; L. 23. 46; J. 1. 15, 1. 32.—Other examples:—L. 5. 13 (MS. A): *aðenigende* = *extendens*; *behealdende* = *circumspiciens*, Mk. 3. 34; *ib.* = *intuitus*, Mk. 10. 21; Mk. 14. 13: *berende* = *bajulans*; Mk. 3. 5^a: *besceawiende* = *circumspiciens*; Mk. 10. 23: *beseonde* hine = *circumspiciens* (without object);—*biddende* = *rogans*, Mat. 8. 5; *ib.* = *deprecans*, Mk. 1. 40; *bletsiende* = *benedicens*, Mk. 14. 22, L. 1. 64; Mk. 5. 5: *ceorfende* = *concidens* (or *pred.?*); J. 6. 6: *fandigende* his = *tentans eum*; Mk. 8. 13: *forlætende* = *dimittens*; Mat. 9. 12: *gehyrende* = *audiens*; *geseonde* = *videns*, Mk. 9. 15^a, L. 1. 12 (no obj. in Latin); L. 14. 7: *gymende* = *intendens*; *hæbbende* = *habens*: Mk. 3. 1, 9. 47, L. 4. 33, 7. 8^b; Mat. 9. 35^a: *hælende* = *curans*; L. 17. 15: *mærsiende* = *magnificans*; L. 4. 40: *onsettende* = *imponens*; L. 8. 1^a: *prediciende* = *prædicans* (or *pred.?*); *secende* = *quærens*: Mat. 12. 43, L. 11. 24, 13. 7 (or *pred.?*);—L. 3. 16: *secgende* = *dicens*; Mk. 10. 16: *settende* = *imponens*; *slitende* = *discerpens*, Mk. 1. 26^a, 9. 26^b; *ib.* = *scindens*, Mk. 14. 63; L. 10. 39: *upbe-seonde* hine = *suscipiens* (no object); L. 18. 43: *wuldrigende*

= *magnificans*; L. 24. 12^b: *wundrigende* *ðæs* = *mirans* quod (or pred.?).

NSF. (4):—Mat. 20. 20^{a & b}: *Ða com to him zebedeis bearna modor mid hyre bearnum hig ge-eadmedende & sum ðinge fram him biddende* = Tunc accessit . . . mater, *adorans* et *petens* aliquid ab eo.—Other examples:—J. 11. 28: *cweðende* = *dicens*; Mk. 3. 8: *gehyrende* = *audientes*.

NSN. (3):—L. 2. 23: *ðæt ælc wæpned gecynd-lim ontynende byð drihtne halig genemned* = Quia omne masculinum *adaperiens* vulvam, sanctum Domino vocabitur.—Other examples:—Mk. 7. 19: *clænsigende* = *purgans*; L. 7. 29^a: *gehyrende* = *audiens*.

NPM. (36):—Mk. 1. 5: & wæron . . . gefullode . . . , hyra synna *andetende* (MS. A.) = et baptizabantur . . . , *confitentes* peccata sua.—Other examples:—Mk. 6. 55: *befarende* = *percurrentes*; Mk. 2. 3: *berende* = *ferentes* (or pred.?): L. 24. 53^b: *bletsigende* = *benedicentes* (or pred.?): Mat. 19. 3: *costnigende hine* = *tentantes eum*; —*cweðende* = *dicentes* in: Mat. 6. 31, 8. 25, 9. 27, 10. 7, 10. 12, 12. 10, 12. 38, 27. 23, 27. 29, Mk. 3. 11, J. 11. 31; —*demende* = *judicantes*: Mat. 19. 28, L. 22. 30 (or both pred.?): *fandi(g)ende his* = *tentantes eum*: Mk. 10. 2, J. 8. 6; L. 24. 52: *gebiddende* = *orantes* (no obj. in Latin); L. 6. 35: *gehihtende* = *sperantes*; *gehyrende* = *audientes*: L. 4. 28, 8. 15; L. 20. 11: *gewæcende* = *afficientes*; Mk. 7. 3: *healdende* = *tenentes*; *heriende (hergende)* = *laudantes*: L. 2. 20^b (or pred.?), 24. 53^a (or pred.?): L. 20. 47: *hiwgende* = *simulantes*; *secende* = *querentes*: Mat. 12. 46, 12. 47, L. 11. 54; *ib.* = *quirentes*: L. 2. 45; Mk. 7. 13: *toslitende* = *rescindentes*; L. 23. 10: *wregende* = *accusantes* (or pred.?): L. 2. 20^a: *wuldriende* = *glorificantes* (or pred.?).

NPF. (3):—Mat. 9. 33: *ða menigeo wundredon cweðende* = *miratæ sunt turbæ, dicentes*.—Other examples:—Mat. 15. 31^a: *geseonde* = *videntes*; Mat. 15. 30: *hæbbende* = *habentes*.

NPN. (4):—Mat. 8. 31: *ða deofla soðlice hyne bædon, ðus cweðende* = *Dæmones autem rogabant eum, dicentes*. So *cweðende* = *dicentia* in L. 4. 41^b.—Other examples: L. 4.

41^a: *hrymende* = *clamantia*; Mat. 27. 55: *ðenigende* him = *ministrantes ei*.

NP. M. or N. (1):—L. 23. 49: *cudān & wif geseonde* = *videntes*.

NDM. (1):—Mk. 11. 5: *Hwæt do gyt ðone folan untigende?* = *Quid facitis solventes pullum?*

DSM. (2):—L. 6. 48: *He ys gelic timbriendum men his hus* = *Similis est homini ædificanti domum*. Cf. L. 6. 49: *He is gelic ðam timbriendan men his hus ofer ða eorðan* = *similis est homini ædificanti domum etc.*

DPN. (1):—L. 7. 32^a: *Hi synt gelice cildum . . . cweðendum* = *Similes sunt pueris . . . dicentibus*.

ASM. (5):—Mat. 8. 17: *ðæt wære gefylled ðæt gecweden is ðurh esaiað ðone witegan, ðus cweðende* = *Ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per Isaiað prophetam, dicentem*. So *cweðende* = *dicentem* in Mat. 12. 17, 27. 9.—Other examples:—Mk. 9. 17: *hæbbende* = *habentem*; L. 17. 7^b: *læsgendne* = *pascentem*.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which finite verb is generally either subordinate or in immediate connection with an appositive participle (3):—

NSM. (1):—Mat. 14. 19: *beseah on ðone heofon & bletsigende bræc ða hlafas* = *adspiciens in cælum benedixit et fregit . . . panes*.

NSF. (1):—L. 18. 5: *ðe-læs heo æt neahstan cume me behropende* = *ne in novissimo veniens sugillet me (or pred.?)*.

NPM. (1):—Mk. 9. 15^b: *& hine gretende him to urnon* = *et accurrentes salutabant eum*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle has no Latin correspondence (2):—

NSM. (1):—Mat. 22. 35: *axode hyne & fandode hys ðus cweðende* = *Et interrogavit eum unus ex eis legis doctor, tentans eum*.

NSF. (1):—J. 12. 28: *Ða com stefn of heofone ðus cweðende* = *Venit ergo vox de cælo*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (43).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (36).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (34):—

NSM. (14):—Mk. 14. 51: Sum iungling him fyligde mid anre scytan *bewæfed* nacod & hi namon hine = *Adolescens autem quidam sequebatur eum amictus sindone super nudo*.—Mk. 5. 30: he cwæð *bewend* to ðære menigu = *conversus ad turbam aiebat*. So *bewend* = *conversus*: L. 7. 9, 10. 23, 14. 25, 23. 28.—Other examples:—Mk. 9. 20: *forgnyden* = *elusus*; Mk. 5. 4: *gebunden* = *vinctus*; Mat. 2. 22: *gemynegod* = *admonitus*; *gesett* = *constitutus*: Mat. 8. 9, L. 7. 8^a; Mk. 3. 5^b: *geunret* = *contristatus*; L. 22. 32: *gewend* = *conversus*; Mat. 25. 25: *ofdræd* = *timens* (or pred.?).

NSF. (1):—Mat. 14. 8: Ða cwæð heo fram hyre meder *gemyngod* = *At illa præmonita a matre sua . . . inquit*.

NSN. (2):—L. 11. 17: Ælc rice on hyt sylf *todæled* byð toworpen = *Omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolabitur*.—L. 10. 15: *upahafen* = *exaltata*.

NPM. (5):—L. 1. 74: ðæt we butan ege of ure feonda handa *alysede* him ðeowian = *Ut sine timore, de manu . . . liberati, serviamus illi*.—Other examples:—*gefullode* (*gefullede*) = *baptizati*, L. 7. 29^b, 7. 30; L. 9. 31: *gesewene* = *visi*; Mat. 7. 6: *gewende* = *conversi*.

NPN. (1):—Mat. 26. 47: Ða com iudas . . . & micel folc mid hym mid swurdum & sahlum *asende* fram . . . ealdrum = *ecce Judas . . . venit, et cum eo turba multa cum gladiis et fustibus, missi a principibus etc.*

DSN. (1):—Mat. 13. 47^a: Eft is heofena rice gelic *asendum* nette on ða sæ = *Iterum simile est regnum cœlorum sagenæ missæ in mare*.

ASM. (7):—Mk. 16. 6: ge secað ðæne nazareniscan hæ-lend *ahangenne* = *Jesum quæritis Nazarenum, crucifixum*.—Other examples:—Mat. 27. 37: *awritenne* = *scriptam*; Mk.

15. 17: *awundenne* = *plectentes*; Mk. 15. 15: *beswungenne* = *cæsum*; L. 23. 16: *gebetne* = *emendatum*; Mat. 27. 16: *gehæftne* = *vinctum*; L. 7. 25: *gescryddne* = *indutum*.

ASF. (1):—L. 22. 12: he eow betæcð mycele healle *gedæfte* = ipse ostendet vobis cœnaculum magnum *stratum*.

ASN. (2):—L. 6. 38: god gemet & full *geheapod* . . . hig *syllað* = *mensuram bonam*, et *confertam* et *coagitatam* . . . dabunt; Mat. 27. 34: *gemenged* = *mixtum*.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin finite verb, which finite verb is usually subordinate or in immediate connection with an appositive participle (1):—

ASM. (1):—L. 20. 15: hig hine of ðam wingearde awurpon *ofslegene* = *ejectum illum extra vineam occiderunt*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (1):—

NSF. (1):—L. 1. 28: hal wes ðu mid gyfe *gefylled* = Ave, *gratia plena* (or subst.?).

II. WITH AN OBJECT (7).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (7):—

NSM. (1):—Mk. 9. 31: & *ofslagen* ðam ðriddan dæge he arist = et *occisus* *tertia die* resurget.

DSF. (1):—L. 1. 27: wæs asend gabriel . . . to *bewed-dudre* fæmnan anum were ðæs nama wæs iosep = . . . ad *virginem desponsatam* viro cui nomen erat J.

ASM. (3):—Mat. 11. 8: oððe hwi eode ge ut geseon mann hnescum gyrlum *gescrydne*? = Sed quid existis videre? hominem mollibus *vestitum*? So *gescrydne* = *indutum*: L. 23. 11; Mk. 16. 5: *oferwrohne* = *co-opertum*.

ASN. (1):—Mat. 11. 7: Hwi eode ge ut on wesðen geseon winde *awegyð* hreod? = Quid existis in *desertum* videre? arundinem vento *agitatam*?

APM. (1):—Mat. 4. 24: hi brohton him ealle yfel-hæbbende, missenlicum adlum & on tintegrum *gegripene* =

obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes, variis languoribus et tormentis *comprehensos*.

Note: Examples of Participles hitherto cited as Appositive.

A. Erdmann (p. 26) considers *bebeodende* appositive in *Matthew* 11. 1 (*hyt wæs geworden ða se hælynd ðys ge-endude hys twelf leorning-cnihtum bebeodende he for ðanun* = *factum est, quum consummasset Jesus præcipiens duodecim discipulis suis, transiit inde*), and that *ðys* is the object of *bebeodende*; while Mätzner (III., p. 70) and March (§ 458) seem to hold that the participle here is used substantivally and is the object of *ge-endude*. To me, however, neither of these views seems tenable; I take *ðys* to be the object of *bebeodende* and the participle to be used predicatively after the intransitive verb of ending, as is common in Greek (cf. Goodwin, *Gr. Grammar*, § 1578) and as occurs in the Greek of this verse.

Again, Erdmann (p. 28) holds that *gængende* is appositive in *Luke* 9. 34 (*hi ondredon him gængende on ðæt genip* = *timuerunt, intransibibus illis in nubem*); but, as I have since tried to show (*Abs. Ptc. in A.-S.*, p. 13), the participle is more probably a crude absolute dative.

According to Erdmann (p. 28) *ahsiende* is possibly appositive in *Mark* 9. 32 (*hi adredon hine ahsiende* = *timebant interrogare eum*), while Mätzner (III., p. 70) and March (§ 458) appear to look upon *ahsiende* as the substantival object of *adredon*. For several reasons, however, I believe that *ahsiende* is to be emended to *ahsienne*, which latter is the infinitive object of *adredon*. (1) We know that this confusion of infinitive and participial forms occurs in the *Gospels* (cf. above *Mk.* 1. 5, where I give MS. A.'s *andetende* instead of the *Corpus anddetenne*). (2) We find the verb *ondrædan* governing an inflected infinitive as direct object (cf. *Mat.* 1. 20, 2. 22, both cited by Erdmann). (3) *ahsienne* would correspond better with the infinitive of the Latin (and Greek) than would *ahsiende*.

In *Luke* 9. 55, Professor Bright, following MSS. B. and C., reads: *hine bewend, he hig ðreade* (= *conversus increpavit illos*), in which case *bewend* would be appositive. But, as we have no other instance in the *Gospels* of the past participle (*bewend*) governing an accusative, it seems better to read, with the remaining MSS., *bewende (bewente)*.* The *Lindisfarne* and *Rushworth Glosses* likewise have a finite verb here. For the other occurrences of *bewend* in the *Gospels*, see NSM. under B, I., 1 above.

WULFSTAN (28).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (9).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (3).

NSM. (1):—244. 7^a: *ðæt is fæder and sunu and halig gast and is an soð god rixigende and gemende ealra his gesceafta a butan ende.*

NPM. (1):—295. 14: *hi sculon fleonde on gefeohte beon ofslagene.*

NPN. (1):—236. 26: *and ða deoflu wendon sceamigende aweg.*

II. WITH AN OBJECT (6).

NSM. (5):—199. 15: *be ðam awrat Iohannes . . . ðus cweðende.* *Ib.* 201. 8, 246. 11, both immediately before a Latin quotation. [Only one other example of *cweðende* occurs in Wulfstan (see 105. 30 under NPM.). Wulfstan translates *dicens (dicentes)* twice by a co-ordinated finite verb (60. 14, 87. 15) and once by a subordinated finite verb (87. 18), while twice he leaves it untranslated (31. 32, 77. 3).]—244. 7^b: *ðæt is fæder and sunu and halig gast and is an soð*

*The past participle must however certainly be allowed to govern the accusative. I should still regard *hine bewend* as a servile translation of *conversus*, and the readings of Corp. and A. as representing steps in revision.—J. W. B.

god rixigende and *gemende* ealra his gesceafta a butan ende.—278. 9: and on ðam eahtoðan dæge manna gehwylc ham ferde mid fulre blisse gode ælmihtigum *ðancjende* ðære mærðe (or predicative?).

NPM. (1):—105. 30: we hine ænne ofer ealle oðre ðing lufjað and wurðjað mid gewissum geleafan *cwæðende* etc.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (19).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (15).

NSM. (2):—25. 19: se ðe ðæne bryne ðurhfærð *unbesenced* (or pred.?); 26. 7: *gemenced* (or pred.?).

NPM. (7):—133. 5^{a & b}: and ge *tofesede* swiðe *afirhte* oft litel werod earhlice forbugað = 131. 23: et animam uestram *tabescentem* faciam, et persequentur uos inimici uestri, et fugietis nullo persequente.—137. 18: and we beoð him ðonne færinga beforan brohte æghwanon *cumene* to his ansyne.—Other examples:—*gehadode* (*gehadede*): 160. 1, 181. 29, 272. 21, 292. 30.

ASF. (5):—263. 4, 5, 6^{a & b}: ðeah ðe ða mihtegestan and ða ricestan hatan him reste gewyrcean of marmanstane and mid goldfrætsum and mid gimcynnum eal *astæned* and mid seolfrenum ruwum and godwebbe eall *oferwrigen* and mid deorwyrðum wrytgemengnessum eal *gestreded* and mid goldleafum *gestrewed* ymbutan; 163. 6: *gewylede*.

AP. M. or F. (1):—46. 7: wa eow, he cwæð, ðe lecgað togædere hamas and æhta on unriht *begytene* on æghwilce healfe.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (4).

NSM. (1):—48. 3: and forðam he sceal drefan dimne and deopne hellewites grund, helps *bedæled*.

NPM. (3):—256. 12^{a, b, c}: ac gewitað fram me, wuldre *bedælede*, freondum *afyrede*, feondum *betæhte* in ðam hatan wylme hellefyres.

Note: Latin Participles in Wulfstan.—Thirty-four Latin participles occur in Wulfstan. Of these, twelve are untranslated (*adorantes*, 175. 14; *audientes* (twice), 42. 29, 47. 12; *dicens* (twice), 31. 32, 77. 3; *egressus*, 87. 10; *elevatus*, 31. 19; *placentem*, 31. 28; *reatus*, 63. 12; *respondens*, 87. 12; *scribentes*, 43. 9; *sumentes*, 30. 12); twelve are translated by a subordinated finite verb (*accedens*, 29. 11; *agnoscens*, 29. 15; *audiens*, 190. 11; *dicentes*, 87. 18; *fallens*, 50. 19; *habentes*, 43. 15^b; *ponentes* (twice), 42. 25, 26; *sciens*, 248. 9; *sperantes* (twice), 43. 15, 48. 6; *tabescentes*, 131. 30); and nine are translated by a co-ordinated finite verb (*dans*, 29. 21; *dicens* (twice), 60. 14, 87. 15; *faciens*, 248. 10; *respondens* (*respondentes*) (thrice), 62. 3, 67. 23, 87. 16; *reuerentes* (twice), 44. 5, 49. 17).

BENET¹ (142).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (103).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (40).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (35):—

NSM. (12):—95. 10: *niwan cumende* (text: *cumenne*) *ænig to gecyrrednesse ne si him eðelic forgifen infæreld* = *Noviter veniens quis ad conversionem non ei facilis tribuatur ingressus*. So *cumende* = *veniens*: 80. 6, 95. 13.—Other examples:—4. 8: *forseonde* = *respuens*; 36. 2^b: *gangende* = *ambulans*; 116. 15: *gebetende* = *satisfaciens*; 114. 14: *getruwigende* = *confidens*; 69. 5: *ingangende* = *ingrediens*; 68. 1: *lufiende* = *diligens*; 36. 2^a: *sittende* = *sedens*; 36. 2^o: *standende* = *stans*; 57. 3^b: *ðurhwunigende* = *persistens*.

NSF. (1):—2. 11: *utan gehyran . . . clipiende hwæt us myngie stefn* = *audiamus . . . clamans quid nos ammonet vox*.

NSN. (1):—9. 16: *ðæt forme mynstermanna ðæt is mynsterlic campierende under regule oððe abbude* = *Primum*

cænobitarum hoc est monasteriale *militans* sub regula vel abbate.

NPM. (13):—55. 7: *arisende* soðlice to godes weorce . . . gemedlice tihtan oððe laran = *Surgentes* vero ad opus dei invicem se moderate cohortent. So *arisende* (*arisende*) = *surgentes*: 55. 4, 81. 16.—Other examples:—24. 12: *droh(ti)gende* = *degentes*; 106. 11: *forahrædigende* = *prevenientes*; 24. 11^b: *gangende* = *ambulantes*; *gecyrrende* = *revertentes*: 92. 14, 93. 2; 24. 10: *libbende* = *viventes*; 6. 12: *ðurhwunigende* = *perseverantes*; *utgangende* = *exeuntes*: 75. 5^b, 81. 12, 93. 1.

NP. M. or F. (1):—45. 7: *gebyriende* = *pertinentes*.

Note.—*utgangendum* (in 66. 15: *ða utgangendum* = *egredientes*) is either absolute or substantive; in the latter case read *ða utgangendan*.

GSM. (1):—25. 10: se ðe heortan his besceawað *ceoriendes* = *qui cor ejus respicit murmurantis*.

GPM. (2):—69. 1: meosan *etenda* gebroðrum (read *gebroðra*) rædinc wana beon na scell = *Mensis fratrum edentium lectio deesse non debet*; 78. 12: *utgangendre* = *exeuntium*.

DSM. (1):—13. 9: *ðæt ahwenne* him na secge *syngendum* = *nequando illi dicat deus peccanti*.

DPM. (1):—118. 10: us asolcenum 7 yfel *lybbendum* 7 gimeleasum scame gescyndnysse = *nobis autem . . . male viventibus . . . rubor confusionis est*.

APM. (2):—21. 7: geðohtas *ða yfelan* heortan his to *becumende* (text *becumenne*) sona to christe aslidan = *Cogitationes malas cordi suo advenientes mox ad christum allidere*. So *cumende* = *advenientes*: 33. 5.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin adjective (2):—

NSM. (1):—61. 6: hordere si gecoren of gegæderunge wis . . . na upahafen [blank] *drefende* = *Cellarius . . . eligatur de congregatione sapiens . . . non elatus non turbulentus*.

NPM. (1):—11. 2: *ða . . . cumliðiað æfre worigende* 7 næfre staðolfæste = *qui . . . hospitantur semper vagi et nunquam stabiles*.

3. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin gerund in the ablative (3):—

NSM. (3):—61. 11: *forseonde* hine he ne gedrefe = non *spornendo* eum contristet. [Cf. Benedict¹ 54. 14: he ðeah mid *forseawennesse* hine ne geunrotsige.]—114. 10^{a & b}: his unacumenlicnesse se ðe gewis [blank] ȝ gedafenlice [blank] na *modigende* [text: modigenne] oððe *wiðstandende* [blank] = impossibilitatis sue causas ei qui sibi preest patienter et oportune suggerat, non *superbiendo* aut *resistendo* vel contradicendo. [Cf. Benedict¹ 128. 15, 16: ðæt he eft mid geðylde on gedafenre tide his mægenleaste his ealdre gecyðe, he no ðeah na *wiðstande*, ne mid *modignesse* ne wiðeweðe.]

Note 1.—It is possible to construe *forseonde*, *modigende*, and *wiðstandende* above as appositive participles, but it is also possible that they may be used here precisely as the Latin gerunds are; that is, they may be verbal nouns in an oblique case instead of verbal adjectives in the nominative case. Certainly *yrnende* in the following is a verbal noun: Benet¹ 3. 15: . . . n ðæs rices healle on inne gyf we wyllað [blank], buton [blank] mid godum dædum *yrnende* nateshwon ne bið becumen = (In) *cujus regni tabernaculo si volumus habitare, nisi illuc bonis actibus currendo minime pervenitur*. [Cf. Benedict¹ 3. 9: Natoðæshwon his rices eardung bið gefaren buton mid gymene and gehealdsumnesse godra dæda; ofst and hradung godra weorca is to ðæm rice weges færeld.] In all probability, too, *onginnende* and *standende*, corresponding respectively to a Latin gerundive and gerund, are verbal nouns, not verbal adjectives, in the following:—Benet¹ 105. 5^{a & b}: æfter endebyrdnesse ða ða he gesette oððe ða ða habbað ða sylfan gebroðran hi ne genealæcan [blank] to huselgange to on * sealnum *ginnende* on choro *standende* = Ergo secundum ordines quos constituerit vel quos habuerint ipsi fratres si [read *sic*] accedant ad pacem, ad communionem, ad psalmum *imponendum*, in choro *standum*. [Cf.

*As Logeman (foot-note to p. 105) says, *on* belongs with *ginnende*.

Benedict¹ 115. 4, 5: . . . gange ælc æfter oðrum to cosse, to husle and be ðan on chore *stande* and sealmas and gehwylce ðenunga *beginne*.]

Note 2.—In the following the present participle that corresponds to a Latin gerund in the ablative seems in use to be a pure adverb:—Benet¹ 43. 4: ðæt is ðæt sig [blank] sunge buton antempne *teonde* æthwega swa swa on ðam sunnan die dæge = id est, ut sexagesimus sextus psalmus dicatur sine antiphona *subtrahendo* modice sicut dominica. [Cf. Benedict¹ 37. 8: þæt is ðæt se syxandsyxtigeða sealm . . . sy geeweden butan antefene, and he *sy* on swege *gelencged* hwæthwara ealswa on sunnandæge.]—Benet¹ 76. 3: ðane forði eallunga *teonde* latlice we wyllað beon gesæd = quem propter hoc omnino *protrahendo* et morose volumus dici. [Cf. Benedict¹ 68. 9: ðonne we eac forði on ðam sançe *lencgað*.]

II. WITH AN OBJECT (63).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (62):—

NSM. (32):—68. 1: sig hus cyte ofer hī betæht ȝ ðen *adrædende* [blank] ȝ lufiænde = sit cella super se deputata, et servitor *timens* deum et diligens. [Here and occasionally at other places *deum* is not glossed, perhaps because of its familiarity.]—34. 6: gelyfe . . . *geeadmetende* hine sylfne = credat . . . *humilians* se.—Other examples:—29. 11: *asmaidand* (MS.: *asmaidan*) = *scrutans* (or predicative?); 16. 8: *behiwiende* = *dissimulans*; 13. 8: oðrum *bodiende* = *aliis predicans*; 104. 16: *brucende* (MS.: *brucenne*) *anwealde* = *utens* potestate; 111. 8: *donde* = *faciens*; 61. 7: *drædende* (MS. *drædenne*) = *timens*; 31. 16: *geefenlæcende* = *imitans*; 5. 3: *gefyllende* = *complens*; 29. 3: *gehealdende* = *custodiens*; *gehyrende* = *audiens*: 3. 1, 17. 14; 35. 2: *habbende* = *habens*; 98. 11: *healdende* = *reservans*; 31. 10: *lufiende* = *amans*; 14. 14: *mængcende* *tidum tida* = *miscens* temporibus tempora; 109. 5: *nimende* = *sumens*; 2. 16: *secende*

= *quærens*; 28. 14: *secende* [*sic*!] = *ponens*; *secgende* = *dicens*: 36. 5, 78. 10; 16. 9: *taliende* (MS.: *taliendre*) = *pendens*; 4. 7: *tihtende* (MS.: *tihende*) = *suadentem*; 109. 2^a: *ðencende* = *cogitans*; 36. 4: *wenende* = *existimans*; *witende* = *sciens*: 15. 12, 19. 3, 57. 4^a, 97. 5, 103. 14; 1. 8: *wiðcweðende lustum* = *abrenuntians voluptatibus*.

NSF. (1):—98. 6: *ðæt fers eall seo gæderung ðriddan siðan togeðeodende* [text: -enne] mid [blank] = *Quem verum omnis congregatio tertio respondeat adjungentes gloria patri*. [The A.-S. has nothing corresponding to the Latin *respondeat*. Of course, the A.-S. participle may be plural, as the Latin one is.]

NSN. (3):—27. 2: *clypað us gewritt ðæt godcunda eala secende* (= *secgende*) = *Clamat nobis scriptura divina fratres dicens*. So *secgende* = *dicens*: 30. 14.—32. 7: *gesutuliende* = *ostendens*.

NPM. (19):—5. 16: *7 gif fleonde helle wite life we wyllað becumen to ðam ecan* = *Et si fugientes gehenne pœnas ad vitam volumus pervenire perpetuam*.—Other examples:—4. 11: *ahwenende* (= *ah wenende*?) = *existimantes*; 12. 14: *forhiçgende* = *contempnentes*; *forlætende* = *relinquentes*: 23. 16, 24. 1; *ib.* = *deserentes*: 23. 17; 32. 12: *gefyllende* = *adimplentes*; 24. 11^a: *gehyrsumiende* (w. dat.) = *obedientes*; *healdende* = *servantes*: 10. 9^b; *ib.* = *observantes*: 117. 16; 51. 10: *myndigende* = *commonentes*; *nimende* = *accipientes*: 92. 7; *ib.* = *assumentes*: 109. 16; 3. 16: *secgende* = *dicentes*; *ðeowgende* (*ðeowiende*) (w. dat.) = *servientes*: 11. 3, 67. 13; 109. 15^b: *wenende* = *estimantes*; *witende* = *scientes*: 107. 12, 116. 4.

GSM. (3):—31. 11: *ðas stefne drihtnes mid dædum ac he geefenlæce secgendes* = *sed vocem illam domini factis imitetur dicentis*. So *secgendes* = *dicentis*, 57. 4^b. Cf. 109. 2^b (*ðencende gescad ðæs halgan iacobes secgende* = *cogitans discretionem sancti jacob dicentis*.)

GPM. (1):—111. 5: *swa hwænne swa geceost* [blank] mid geðeahte [blank] *ondrædendra gode etc.* = *quemcumque elegerit abba cum consilio fratrum timentium deum*.

DSF. (1):—3. 8: est [*sic*] lufterpre [blank] (ðiss)ere stefne [blank] *gelaðgendre* la ge ða leofestan gebroðran = Quid dulcius nobis (ab h)ac voce domini *invitantis*.

ASM. (1):—107. 7: ðæt [blank] for his leahtrum . . . *geðafiendne* (text: -enne) had mid gelicum geðeahthe gif gecysð = Quod si etiam omnis congregatio vitiis suis . . . *consentientem* personam pari consilio elegerit.

APN. (1):—26. 14: higlista [blank] oððe idel word [blank] *stirienda* . . . we . . . fordemað = Scurilitates vero vel verba otiosa et risum *moventia* . . . dampnamus.

2. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin gerund in the ablative (1):—

NSM. (1):—31. 5: *ariende* = *parcendo*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (39).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (30).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (30):—

NSM. (15):—59. 6: ðeah ðe he *amansumad* hit ne gebet teartere genealæce ðræiungan = etiam si *excommunicatus* non emendaverit acrior ei accedat correptio.—Other examples:—100. 3: *bepæht* (MS. *bepæhð*) = *deceptus*; 68. 1^c: *fulfremed* = *sollicitus*; 77. 13: *geasindrod* = *sequestratus*; 97. 17: *gebeden* = *rogatus*; 107. 14: *gehadod* = *ordinatus*; 78. 14: *gehaten* = *jussus*; 104. 6: *geminegod* = *ammonitus*; 54. 7^b: *geðreat* = *correptus*; 2. 5: *geyrsod* = *irritatus*; 78. 11: *pro afered* = *stratus*; 12. 11: *tolysed* = *absolutus*; 98. 17: *unscryd* = *exutus*; *upahafen* = *elatus*: 59. 9, 61. 5.

NSF. (1):—36. 12: sona to ðære soðan lufan godes becymð to ðære *fulfremed* ut seo asend ege = mox ad karitatem dei perveniet illam que *perfecta* foras mittit timorem.

NSN. (1):—70. 17: an pund *awegen* genihtsumige on dege = Panis libera una *propensa* sufficiat in die.

NPM. (10):—10. 7: *ða on ænigum regole na afandode vel [sic] oððe afundennessa lareowas . . . leogan gode . . . synd acnawene* = *qui nulla regula approbati experientia magistri . . . mentiri deo . . . noscuntur*.—Other examples:—113. 9: *astreht* (MS.: *astrehð*) = *prostrati*; 44. 11: *gecyrde* = *conversi*; 10. 1^a: *gelærde* = *docti*; 32. 14: *genyðde* = *angarizati*; 76. 10: *gesawene* = *visi*; 75. 5^a: *gesette* = *positi*; 10. 1^b: *getyde* = *instructi*; 10. 9^a: *nexode* = *molliti*; 109. 15^a: *tobrædde* = *inflati*.

ASM. (2):—118. 12: *ðysne ðane læstan acunnednesse regol awritenne fylstendum criste ðu gefremme* = *hanc miniam inchoationis regulam discriptam adjuvante christo perficias*; 20. 10: *gedonne* = *factam*.

APF. (1):—92. 15: [*b*]rec *ðas ða ða* [blank] *beoð asende on hrægelhuse niman ða hi gecyrrende geðwagenu ðara agenbringan* = *Femuralia hi qui in via diriguntur de vestuario accipiant qui revertentes lota ibi restituant*. [Is the *-u* of *geðwagenu* due to *lota*, and is *geðwagenu* to be considered a neuter despite the gender of [*b*]rec?]]

Note.—In the following, *gewunede* and *gedihte* appear to be used as adverbs:—92. 16: *cufan ȝ tonican beon oðerhwilen synd gewunede sunt [sic] habban æthwigan beteran* = *Cuculle et tunice sint aliquanto solito quas habent modice meliores*; 40. 11: *sittendum eallum gedihte ȝ be endebyrdnyse on sceamolom* = *residentibus cunctis disposite et per ordinem in subselliis*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (9).

1. An A.-S. appositive participle corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (9):—

NSM. (1):—54. 7^a: *ðæt ænig of ðam on sumere færunga tobræd modignesse gif bið gemet teallic etc.* = *Quod si quisque ex eis aliqua forte inflatus superbia repertus fuerit reprehensibilis etc.*

GSF. (1):—16. 7: ðæt he na ðæt an nyðerunga æfwyrðe heorde him sylfan *befæstre* ðolige = ut non solum detrimenta gregis sibi *commissi* non patiatur.

GPF. (1):—16. 9: hæle saule him sylfan *bifæstra* = salutem animarum sibi *commissarum*.

DSN. (1):—57. 3^a: ana [blank] to weorce [blank] to *betæhtum* = Solus sit ad opus sibi *injunctum*.

DPM. (1):—31. 1: ȝ gif fram englum [blank] *betehtum* = et si ab angelis nobis *deputatis*.

DPN. (1):—75. 4: on ðam sylfum *betæhtum* him sylfum ðingum = in assignato sibi *commisso*.

ASM. (1):—104. 4: se [blank] regol fram decanum oððe fram pravostum him sylfan *gesetne* gehealden wite = qui tamen regulam a decanis vel prepositis sibi *constitutam* servare sciat.

ASF. (2):—104. 15: se ne abbod gedrefe *befæste* him sylfum heorde = Qui abbas non conturbet gregem sibi *commissam*; 62. 15: him *betæhte* = sibi *commissum*.

II.—IN THE POEMS.

A.—LONGER POEMS.

BEOWULF (91).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (23).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (19).

NSM. (9):—2272: se ðe *byrnende* biorgas seceð; *ib.* 2569 (or pred.?); 815: wæs gehwæðer oðrum *lifigende* lað.—Other examples:—2219: *slæpende*; 2235: *ðanchyegende*; 2548: *unbyrnende*; 708: *wæccende*; 2062: *wigende* (or *lifigende*?); 2716: *wishyegende*.

NSF. (1):—1953: *ðær hio siððan wel . . . lifgesceafta lifigende breac.*

NPM. (2):—916: *Hwilum flitende* fealwe stræte mearum mæton; 2850: *hy scamierende* scyldas bæran.

N. Dual M. (1):—535: Wit *ðæt gecwædon cnihtwesende.*

DSM. (2):—1389: *ðæt bið drihtguman unlifgendum* æfter selest; 1187: gif he *ðæt eal gemon*, hwæt wit to willan and to worðmyndum *umbor-wesendum* ær arna gefremedon (or subst. here?).

ASM. (3):—2781: *ligegeasan wæg hatne* for horde, *hioroweallende*; 372: Ic hine cuðe *cnihtwesende*; 46: *ðe hine æt frumsceafta forð onsendon ænne ofer yðe umbor wesende.*

APM. (1):—1581: *slæpende* fræt folces Denigea fyftyne men.

II. WITH OBJECT (4).

NSM. (3):—2106: gomela Scilding fela *fricgende* feorran rehte (but Köhler considers *fela* an adverb); 2350: for *ðon* he ær fela nearo *neðende* niða gedigde; 1227: Beo ðu suna minum dædum gedefe dream *healdende*. [Should we not write *dream-healdende*, as Grein does in his Glossary? Cf. *dream-hæbbendra* in Genesis 81. Köhler considers *healdende* as substantivized.]

NPM. (1):—1829: Gif ic *ðæt gefricge* ofer floda begang, *ðæt ðec ymbesittend* egesan ðywað, swa *ðec hetende* hwilum dydon, ic *ðe ðusenda ðegna bringe*, hæleða to helpe (or a substantivized participle, as Köhler holds).

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (68).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (18).

NSM. (9):—1351: oðer *earmsceapen* on weres wæstmum wræclastas træd (may be considered substantivized as by Köhler); 2569: Gewat ða byrnende *gebogen* scriðan (or pred.?); 846: hu he . . . on nicera mere fæge and *geflymed*

feorhlastas bær; *ib.* 1370; 2852: He *gewergad* sæt; 868: *guma gilphlæden* or attrib.?). 262: Wæs min fæder folcum gecyðed, æðele ordfruma Ecgðeow *haten* (may be pred.); 1913: Ceol up geðrang, *lyftgeswenced* on lande stod; 2443: sceolde hwæðre swa ðeah æðeling *unwrecen* ealdres linnan.

NSF. (2):—614: cwen Hroðgares . . . grette *goldhroden* guman on healle; *ib.* 1948.

NSN. (1):—3012: ac ðær is maðma hord, gold unrime grimme *geceapod* (may be pred.).

NS. M. or N. (1):—3085: Hord is gesceawod, grimme *gegongen*.

NPM. (1):—1819: we sæliðend secgan wyllað, feorran *cumene*, ðæt etc.

NPN. (2):—59: Ðæm feower bearn forð *gerimed* in woruld wocun.—Other examples:—3049: ðurhetone (or pred.?).

DSM. (1):—1479: ðæt ðu me a wære forðgewitenum on fæder stæle (cf. *Abs. Ptc. in A.-S.*, p. 16).

APF. (1):—1937: ac him wælbende weotode tealde, *hand-gewriðene*.

II. WITH AN OBJECT (50).

NSM. (27):—1113: wæs eðgesyne . . . æðeling manig wundum *awyrdded*; 721: Com . . . rinc siðian dreamum *bedæled*; *ib.* 1275.—Other examples:—1451: *befongen* frea-wrasnum; 2274: fyre *befangen*; *ib.* 2595; 531: beore *druncen*; 1467: wine —; 2580: bysigum *gebæded*; 3117: strengum *gebæded*; 2359: bille *gebeaten*; 2401: torne *gebolgen*; 2111: eldo *gebunden*; 923: cystum *gecyðed*; 217: winde *gefysed*; 630: guðe *gefysed*; 2309: fyre *gefysed*; 1005: nyde *genydded* (Wülckerhas *genyddde*); 975: synnum *geswenced*; 1368: hundum *geswenced*; 1285: hamere *geðuren*; 250: wæpnum *geweorðad*; 1450: since —; 1038: since *gewurðad*; 1645: dome —; 2255: *hyrsted* golde; 845: niða *ofercumen*.

NSF. (5):—1443: scolde herebyrne hondum *geboden*, sid and searofah sund cunnian.—Other examples:—3018: golde *bereafod*; 1333: fylle *gef(r)ægnod*; 777: golde *geregnad*; 624: mode *geðungen*.

NSN. (5):—553: beadohrægl . . . on breostum læg, golde *gegyrwed*.—Other examples:—2680: niðe *genyded*; 2764: searwum *gesæld*; 2441: fyrenum *geseyngad*; 406: seowed smiðes orðancum.

NS. M. or N. (1): 3146: astah . . . swogende leg wope *bewunden*.

NPM. (3):—1126: Gewiton him ða wigend wica neosian freondum *befeallen* Frysland geseon; 480: Ful oft gebeotedon beore *druncne* ofer ealowæge oretmecgas.—Other examples:—3014: feore *gebohte*.

ASM. (1):—3139: Him ða gegiredan Geata leode ad on eorðan unwaclicne, helmum *behongen*.

ASF. (2):—2931: bryd aheorde, gomela iomeowlan golde *berofene*.—Other examples:—2192: golde *gegyrede*.

ASN. (2):—1900: He ðæm batwearde *bunden* golde swurd gesealde; 1531: wearp ða wundenmæl wrættum *gebunden* yrre oretta (though some consider *gebunden* as nom.).

AS. M. or N. (1):—2769: Swylce he siomian geseah segn eallgylden, . . . *gelocen* leoðocræftum.

APM. (1):—1028: ne gefrægn ic freondlicor feower madmas golde *gegyrede* gummanna fela in ealobence oðrum gesellan.

APN. (2):—2762: Geseah . . . fyrnmanna fatu feormendlease hyrstum *behrorene*; 871: soðe *gebunden*.

Note 1.—Köhler reads *ealo drincende* in 1945, and considers *drincende* an appositive participle; I retain Wülker's *ealodrincende*, which is a substantive.

Note 2.—The text is too defective to admit of classifying the following: 304: *gehroden*; 1031: *bewunden*; 2229: *earmsceapen*; 2230: *sceapen*; 3151: *wunden*.

GENESIS¹ (42).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (10).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (10).

NSM. (3):—1583: ac he *hlihende* broðrum sægde.—Other examples:—874: *sceomiende*; 347: *sorgiende*.

NSF. (1):—890: *gitsiende*.

NSN. (1):—560: *willende*.

NPM. (1):—2066: *hlihende*.

GPF. (1):—81: ðrymmas weoxon duguða mid drihtne *dreamhæbbendra*.

DSM. (2):—2663: ðæt ic ðe lissa *lifigendum* giet on dagum læte duguða brucan, since gesundne; 2649: Me sægde ær ðæt wif hire wordum selfa *unfricgendum*, ðæt etc.

ASM. (1):—2169: ac ic ðe *lifigende* her wið weana gehwam wreo ȝ seylde.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (32).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (11).

NSM. (4):—1571: Swiðe on slæpe sefa nearwode, ðæt he ne mihte on gemynd *drepen* hine handum self mid hrægle wryon.—Other examples:—725: *gehugod*; 481: *gewanod*; 1799: *haten* (may be pred., as Seyfarth holds).

GPM. (1):—1836: feorren *cumenra*.

GPN. (1):—1185: wintra *gebidenra* etc.

ASM. (1):—1865: *geðreadne*.

ASF. (2):—165: *æteowde*; 549: *gesceapene* (or pred.?).

ASN. (1):—2022: *forslegen* (or attrib.?).

APN. (1):—1520: *besmiten*.

II. WITH OBJECT (21).

NSM. (9):—930: dugeðum *bedæled*; 2099: eorlum *bedroren*; 2124: secgum *befylled*; 2605: wine *druncen*;

1818: drihtne *gecoren*; 2668: egesan *geðread*; 2137: elne *gewurðod*; 32: niðes *ofðyrsted*; 2740: hleoðfeðrum *ðeaht* (or pred.?).

NPM. (5):—86: leohte *belorene*; 76: ðystrum *beðeahte*; 1734: metode *gecorene*; 1693: hleoðrum *gedælde*; 2002: eegum *ofðegde*.

NPF. (2):—2082: dome *bedrorene*; 2010: freondum *be-slægene*.

NPN. (2):—2001: secgum *ofslegene*; 1989: helmum *ðeahte*.

ASN. (2):—1263: hundtwelftig *geteled* rime wintra; 2344: *geteled* rimes.

APN. (1):—1336: ðu seofone genim on ðæt sundreced tudra gehwilces *geteled* rimes.

Note.—Seyfarth considers the following as appositive participles:—183: *unwundod*, 319: *fylde*, 1472: *liðend*, 2480: *ðearfende*. But, in *The Abs. Ptc. in A.-S.* (p. 17), I have shown that *unwundod* is used predicatively, and that *fylde* is a finite verb. The form of *liðend* seems to me to show that it is a substantive. I consider that *ðearfende* is used substantively, as does Dietrich (quoted by Wülker).—In 2603, *genearwod*, the text is too defective to admit of classification.

EXODUS (12).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (3).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (3).

NSF. (1):—213: *Wæccende* bad eall seo sibgedriht somod ætgædere maran mægenes.

NPM. (2):—452: flugon *forhtigende* (or pred.?); 264: *lifigende*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (9).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (3).

NPN. (1):—497: synfullra sweet sawlum lunnon fæste *befarene*.

ASM. (1):—412: *unweaxenne*.

ASN. (1):—232: x. hund *geteled* tireadigra.

II. WITH OBJECT (6).

NSM. (3):—532²: wreccum *alyfed*; 532¹: wommum *awyrged*; 549: mihtum *swiðed*.

NSF. (1):—580: golde *geweorðod*.

NPM. (1):—36: swæfon seledreamas since *berofene*.

ASN. (1):—372: *geteled* rime.

DANIEL (13).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (5).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (3).

NSM. (2):—687: *hamsittende* (or attrib.?); 573: *lifgende*.

NPM. (1):—296²: *lifgende*.

II. WITH OBJECT (2).

NSM. (2):—355: ðær ða dædhwatan geond ðone ofen eodon 7 se engel mid, feorh *nerigende*; 396: ðec . . . gastas lofiað liffrean, lean *sellende* eallum . . . [defective MS.] ece drihten.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (8).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

ASM. (1):—521: *gesæledne*.

II. WITH OBJECT (7).

NSM. (3):—736: drihtne *gecoren*; 184²: mode *gefrecnod*; 184¹: mane *gemenged*.

NSN. (1):—556: treow . . . telgum *besnæded*.

NPM. (3):—296¹: lige *belegde*; 92: metode *gecorene*; 259: aldre *generede*.

Note.—Spaeth considers 696 (*Sæton him æt wine wealle belocene*) as appositive, but the participle is rather predicative after *sæton*.

CYNEWULF'S CHRIST (65).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (14).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (13).

NSM. (3):—176: *Hwæt bemurnest þu, cleopast ceari-gende?*—Other examples:—426: *forðgongende*; 1324: *unsco-miende*.

NSF. (4):—1160: *Hell eac ongeat scyldwreccende ðæt* etc.; 1016: *sorgende*; 1584: *scriðende*; 288: *ðristhyegende*.

NPM. (4):—950: *brecende*; 387: *bremende*; 90: *geom-rende*; 992: *wanende*.

DPM. (1): 1266: *sorgendum*.

ASM. (1):—1391: *ða ic ðe on ða fægran foldan gesette to neotenne neorxnawonges beorhtne blædwelan, bleom scinende*.

II. WITH OBJECT (1).

NPM. (1):—1271: *on ðam hi awo sculon wræc winnende wærgðu dreogan*. [Grein¹ and Gollancz^{1&2} write as a compound, *wræcwinnende*.]

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (51).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (15).

NSM. (2):—475: *acwæð Waldend engla, gefysed, Frea mihtig, to Fæder rice*; 970: *Grornað gesargad eal mid-dangeard* (but Hertel considers it predicative after an intransitive verb).

NSF. (3):—1065: *aræred*; 1087: *biseon* (or pred.?); 380: *geblissad*.

NSN. (2):—218: *acenned*; 961: *gesargad*.

NPM. (3):—1229: *arasode*; 1298¹: *ascamode*; 1274: *fordone*.

NPN. (2):—1223: *Donne beoð gesomnad ða clænan fole . . . gecorene bi cystum*; 1071; *Donne weoroda mæst fore Waldende, ece and edgeong, ondweard gæð, neode ond nyde bi noman gehatne* (may be masc., as Cook gives it).

GPM. (1):—179: *Ne ic culpan in ðe, incan ænigne æfre onfunde, womma geworhtra*.

ASN. (1):—890: *mon mæg sorgende fole gehyran, hygegeomor, hearde gefysed, cearum cwiðende cwicra gewyrhtu, forhte afærde*.

APN. (1):—892: *afærde* (quoted under ASN. 889 above).

II. WITH OBJECT (36).

NSM. (6):—625: *ond to ðære ilcan scealt eft geweorðan wurmum aweallen*.—Other examples:—725: *claðum bewunden* (or pred. ?); 1407: *bidæled dugeðum ond dreamum*; 1432: *mane* —; 1206: *deaðfirenum forden*; 10:5 *monnum sended*.

NSF. (4):—192: *ðonne sceal Dauides dohtor sweltan, stanum astyrfed*.—Other examples:—1085: *blode bestemed* (or pred. ?); 908: *gebleod wundrum*; 292: *beaga hroden*.

NS. N. or M. (1):—1139: *ðæs temples segl, wundorbleom geworht to wlite ðæs huses, sylf slat on tu*.

NPM. (21):—940: *steorran swa some stredað of heofone, ðurh ða strongan lyft stormum abeatne*.—Other examples:—1525: *rædum birofene*; 1519: *willum biscyrede*; 1643²: *sorgum biwerede*; 1643¹: *sibbum bisweðede*; 831: *wælmum biwrecene*; 1642: *leohte biwundne*; 1103: *firenum fordone*; 1356: *adle gebundne*; 1538: *lege gebundne*; 993: *hreowum gedreahte*; 1298²: *scondum* —; 1508: *drynces* —; 1644¹: *dreamum gedyrde*; 393: *swegle gehyrste*; 1644²: *Dryhtne gelyfde*; 149: *suslum geslæhte*; 385: *dome geswiðde*; 986: *sundes getwæfde*; 1509: *ðurste geðegede*; 447: *hræglum gewerede*.

GSM. (1):—20: Eadga us siges oðrum *forwyrned*, wlitigan wilsides, gif his weorc ne deag.

DPM. (1):—151: bring us hælolif wergum wite-ðeowum, woþe *forcymenum*.

ASF. (1):—120: Nu we hyhtfulle hælo gelyfað ðurh ðæt Word Godes weorodum *brungen*.

APM. (1):—873: slæpe *gebundne*.

Note.—In 891 (mon mæg sorgende folc gehyran, hygegeomor, hearde gefysed, cearum *cwiðende* cwicra gewyrhtu), Hertel considers *cwiðende* appositive, but to me it seems to be used predicatively as a second accusative.

ELENE (26).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (9).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (7).

NSM. (3):—352: swa hit eft be eow Essaias . . . wordum mælde, *deophycggende* ðurh dryhtnes gast; *ib.* 881; 951: *wiðerhygende*.

NSF. (1):—449: Ne mæg . . . Ebrea ðeod *rædðeahtende* rice healðan.

NPF. (1):—906: sawla ne moton *manfremmende* in minum leng æhtum wunigan.

DSM. (1):—810: Sie ðe, mægena god, ðrymsittendum ðanc butan ende.

ASM. (1):—795: Forlæt nu . . . wynsumne up under radores ryne rec astigan *lyftlacende*.

II. WITH OBJECT (2).

GPM. (1):—1096: Ða se halga . . . eode gumena ðreate god *hergendra*.

DPM. (1):—1220: Ða eallum bebead on ðam gumrice god *hergendum*, werum and wifum, ðæt etc. (Schürmann: substantivized).

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (17).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (3).

NSN. (1):—1226: *mærost beama, ðara ðe of eorðan up aweoxe geloden under leafum.*

GPM. (1):—992: *Næs ða fricendra under goldhoman gad in burgum feorran geferede* [Sievers as quoted by Wülker: *gefereðra*?].

ASM. (1):—529: *mec fæder min . . . unweaxenne wordum lærde.*

II. WITH OBJECT (14).

NSM. (6):—697: *cleopigan ongan sarum besyled.*—Other examples:—932: *sarum forsoht*; 1128: *egesan geacloed*; 720: *hungre gehyned*; 1263: *wirum gewlenced*; 1094: *breostum onbryrðed.*

NSF. (1):—331: *on ðrymme bad . . . geatolic guðcwen golde gehyrsted.*

NSN. (2):—2: *Ða wæs agangen geara hwyrftum tu hund 7 ðreo geteled rimes*; 634: *geteled rime.*

NPM. (2):—766: *dreogað deaðcwale in dracan fæðme ðeostrum forðylmed*; 263: *hyrstum gewerede.*

NPN. (1):—883: *leomu colodon ðreanedum beðeaht.*

GPN. (1):—1284: *Sceall æghwylc . . . worda swa same wed gesyllan, eallra unsnyttro ær gespreccenra.*

ASM. (1):—1058: *ðæt he gesette . . . Iudas ðam folce to bisceope . . . cræftum gecorene.*

Note.—Schürmann (p. 368) considers the following appositive, but I substantive:—279: *meðelhegende*; 395: *synwyr-cende*. On the other hand, as the statistics show, I have classified as appositive participles several words that he considers as substantives.

JULIANA (28).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (11).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (10).

NSM. (5):—68: Ða reordode rices hyrde wið ðære fæmnan fæder frecne mode *daraðhæbbende*; 281: *lyft-lacende*; 137: ðe ðu hæstlice *manfremmende* to me beotast (or subst.?); 445: sceal nu lange ofer ðis *scyldwyrccende* scame ðrowian; 261: *siðende*.

NSF. (1):—252: *gleawhyegende*.

NSN. (1):—648: ic leof weorud læran wille *æfrem-mende*, etc.

NPM. (1):—662: *wæccende*.

DSF. (1):—196: *wiðerhyegendre*.

ASM. (1):—435: *ðrymsittendne* (cf. *Phœnix* 623).

II. WITH OBJECT (1).

GPM. (1):—6: geat on græswong god *hergendra* hæðen hildfruma haligra blod ryhtfremmendra. [Gollancz has *god-hergend[r]a*, in which case we have a substantive.]

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (17).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (7).

NSM. (5):—411: *acyrred*; 320: *afongen*; 417: *bifolen*; 262¹: *geðungen*; 262²: *sended* (or pred., as Conradi holds?).

GPN. (1):—686: *witedra*.

ASM. (1):—617: *awyrgedne*.

II. WITH OBJECT (10).

NSM. (4):—350: facne *bifongen*; 203: niða *gebæded*; *ib*. 462; 582: yrre *gebolgen*.

NSF. (2):—241: heolstre *bihelmad*; 535: breostum *inbryrded*.

NPM. (4):—681: hroðra *bidæled* hyhta lease helle sohton.—Other examples:—486: beore *druncne*; 13: dædum *gedwolene*; 490: sarum *gesohte*.

GUTHLAC (42).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (11).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (10).

NSM. (1):—1085: lac onsægde *deophygcende* dryhtne to willan.

NPM. (7):—203: sceoldon wræcmæggas ofgiefan *gnornende* grene beorgas; *ib.* 651; 117: ðonan sið tugon, wide waðe wuldre besceyrede *lyftlacende*.—Other examples:—401: *murnende*; 828: *scudende*; 879: *wedende*; 635: *wiðerhygcende*.

NPF. (1):—1250: wyrta . . . *hunigflowende*.

GSM. (1):—1190: *neosendes*.

II. WITH OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—1029: ac he hate let torn ðoliende tearas geotan. [Furkert considers ðoliende predicative after *let*, but incorrectly I think. Cf. *Judith* 272.]

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (31).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (8).

NSM. (5):—911: Hreðer innan born *afysed* on forðsið.—Other examples:—1286: *aræred*; 662: *gegearwad*; 1287: *gesewen*; 913: *ungeblyged*.

NSN. (1):—1282: lic colode *belifd* under lyfte.

NPF. (1):—1249: wyrta *geblowene*.

NPN. (1):—1263: scadu sweðredon *tolysed* under lyfte.

II. WITH OBJECT (23).

NSM. (8):—1127: *awrecen wælpilum*; 1260: . . . *wælstreælum*; 967: *flæsce bifongen*; 1143: *leana biloren*; 1004: *foldærne biðeaht*; 640: *attre gebloندن*; 1126: *nearwum genæged*; 1274: *husle gereorded*.

NSF. (1):—1325:—*ðonne seo ðrag cymeð wefen wyrdstafum* (or pred.?).

NSN. (1):—888: *him to honda hungre geðreatad fleag fugla cyn*.

NPM. (7):—116: *wuldre byscyrede*; 873: *dreamum bidrorene*; 872: *hiwes binotene*; 1047: *wilna biscirede*; 645: *wuldre biscyrede*; 858: *adle gebundne*; 1046: *ac in lige sceolon sorgwylmum soden sar wanian*.

NPN. (2):—930: *leomu hefegedon sarum gesohte*; *ib*. 1003.

ASM. (3):—1312: *life bilidenne*; 992: *is me . . . geðuht, ðæt ðe untrymnes adle gongum on ðisse nyhstan niht bysgade, sarbennum gesoht*; 1118: *feorhhord onleac searocægum gesoht*.

APM. (1):—740: *leohte geræhte*.

RIDDLES (44).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (8).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (8).

NSM. (4):—13. 14: *lifgende*; *ib*. 29. 9; 3. 8: *winnende*; 41. 107: *wrotende*.

NSN. (1):—49. 4: *sinc for secgum swigende cwæð*.

NS. F. or N. (1):—84. 5: *wiht . . . ferende*.

NPM. (1):—17. 6: *hi beoð swiððran ðonne ic ȝ mec slitende sona flymað*.

GSF. (1):—55. 5: *stondendre*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (36).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (9).

NSM. (4):—72. 12: *bunden*; 24. 16: *searosæled*; 2. 11: *sended*; 24. 15: *unbunden*.

NSF. (2):—21. 2: *gegyrwed*; 21. 1: *sceapen*.

NS. F. or N. (1):—24. 2: *ic eom wrætlic wiht on gewin sceapen*.

NSN. (1):—31. 2¹: *bewunden*.

NPM. (1):—12. 6¹: *gemædde*.

II. WITH OBJECT (27).

NSM. (12):—28. 14: *mægene binumen*; 28. 13: *strengo bistolen*; 3. 9: *holmmægne biðeaht*; 18. 2: *gefylled dryht-gestreona* (or pred. ?); 2. 10: *holme gehrefed*; 71. 8: *hringum gehyrsted*; 4. 66: *meahtum gemanad*; 41. 85: *gewefen wundorcræfte*; 91. 4: *hringum gyrded*; 5. 2: *hringum hæfted*; 11. 4: *yðum ðeaht*; *ib.* 17. 3.

NSF. (5):—27. 6: *sindrum begrunden*; 71. 1: *reade bewæfed* (or pred. ?); 32. 20: *frætwed hyrstum*; 4. 22: *eare geblonden*; 32. 10: *gecoren cræftum*.

NSN. (2):—31. 3: *fyre gebysgad* (or pred. ?); 31. 2²: *wedre gesomnad* (or pred. ?).

NPM. (4):—14. 8: *meahtum aweahte*; 12. 6²: *mode bestolene*; 14. 7: *reafe birofene*; 12. 7: *dæde gedwolene*.

NPN. (1):—27. 14: *wrætlic weorc smiða wire bifongen*.

ASF. (1):—87. 2: *wombe ðryðum geðrungne*.

ASN. (2):—24. 8: *spilde geblonden*; 30. 3: *listum gegierwed*.

Note 1.—Two Latin appositive participles occur in the Riddles, but are not translated into Anglo-Saxon:—90. 4^{1 & 2}: *Dum starem et mirarem, vidi gloriam magnam: duo lupi stantes et tertium tribul[antes] IIII pedes habebant, cum septem oculis videbant.*

Note 2.—The defective text precludes the classification of the following:—78. 7: *bewrigene*; 83. 3 and 4: *life bewunden*, *fyre gefælsad*; 84. 40: *wuldrum gewlitedad*.

ANDREAS (33).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (7).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (4).

NSM. (3):—1557: *hean*, *hygegeomor*, *heofende spræc*; 378: *ænig ne wende*, *ðæt he lifgende land begete*; 59: *He ða wepende weregum tearum his sigedryhten sargan reorde, grette*.

GSM. (1):—528: *ðu cyninges eart ðegen . . . ðrymsittendes*.

II. WITH OBJECT (3).

NSM. (2):—570: *Æðelinge weox word ȝ wisdom, ah he ðara wundra a dom agende dæl ænigne frætre ðeode beforan cyðde*; 300: *Him ða ofstlice Andreas wið wine ðearfende wordum mælde* (cf. Guthlac 1321, where *wineðearfende* is substantive).

DPF. (1):—491: *Ic wæs on gifeðe iu ȝ nu syxtyne siðum on sæbate, mere hrerendum mundum freorig, eagorstreamas*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (26).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (12).

NSM. (6):—78: *ðy læs ic lungre scyle ablended in burgum . . . leng ðrowian*.—Other examples:—1299: *awerged*; 267: *bewunden*; 1127: *gehæfted*; 436²: *geðreatod*; 436¹: *geðyd*.

NSN. (1):—1529: *sund grunde onfeng deope gedrefed*.

NPM. (1):—665: *næs ðær folces ma . . . sinra leoda nemne ellefne orettmægias, geteled tireadige*.

GPM. (1):—24: *hie blod and fel, fira flæschoman feorran cumenra ðegen*.

ASM. (1):—1651: Ðær se ar godes anne gesette wisfæstne wer, . . . 7 gehalgode . . . , Platan *nemned*.

ASF. (1):—646: ic on ðe sylfum soð oncnawe wisdomes gewit wundorcræfte, sigesped *geseald* (or fact.?).

APM. (1):—883: swylce we gesegon for suna meotudes . . . eowic standan, twelfe *getealde*, tireadige hæleð.

II. WITH OBJECT (14).

NSM. (5):—309: ðæt ðu sæbeorgas secan woldes, mere-streama gemet, maðmum *bedæled*.—Other examples:—1314: duguðum *bereafod*; 413: billum *foregrunden*; 983: elne *gefyrðred*; 1313: myrce *gescyrded*.

NSN. (1):—772: morðre *bewunden*.

NPM. (4):—1631: witum *aspedde*; 1618: wuldre *bescyrede*; 1003: dreore *druncne*; 746: mode *gemyrde*.

DSM. (1):—487: ðæt ðu me getæhte . . . hu ðu wægflotan wære *bestemdon*, sæhengeste sund wisige.

ASF. (1):—675: he lungre ahof woðe . . . wean *onblonden*.

ASN. (1):—1035: gelædde . . . on frið dryhtnes tu 7 hundteontig *geteled* rime (cf. *Andr.* 665 and *Elene* 2, 634).

APN. (1):—1046: weorod on wilsīð wolcnum *beðehte*.

Note.—The MS. is too defective to classify 1025: *gewyrht*.

PHŒNIX (26).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (4).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (4).

NSM. (1):—368: forðon he *drusende* deað ne bisorgað.

NSF. (1):—502: ðonne ðeos woruld *scyldwyrcende* in scome byrneð.

GPM. (1):—178: ealra beama on eorðwege *uplædendra*.

DSM. (1):—623: ond ðe ðonc sy ðrymsittendum. Cf. *Summons to Prayer* 2: ðrymcynninge *thronum sedens*; and *ib.* 25: to ðeodne *thronum regenti*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (22).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (7).

NSM. (3):—525: *afæred*; 180: *gescylded*; 160: *geðungen*.

NPM. (1):—592: *gebredade*.

NPF. (2):—226: *geclungne*; 541: *gecorene*.

ASN. (1):—274: *gefrætwed*.

II. WITH OBJECT (15).

NSM. (9):—535: *flæsce bifongen*; 306: *bregden feðrum*; 602: *brogden wundrum*; 140: *sælum geblyssad*; 27: *wynnum geblowen*; 162: *wintrum gebysgad*; 486: *wæpnum geðryðed*; 551: *wuldre geweorðad*; 550: *breostum onbryrded*.

NSF. (1):—503: *ade onæled*.

NSN. (1):—62: *lyfte gebysgad*.

NPM. (1):—633: *manes amerede*.

ASF. (2):—170^{1 & 2}: *biholene 7 bihydde monegum*.

APM. (1):—488: *sawlum binumene*.

METRES OF BOETHIUS (13).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (6),

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (6).

NSM. (1):—2. 2: *Hwæt ic lioða fela lustlice geo sang on sælum! nu sceal siofigende wope gewæged wreccæ giomor singan sarcwidas* = Boeth.² 3. 2: *Carmina qui quondam studio florente peregi, flebilis in mæstos cogor inire modos*.

NSF. (3):—20. 221: *ðonne hio ymb hi selfe secende smeað*; *ib.* 20. 214; 20. 212: *hwærfeð ymbe hy selfe oft smeagende ymb etc.*

NSN. (1):—3. 4: *ðonne hit winnende his agen leoht anforlæteð*.

NPF. (1):—11. 34: Swa hæfð geheaðerod hefonrices weard mid his anwealde ealle gesceafta, ðæt hiora æghwile wið oðer winð, 7 ðeah *winnende* wreðiað fæstè = Boeth.² 48. 3: Quod *pugnantia* semina fœdus perpetuum tenent.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (7).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (4).

NSM. (1):—1. 82: *forðoht*.
 NSF. (1):—6. 15: *geondstyred*.
 NPM. (1):—25. 7: *ymbestandne* = Boeth.² 95. 2: *sæptos*.
 APM. (1):—19. 4: *alæded* (perhaps should be *alædeð*, as Grein conjectures).

II. WITH OBJECT (3).

NSM. (1):—2. 3: wope *gewæged* (see Latin under 2. 2 above).
 NSN. (1):—3. 8: sorgum *geswenced*.
 NPM. (1):—25. 6: golde *gegerede*.

THE METRICAL PSALMS¹ (37).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (17).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (13).

NSM. (2):—50. 75 (Cot.): ðonne ic . . . ofer snawe self *scinende* ðinre sibbe lufan sona gemete = et super nivem dealbabor; 77. 65¹: *slæpende* = *dormiens*.

NPM. (5):—50. 56 (Cot.): *cerrende* = o; 125. 5^{1 & 2}: *gangende* 7 *ferende* georne wepað = *euntes* ibant et flebant; 146. 10: se ðe mete syleð manegum neatum, hrefnes briddum, ðonne heo *hropende* him cigeað to = Qui dat jumentis escam ipsorum, et pullis corvorum *invocantibus* eum; 113. 25: *lifigende* = qui *vivimus*.

DSN. (1):—82. 6: mid *eardiendum* folce in Tyrum = cum *habitantibus* Tyrum.

DPM. (1):—140. 6: mid mannun *manfremmendum* = cum hominibus *operantibus* iniquitatem.

ASN. (2):—140. 4: sete swæse geheald swylce, drihten, muðe minum (ne læt man sprecan) 7 æðele dor *ymbstandende*, ðæt on welerum wisdom healde = Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo; et ostium *circumstantiæ* labiis meis; 57. 6: *yrnende* = *currens*.

APM. (2):—68. 25: *gramhiegende* = o; 123. 2: *lifigende* = *vivos*.

II. WITH OBJECT (4).

NSM. (2):—104. 10: and him ða mid soðe sægde, *cweðende* = Et statuit . . . *dicens*; 105. 4: Gemune us, drihten, on modsefan forð *hycgende* folces ðines 7 us mid hælo her geneosa = Memento nostri, Domine, in beneplacito populi tui; visita nos in salutari tuo.

NPM. (1):—138. 17: Blodhreowe veras! ge bebugað me, ðe ðæt on geðohtum ðenceað *cweðende* = Viri sanguinum declinate a me; quia *dicitis* in cogitationibus vestris.

GSM. (1):—105. 17: Hi . . . ongunnan . . . onwendan heora wuldor on ðæne wyrsan had hæðenstyrces hig *etendes* = et mutaverunt gloriam suam in similitudinem *comedentis* foenum.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (20).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (9).

NSM. (3):—115. 6: ðinre ðeowan sunu on ðe *acenned* = filius ancillæ tuæ; 148. 9: *alæded* = o; 50. 74: *geclænsod* = mundabor.

NSF. (2):—50. 127 (Cot.): hiorte *geclansod* = cor *contritum*; 143. 10: Ic . . . singe on psalterio, ðe him swynsað oft mid tyn strengum *getogen* hearpe = cantabo tibi; in psalterio decem chordarum psallam tibi.

NSN. (1):—128. 4: *afohten* = *evellatur*.

NPM. (1):—67. 24: *gegaderade* = *conjuncti*.

NPF. (1):—50. 145 (Cot.): *forgeofene* = o (or pred.?).

ASF. (1):—107. 9: Hwylc gelædeð me on lifes byrig
fæste *getrymede* = *Quis deducet me in civitatem munitam*.

II. WITH OBJECT (11).

NSM. (2):—77. 65²: wine *druncen* = *crapulatus a vino*;
54. 24: bealuinwites fæcne *gefylled* = *dolosi*.

NSF. (1):—50. 128 (Cot.): hiorte . . . *geeadmeded* inge-
ðancum = cor . . . *humiliatum*.

NPF. (1):—50. 51 (Cot.): ic . . . bidde ðæt me *forgefene*
gastes wunde an forðgesceaft feran mote. [There is no
Latin correspondence to this part of 50. 51, the verse being
much amplified in the O. E. translation. Grein in Glossary
sub v. *forgifan* says that *forgefene* is accusative absolute, and
supplies *ic* as subject of *mote*. I translate as Dietrich (quoted
by Grein): 'ut mihi condonata animi vulnera in abolitionem
abire possint.']

NPN. (3):—106. 36: syððan greowan lungre land heora
aloden wæstmum = Et seminaverunt agros, et plantaverunt
vineas, et fecerunt fructum nativitatis; 148. 10: fugla cynn
fiðerum *gescyrrped* = volucres pennatae (may also be singu-
lar); 67. 17: wærun cræta tyn ðusendo *geteled* rime =
currus Dei decem millibus multiplex.

DSN. (1):—67. 26: on ðinum temple tidum *gehalgod*,
ðæt ys on Hierusalem = a templo *sancto* tuo quod est in H.
(or NSM.?).

ASF. (2):—59. 8: weallum *beworhte* = *munitam*; 131. 5:
stowe drihtne *gecorene* = locum Domino.

APN. (1):—106. 32: He on westenne wynne streamas
soðfæst sette, ðær he sarig folc *geðewde* ðurste ða blissade =
Quia posuit flumina in desertum, et exitus aquarum in
sitim.

B.—MINOR POEMS.*

AZARIAS (2).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

NPM. (1):—16²: *lifigende*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITH OBJECT (1).

NPM. (1):—16¹: lege *bilegde*.

CALENDAR OF SAINTS (4).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (4).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (2).

NSM. (2):—7: forðy se kalend us cymeð *geðincged* on ðam ylcan dæge; 164: ðætte Haligmonð heleðum *geðinged* fereð to folce.

II. WITH OBJECT (2).

NSM. (2):—142: wæstmum *hladen*; 205: forste *gefe-terad* (may be acc.).

CHARMS (4).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—I. 74: Ful æcer fodres fira cinne *beorht-blowende*, ðu gebletsod weorð.

*The text of the *Ruin* is so defective that I have taken no account of this poem.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (3).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (2).

ASN. (1):—I. 61: heo si geborgen wið ealra bealwa gehwylc, ðara lyblaca geond land *sawen*.

APN. (1):—I. 64: ðæt awendan ne mæge word ðus *gecwedene*.

II. WITH OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—VIII. 30: Iohannes wuldre *gewlitedod*.

CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO HELL, RESURRECTION,
ASCENSION, AND APPEARANCE AT
FINAL JUDGMENT (4).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (4).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

APM. (1):—81: *gebegeg*.

II. WITH OBJECT (3).

NSM. (1):—172: dome *gewurðad*.

NSN. (2):—284: wynnum *bewunden*; 283: gimnum *gefrætewod*.

CREED (1).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

ASM. (1):—10: cyning, hider *asendne*.

DOOMSDAY (5).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (3).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (2).

NSM. (1):—25¹: *mucnigende* cwæð.

NPM. (1):—231: *deriende* gedwinað.

II. WITH OBJECT (1).

NPN. (1):—112: *cumað hider ufon of heofone deað beacnigende tacen* = *signa minantia mortem* of Latin original.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (2).

I. WITH OBJECT (2).

NSM. (2):—290: *blostmum behangen*; 25²: *mode gedrefed*.

DREAM OF THE ROOD (Vercelli Text) (3).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—24: *Hwæðre ic ðær liegende lange hwile beheold hreowcearig hælendes treow*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (2).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

DSN. (1):—49: *Eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed, begoten of ðæs guman sidan*.

II. WITH OBJECT (1).

ASN. (1):—5: *leohte bewunden*.

DURHAM (1).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITH OBJECT (1).

NPN. (1):—19: *Eardiað . . . in ðem minstre unarimeda reliquia, monia wundrum gewurðad*.

EADGAR (2).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (2).

I. WITH OBJECT (2).

NSM. (1):—28 B: hama *bereafod*.NSN. (1):—11 A: agangen wæs tynhund wintra *geteled* rimes.

EADWEARD (2).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (2).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—9: wel *geðungen*.

II. WITH OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—16: lande *bereafod*.

FALLEN ANGELS (DIE KLAGEN DER GEFALLENEN ENGEL) (12).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (12).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (3).

NSM. (1):—181: *aworpen*.NPM. (1):—308: *gefrætewod*.ASF. (1):—341: Godes andsacan hweorfan geond helle, hate *onæled* ufan and utan.

II. WITH OBJECT (9).

NSM. (5):—186: goda *bedæled*; 122: duguðum *bedeled*; 121: wuldre *benemed*; 38: *gebunden* fyrclommum; 131: synnum *forwundod*.NPM. (3):—344: dreamum *bedælde*; 52: susle *begrorene*; 343: wuldres *bescyrede*.NPF. (1):—296: sorgum *bedælde*.

FATES OF MEN (3).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

DSM. (1):—9: god ana wat, hwæt him *weaxendum*
winter bringeð.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (2).

I. WITH OBJECT (2).

NSM. (2):—55: dreamum *biscyred*; 20: mode *gebysgad*.

GLORIA (2).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (2).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (2).

NSM. (2):—10: *asyndrod*; 12: *geblætsod*.

GNOMIC VERSES (1).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT. (1).

NSM. (1):—II. 35: to ðæs oft cymeð deað *unðinged*.

HARROWING OF HELL (HÖLLENFAHRT
CHRISTI) (2).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (2).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (2).

NSM. (1):—24: *hlyhhende spræc*.

NPM. (1):—91: mændon *murnende*.

HUSBAND'S MESSAGE (2).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (2).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

NSF. (1):—13: *ðæt ðu sinchroden sylf gemunde.*

II. WITH OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—39: *nyde gebæded* (MS. is defective).

HYMN (1).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITH OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—43: *haliges gastes fegere gefelled.*

INSCRIPTION ON CROSS AT BRUSSELS (2).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

NSF. (1):—2¹: *bær byfigende.*

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITH OBJECT (1).

NSF. (1):—2²: *blode bestemed.*

JUDITH (9).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITH OBJECT (1).

NPM. (1):—272: *Hi ða somod ealle ongunnon cohhetan, cirman hlude ȝ gristbitian gode orfeorme, mid toðon torn*

ðoligende. [Cf. *Guthlac* 1029: *torn ðoliende*; and *Psalm* 111⁹: *torn toðum ðolian* = *dentibus fremere*.]

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (8).

I. WITH OBJECT (8).

NSM. (2):—67: wine swa *druncen*; 118: *ðystrum forðylmed*.

NSF. (2):—171: golde *gefrætewod*; 129: *ðeawum ge-ðungen*.

ASF. (2):—36: beagum *gehlæste*; 37: hringum *gehrodene*.

ASN. (1):—329: golde *gefrætewod*.

APF. (1):—339: *gerenode golde*.

Note.—A. Müller considers *ðearffendre* in 85 (*ic ðe . . . biddan wylle miltse ðinre me ðearffendre*) and *geweorðod* in 299 (*Him on laste for sweet Ebrea sigore geweorðod*) appositive; they may be, but to me the former seems attributive and the latter predicative.

MALDON (1).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

NPM. (1):—57: *ðæt ge mid urum sceattum to scype gangon unbefohtene* (or pred.?).

RUNESONG (2).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (2).

I. WITH OBJECT (2).

NS. F. or M. (1):—31: flor forste *geworuht*.

NSN. (1):—37: wyrtrumum *underwreðyd*.

SALOMO AND SATURNUS (6).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (3).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (3).

NSM. (1):—105: *ðonne he hangiende helle wisceð.*

NPN. (1):—220: *aterreynn, . . . ða ðe nu weallende ðurh attres oroð ingang rymað.*

ASF. (1):—447: *lifigende.*

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (3).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (2).

NSF. (1):—31: *gegoten.*

NSN. (1):—222: *gescœned.*

II. WITH OBJECT (1).

ASM. (1):—104: *heolstre behelmed.*

SEAFARER (4).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (4).

I. WITHOUT AN OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—106: *cymeð him se deað unðinged.*

II. WITH AN OBJECT (3).

NSM. (3):—16²: *winemægum bidroren*; 17: *bihongen*
hrimgicelum; 16¹: *wynnum biloren.*

SOUL AND BODY (4).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (4).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—46 (Verc.): *ic wæs gast on ðe fram gode sended* (or pred.?).

II. WITH OBJECT (3).

NSM. (2):—34 (Verc.): *flæsce befangen*; 67 (Verc.): *synnum gesargod*.

NSN. (1):—105 (Verc.): *dædum gedrefed*.

SPIRIT OF MEN (4).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITH OBJECT (1).

NPM. (1):—82: *we sculon a hygende hælo rædes gemunan in mode mæla gehwylcum ðone selestan sigora waldend*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (3).

I. WITH OBJECT (3).

NSM. (3):—42: *ðrymme gebyrmed*; 41: *wine gewæged*; 43: *æfestum onæled*.

SUMMONS TO PRAYER.

Note.—No example occurs in the Anglo-Saxon part of this poem, but two occur in the Latin, both with an object:—2: *Ðænne gemiltsað ðe . . . ðrymcyninge thronum sedens*; 25: *to ðeodne thronum regenti*. With both compare *Phoenix* 623: *ðrymsittendum*.

WALDERE (1).

A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITH OBJECT (1).

NSF. (1):—B 19: *Standeð me her on eaxelum Ælfheres laf god and geapneb, golde geweorðod* (or pred.?).

WANDERER (1).**A.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (1).****I. WITH OBJECT (1).**

NSM. (1):—20: *eðle bidæled*.

WHALE (5).**A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (1).****I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).**

NP. M. or N. (1):—32: *bið . . . deofla wise, ðæt hi drohtende ðurh dyrne meahht duguðe beswicað*.

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (4).**I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).**

NSM. (1):—70: *gereahht* (but the passage is doubtful).

II. WITH OBJECT (3).

NSM. (1):—45: *heoloðhelme biðeaht*.

NSN. (1):—10: *sondbeorgum ymbseald*.

NPM. (1):—74: *gyltum gehrodene*.

WIDSID (2).**A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (1).****I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).**

NSM. (1):—39: *ac Offa geslog ærest monna cniht wesende cynerica mæst* (cf. *Beow.* 46, 372, 535, 1187; *Bede* 142. 8, 188. 1).

B.—THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE (1).

I. WITH OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—53: godes and yfles ðær ic cunnade enosle *bidæled*.

WONDERS OF CREATION (3).

A.—THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE (3).

I. WITHOUT OBJECT (1).

NSM. (1):—80: witan . . . oððe hwa ðæs leohtes *lond-buende* brucan mote.

II. WITH OBJECT (2).

NPM. (2):—14, 15: cuðon ryht sprecan, ðæt a *fricgende* fra cynnes 7 *secgende* searoruna gespon a gemyndge mæst monna wiston.

Note.—*Bewriten* of line 19 should be *bewritan* or *bewriðan*, as several editors conjecture.

II.—IN THE POEMS.

Work.	PRESENT PARTICIPLE.										PRETERITE PARTICIPLE.										Total of Pres. and of Preter. Pres.	
	Without Object.					With Object.					Without Object.					With Object.						
	Total.	N.	G.	D.	A.	Total.	N.	G.	D.	A.	Total.	N.	G.	D.	A.	Total.	N.	G.	D.	A.		
Beowulf.....	23	19	13	2	4	4	4	68	18	16	...	1	50	41	9	31
Genesis.....	10	10	6	1	2	1	32	11	4	2	...	21	18	3	42
Exodus.....	3	3	3	9	3	1	6	5	1	12
Daniel.....	5	3	3	2	2	8	1	7	7	13
Cynewulf's Christ.....	14	13	11	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	51	15	12	1	2	36	32	1	1	2	...	65
Elene.....	9	7	5	...	1	1	2	1	1	1	17	3	1	...	...	14	12	1	1	...	26
Juliana.....	11	10	8	...	1	1	1	1	1	...	17	7	5	1	1	10	10	...	...	...	42
Guthlac.....	11	10	9	1	...	1	1	1	...	...	31	8	8	...	...	23	19	...	...	...	28
Riddles.....	8	8	7	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	36	9	9	...	...	27	24	...	...	...	44
Andreas.....	7	4	3	1	...	...	3	2	1	...	26	12	8	1	...	14	10	...	1	3	33
Phoenix.....	4	4	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	22	7	6	...	...	15	12	...	...	3	26
Metres of Boethius.....	6	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	4	3	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	18
Metrical Psalms.....	17	13	7	...	2	4	4	3	1	...	20	9	8	...	...	11	7	...	...	...	37
Minor Poems.....	20	15	13	...	1	1	5	5	...	...	75	21	15	...	1	54	48	...	...	6	95
Totals in Poetry.....	148	125	96	5	11	13	23	18	3	2	419	128	96	6	2	291	248	2	3	38	567	
Totals in Prose.....	1636	807	707	8	42	50	829	786	8	9	807	762	561	7	48	45	16	5	9	15	2443	
Grand Totals.....	1784	932	803	13	53	63	852	804	11	11	1226	890	657	13	50	336	264	7	12	53	3010	

CHAPTER II.

USES OF THE APPOSITIVE PARTICIPLE
IN ANGLO-SAXON.

The uses of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon may be grouped under the three following larger heads:—

I. The Appositive Participle is equivalent to a Dependent Adjectival (Relative) Clause, and denotes either an action or a state, as in:—*Mk.* 3. 1: *ðar wæs an man forscruncene hand hæbbende* = erat ibi homo *habens* manum aridam; *Bede*¹ 246. 7: sende . . . haligne wer 7 in his ðeawum gemetfæstne 7 in leornunge . . . wel *gelæredne* = 194. 28: misit . . . uirum sanctum, . . . scripturarum lectione sufficienter *instructum*; *Beow.* 624: *ðæt hio Beowulfe, beagbroden cwen, mode geðungen* medoful ætbær; *Aelf. L. S.* 28. 58: On ðam ylcan dæge com sum biscoop, helenus *gehaten*.

II. The Appositive Participle is equivalent to a Dependent Adverbial (Conjunctive) Clause, and denotes time, manner, means, etc., as in:—*Bede* 8. 23^b: *ða brynas . . . gebiddende* adwæste = 37. 5: incendia *orando* restinxerit; *ib.* 10. 10: *þæt se ylca biscoop geworden* onbead = 48. 1: Ut idem episcopus *factus* mandarit; *Beow.* 480: Ful oft gebeotedon beore *druncne* ofer ealowæge oretmecgas.

III. The Appositive Participle is substantially equivalent to an Independent Clause, and either (1) denotes an accompanying circumstance or (2) repeats the idea of the principal verb. Doubtless, as Gildersleeve holds (*Latin Grammar*, § 664, Remark 1), an ultimate analysis would show every participle to be dependent in nature; but the dependence here is so slight that it may be ignored. Certainly the function of the participles under this head is so radically

different from that of those under I. and II. as to demand separate consideration. Nor does the fact that in modern English we not infrequently retain the participle in our translation of (2) (cf. *Mat.* 13. 3) invalidate this classification. To define the class negatively: all appositive participles that are not equal to either a dependent adjectival or a dependent adverbial clause are considered as equal to an independent clause. This use of the participle is commonly recognized by Greek and Latin grammarians. Thus, in the remark just cited, Gildersleeve admits this use of the participle, although he objects to its being classed as co-ordinate: "It is sometimes convenient to translate a Participle Sentence by a co-ordinate clause, but the Participle itself is never co-ordinate, and such clauses are never equivalents." Goodwin also recognizes this use; in § 832-§ 844 of his *Moods and Tenses* he designates the relations expressed by his "Circumstantial Participle" as follows: (1) time, (2) means, (3) manner, (4) cause, (5) purpose, (6) condition, (7) concession, (8) "any attendant circumstance, the participle being merely descriptive;" (9) "that in which the action consists." His (8) and (9) cover exactly the ground of my "participle substantially equivalent to an independent clause;" and it seems to me that to give this use the name Co-ordinate is in the interest of simplicity. This modification made, Goodwin's "Circumstantial Participle" would tally perfectly with my "Participle equivalent to a dependent adverbial clause." Fay (*l. c.*) and Milroy (p. 16) explicitly state that the participle is occasionally equivalent to a co-ordinated finite verb. If I dwell on this co-ordinate use of the participle, it is because it has received but scant treatment in our standard English and German grammars (see March, § 459 (4), Mätzner, III, p. 70 (c), and von Jagemann, § 124, c), and is not mentioned in any of the dissertations on Anglo-Saxon or Germanic syntax that have come under my notice. Examples are as follows:—(1):—*Lk.* 4. 39: he *standende* ofer hig ðam fefore behead = *stans super illam imperavit febris*; *ib.* 10. 23: þa cwæp he to his

leorningenihtum bewend = *Et conversus* ad discipulos suos dixit;—*Aelf. L. S.* 146. 458: behyddon his . . . lichaman . . . secgende; *Mat.* 8. 25: hy awehton hyne ƿus cweðende = *suscitaverunt eum dicentes*;—(2):—*Mat.* 11. 25: Se hælýnd cwæþ andswariende = *respondens* Jesus dixit; *ib.* 13. 3: he spræc to hym fela on bigspellum, cweðende = *Et locutus est eis multa in parabolis, dicens*; *Aelf. L. S.* 80. 523: spræc mid . . . reorde god herigende.

The relative frequency of these three uses of the appositive participle—the adjectival, the adverbial, and the co-ordinate—may be gathered from these figures: of the adjectival there are about 1223 instances in all, 881 in the prose and 342 in the poetry; of the adverbial, about 897 instances, 691 in the prose and 206 in the poetry; of the co-ordinate, about 890 instances, 871 in the prose and 19 in the poetry. In all about 3010 examples of the appositive participle have been collected, of which 1784 are present and 1226 are preterite.

So much by way of general statement; let us now consider the three classes in detail.

I. THE APPOSITIVE PARTICIPLE IS EQUIVALENT TO A DEPENDENT ADJECTIVAL (RELATIVE) CLAUSE.

As we have seen, the adjectival is the commonest use of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon, about 1223 examples occurring in all. Of this number 881 occur in the prose, and 342 in the poetry, in each distributed throughout all periods.

The adjectival use is found with both the present and the preterite participles, but is far more frequent with the latter than with the former. About 377 examples occur of the present participle, and about 846 of the preterite. Examples of each participle are given below.

The present participle, in this use, has the power of governing a direct object, but it occurs far more frequently

without an object than with one, especially in Early West Saxon and in the poetry, in the latter of which an object is almost unknown. In all we have 270 present participles without an object and 107 with an object. [See the discussion of the Governing Power of the Participle, in Chapter III.]

The past participle, too, can have an object (see Explanatory Note to Statistics), and in the poetry usually does; in prose the reverse is the case. Of the preterite participles used adjectivally, 609 have no object, of which 525 are found in the prose and 84 in the poetry; while 237 do have an object, of which 39 are from the prose and 198 from the poetry.

As stated in my Introduction, not a few scholars deny the adjectival use to the appositive participle, and class all participles that are equivalent to a relative clause as attributive. I have, however, already explained why I do not accept this view, and have shown that the meaning of the term appositive participle has been extended to include participles equal to relative clauses. Still other scholars admit that the participle equivalent to a relative clause may be used appositively, but only, they maintain, when the participle denotes an act (in the largest sense); that which denotes a state or condition being called attributive. It appears to me that, in so doing, these grammarians are confounding two distinct things, viz., the classification of the participle by its nature and the classification by its syntactical relationship,—a confusion that should be avoided. But I have not ignored the object at which these scholars aim, namely, sharply to discriminate between the participle that has strong verbal (assertive) power and the participle that has strong adjectival (descriptive) power; on the contrary, by arranging the whole of my statistics with reference to whether or not the participle is followed by an object, and by emphasizing the co-ordinate use of the participle, I have tried to segregate the more verbal from the less verbal participles to a degree not

attempted hitherto in Anglo-Saxon. To apply this principle to the matter in hand, the participle that is equivalent to an adjectival (relative) clause: the transitive participle with an object is manifestly nearer a verb than the participle without an object. Again, the preterite participle is more like an adjective than is the corresponding present participle. This will sufficiently explain the chief differences between my statistics and those of former investigators as to the adjectival use of the appositive participle.

The adjectival use occurs in most of the texts, prose and poetical, and I give a few examples here from the chief writers in prose and in poetry.

I. In Prose.

Ælfred.:—*Bede*¹ 8. 2: *pæt* P . . . *wæs* siended to *gelyfendum* Scottum on Crist = 28. 15: Ut . . . P. ad Scottos in Christum *credentes* missus est.—*Ib.* 78. 15: *ðæt* wiif in blodes flownesse *geseted* . . . *meahte* gehrinan = 55. 25: Si ergo in fluxu . . . *posita* . . . *potuit* tangere.—*Boeth.* 46. 27: *Hwæt* is heora nu to lafe, butan se lytla hlisa ȝ se nama mid feaum stafum *awriten*? = 47. 17: Signat superstes fama tenuis pauculis Inane nomen litteris.—*Greg.*¹ 155. 10: *ðonne* he ongiæt be sumum *ðingum* oððe *ðeawum* utanne *ætiæwdum* eall *ðæt* hie innan *ðenceað* = 112^a: qui discussis quibusdam signis exterius *apparentibus* ita corda . . . penetrat etc.

Ps. Th.:—20. 3: *ðu* sendest his heafod kynegold, mid deorwyrðum gimum *astæned* = posuisti in capite ejus coronam de lapide pretioso.

Chron.:—755 F.: Sibertes broðer, Cynehard *gehaten*, ofslōh Cynewulf on Merantune.

Laws:—*Ælfred*, c. 9, Title: Be bearnæacnum wife of *slægenum* [MS. B.: Be *ðam* *ðæt* man ofslæa wif mid cilde].

*Bened.*¹:—25. 16: and nu fram *ðam* englum us *betæhtum* ure weore . . . beoð gebodude = 50. 13: et ab angelis nobis *deputatis* . . . opera nostra nuntiantur.

Bl. Hom. 11. 7 : Arweorðian we Crist on binne *asetene*.

Ælfric :—*L. S.* 54. 83 : gewendon to . . . byrig, Antiochia *geciged* (*sic!*).—*Ib.* 78. 494^{1&2} : Effrem wæs gehaten sum swiðe halig abbod on wæstene *wunigende*, fela wundra *wyrcende*.

Gosp. :—*Mat.* 8. 9 : Soðlice ic eom man under anwealde *gesett* = Nam et ego homo sum sub potestate *constitutus*.—*Ib.* 8. 17 : ðæt wære gefylled ðæt gecweden is ðurh esaiaim ðone witegan, ðus *cweðende* (*sic!*).—*Ib.* 11. 16 : heo ys gelic *sittendum* enapun on foretige = Similis est pueris *sedentibus* in foro.

Wulfst. :—46. 7 : wa eow, . . . ðe lecgað togædere hamas and æhta on unriht begytene on æghwilce healfe.—181. 29 : ealle gemænlice, *gehadode* and læwede, bugon to gode georne.

II. In Poetry.

Beow. :—777 : ðær fram sylle abeag medubenc monig mine gefræge, golde *geregnad*.—*Ib.* 1645 : þa com in gan ealdor ðegna, dædcene mon dome *gewurðad*.

El. :—331 : ðær on ðrymme bad . . . geatolic guðcwen golde *gehyrsted* (or pred.?).—*Ib.* 352 : Swa hit eft be eow Essaias witga for weorodum wordum mælde, *deophyeggende* ðurh dryhtnes gast.

Gen. :—725 : hloh ða ȝ plegode boda bitre *gehugod*.—*Ib.* 1836 : hwæt sie freondlufu ellðeodigra uncer twega, feorren *cumenra*.

II. THE APPOSITIVE PARTICIPLE IS EQUIVALENT TO A DEPENDENT ADVERBIAL (CONJUNCTIVE) CLAUSE.

Of the adverbial use of the appositive participle I have found about 897 examples, 691 in the prose and 206 in the poetry.

The present participle occurs 538 times in this use, and the past participle 359 times.

Of the present participles 430 have no object and 108 have ; of the preterite participles 261 have no object, while 98 have.

In its adverbial use the appositive participle denotes subordinate relations of manner and means (combined here under the head of Modal), of time, of cause, of purpose, of concession, and of condition. Of course, these uses so interlap that at times the same participle can with propriety be put under several different heads. Where classification is so largely a matter of subjectivity, there must be much room for difference of opinion. I trust, however, that in the main my classification will justify itself to my readers. According to my estimate, the approximate number of each use is: Modal, 319 ; Temporal, 248 ; Causal, 228 ; Final, 40 ; Concessive, 33 ; Conditional, 29.

Let us look at each for a moment by itself.

I. MODAL.

The Modal use of the appositive participle is far more frequent in Anglo-Saxon prose than in the poetry, 257 examples occurring in the former and 62 in the latter.

Of these 319 examples 254 are present and 65 are past.

An object is rarely used with the modal participle, only 16 occurring with the present participle and 22 with the preterite.

Though occurring in all periods of Anglo-Saxon, the modal participle is much more common in the works of Alfred than in those of any other author. In his *Bede* and his *Gregory* the construction is especially frequent, about one-third of all the examples being found in these two works. Here, as my statistics show, the Anglo-Saxon participle often translates a Latin gerund in the ablative ; and the frequency of the gerund in the two originals has doubtless caused the large number of modal participles in the two translations.

As stated above, the modal participle denotes both manner and means. It is not always easy to tell which notion

predominates, but the examples below will, it is hoped, sufficiently illustrate the two tendencies.

Some participles denoting manner, instead of being equivalent to a dependent adverbial clause, are practically equivalent to a simple adverb, as in: *Bede*¹ 86. 22^{a&b}: *ðæt he wæccende ðohte ðæt he [no] weotende aræfnde* = 60. 28: quia, quod cogitauit *sciens*, hoc pertulit *nesciens*; *ib.* 38. 1: *þa . . . he ealle ða witu . . . geðyldelice 7 gefeonde abær* = 20. 1: Qui . . . patienter hæc pro Domino, immo *gaudenter* ferebat; *ib.* 310. 30: *þas we seondon arfæstlice fylgende 7 rihtwuldriende* = 239. 23: Hos itaque sequentes nos pie atque *orthodoxe*; *Ælf. Hom.* 1. 52^b: he for ðæm stænendum *welwillende* gebæd; *Mat.* 5. 11: *secgeað ælc yfel ongen eow leogende for me* = dixerint omne malum aduersum vos *mentientes* propter me; etc., etc. Personally I believe it would be better to class such words as participial adverbs rather than adverbial participles; but, as I hesitate to set up new categories, in my statistics I have retained them under the ordinary rubric, save in one or two cases that could not be construed as participles, like *ðreagende* (*Greg.*¹ 159. 18, etc.: see *Statistics*). This use of the participle as an adverb, it is well known, is common in Greek (see Goodwin, *Greek Grammar*, § 1564) and in Latin (see Gildersleeve, *Latin Grammar*, § 325. 6). In Old High German it was so very frequent that there was developed a regular adverbial form of the participle in -o (O. Erdmann, *Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, § 359; see below, Chapter v.). I have not, however, found this use of the participle treated in Koch, Mätzner, March, or in the dissertations on Old English syntax. There is perhaps a suggestion of it in Cosijn (II., p. 97), who writes of *Greg.*¹ 159. 18: "adverbialisch *ðreagende*?" Further illustrations are given under "(2) Manner" below.

(1) *Means.*

I. In Prose.

Ælfred:—*Bede*¹ 22. 9: *þæt se b. ænne dumbne monn gebiddende gehælde* = 282. 30: Ut episcopus mutum *benedi-*

cendo curauerit. So *gebiddende* = *orando* in *Bede*¹ 22. 11, 22. 14, etc.—*Ib.* 72. 3^{a&b}: *ðætte oft [seo cirice] ðæt wiðerworde yfel abeorende 7 ældend bewereð* = 51. 29: *ut sæpe malum quod aduersatur portando et dissimulando conpescat.*—*Greg.*¹ 53. 16: *Sua si micla cræftiga hiertende toscyfð & egesinde stierð ofermetta mid ðære tælinge his hieremonnum, ðæt he hie gebringe on life* = 30^a: *Magnus enim regendi artifex favoribus impellit, terroribus retrahit: ut etc.*—*Ib.* 81. 10, 11: *ðæt is ðæt he sprecende bebiæt ðæt he ðæt wyrrende oðiewe, ðæt hit ðurh ðone fultum sie forðgenge* = 54^a: *quia quod loquendo imperat, ostendendo adjuvat ut fiat.*—*Ib.* 127. 6, 7: *ðæt mod his hieremonna oliccende egesige & ðreatigende olicce* = 88^b: *terrendo demulceat, et tamen ad terroris reverentiam demulcendo constringat.*—*Ib.* 225. 22: *ða monnðwærnesse ðe he ær ðurhtogen hæfde eft ðeahtigende on yfel gewend [Cotton MS.: gewent]* = 170^b: *et mansuetudinem, quam tolerantibus habuerunt, retractantes in malitiam vertunt.*

*Bened.*¹:—2. 10: *nellen ge elciende eowere heortan ahyrdan* = 4. 15: *nolite obdurare corda vestra.*

Bl. Hom.:—89. 34^{a&b}: *raðe he lifgende ut eode of his byrgenne mid his agenre mihte aweht.*

Ælfric:—*Hom.* 1. 226^b: *Mare miht wæs, ðæt he ðone deað mid his æriste tobræc, ðonne he his lif geheolde, of ðære rode astigende.*—*Ib.*, II. 182^{a&2}: *ðone ðe B. na handlunge ac on-beseonde fram his bendum alysde.*

Gosp.:—*Lk.* 12. 25: *Hwylc eower mæg ðencende ican ane elne to his anlicnesse?* = *Quis autem vestrum cogitando potest adjicere ad staturam suam cubitum unum?*—*Mk.* 15. 30: *gehæl ðe sylfne of ðære rode stigende* = *Salvum fac temetipsum descendens de cruce.*

II. In Poetry.

El.:—449: *Ne mæg æfre ofer ðæt Ebrea ðeod rædðeahtende rice healdan.* [May be adjectival, as Schürmann and Garnett hold.]

(2) *Manner.*

I. In Prose.

Ælfred:—*Bede*¹ 72. 9: ða ðe him ne ondrædað *wrotonde* syngian = 52. 1: qui non metuunt *sciendo* peccare.—*Ib.* 102. 21: is sægd ðæt he *beotigende* forecwæde = 83. 27: fertur *minitans* prædixisse.—*Boeth.*¹ 3. 7: Hu B. hine *singende* gebæd, 7 his earfoðu to Gode mænde.—*Ib.* 9. 29: Ongan ða giddien, 7 ðus *singende* cwæð.—*Ib.* 8. 15: þa ic ða ðis leoð, cwæð B., *geomricnde* asungen hæfde, ða com etc. = 4. 2: Hæc dum mecum tacitus ipse reputarem *querimoni- amque lacrimabilem* stili officio signarem, adstittisse . . . uisa est mulier etc.—*Greg.*¹ 185. 9: æresð mon sceal sprecan *asciende*, suelce he be oðrum menn sprece & ascie = 138^a: prius *per quasdam similitudines* velut de alieno negotio requirendi sunt.—*Ib.* 405. 31: hi *ofermodgiende* his gebod forhogdon = *superbiens* ejus jussa contempsit.—*Ib.* 379. 23: Hie sceoldon gehieran hu Essaias se witga *hreowsigende* hine selfne tælde = 294^b: Audiant quod Isaias *magna voce pœnitentiae* se ipse reprehendit.—*Ib.* 381. 25: cwæð ðæt ða scolden bion synderlice Godes ðegnas, ða ðe *unwandiende* ðara scyldegena gyltas ofslogen = 296^b: illos a parte Dei denuntiavit existere, qui delinquentium scelera *incunctanter* ferirent dicens (or adverb?).—*Ib.* 117. 23: Forðam we beoð mid Gode sua micle suiðor gebundne sua we for monnum orsorglicor *ungewitnode* syngiað = 82^a: Tanto ergo apud Dominum obligatiores sumus, quanto apud homines *inulte* peccamus.

Ælfrie:—*Hom.* 1. 54^b: ðæt ðu scealt *miltsigende* forgifan.—*Ib.* I. 340^{a1}: he hit bær on his exlum to ðære eowde *blissigende*.

Gosp.:—*Mat.* 6. 5: ða lufiað ðæt hig gebiddon hi *standende* on gesomnungum = qui amant in synagogis . . . *stantes* orare.—*Mk.* 5. 40: inn-eodon *suwiende* ðar ðæt mæden wæs = *ingreditur* ubi puella erat jacens.—*Ib.* 9. 24: *wepende* cwæð = *cum lacrymis* aiebat.—*Lk.* 22. 65: manega oðre ðing hig him to cwædon *dysigende* = alia multa *blasphemantes* dicebant in eum.

II. In Poetry.

Beow. 2062: him se oðer ðonan losað *wigende*, con him land geare. [If we adopt Heyne's *lifigende*, the participle is Final instead of Modal. See below under Final].—*Ib.* 2235: swa hy on geardagum gumena nathwylc eormenlafe æðelan cynnes ðanchyegende ðær gehydde.—*Ib.* 2595: niwan stefne nearo ðrowode fyre *befongen*, se ðe ær folce weold. [May be Adjectival, but is more probably Modal, as K. Köhler puts it.]

Andr. 1557: hean, hygegeomor, *heofende* spræc. [May be Adjectival.]

Gen. 1582: ac he *hlihende* broðrum sægde.

II. TEMPORAL.

The second most frequent use of the adverbial appositive participle is to denote relations of time. If we use the term *temporal* in a very broad sense, no doubt a number of participles that I have put under other rubrics might be put here, since almost any participle may be looked upon as indicating after a fashion a time relationship. But I have classed as temporal only those participles in which the idea of time seems definite rather than general. Of the 248 temporal participles in Anglo-Saxon, 200 are found in the prose, and 48 in the poetry.

Of these participles 166 are in the present tense, and 82 in the preterite.

As with the modal participle, so here an object is rare; 28 occurring with the present participle and 10 with the preterite.

As my table shows, the temporal participle is sprinkled throughout the periods of Anglo-Saxon.

Examples follow :—

I. In Prose.

Ælfred :—*Bede*¹ 214. 11: swa eft *onlysed* ðy lichamon byrneð = 166. 4: ita *solutus* corpore ardebit.—*Ib.* 264. 25:

song ða *ingongende* ealle gefylde = 208. 25: quod *ingressa* [= uox] totum impleuit.—*Ib.* 142. 8: sægde he ðæt he hine [*i. e., here, sanctuary*] cneoh *weosende* gesawe (MS. Ca: hine cuðe cniht *wesende*) = 116. 12: se *in pueritia* uidisse testabatur.—*Greg.*¹ 93. 9: Hit is gecueden ðæt se sacerð scolde sweltan, gif se sweg nære of him gehiered ægðer ge *inngongendum* ge *utgongendum*, etc. = 62^b: Sacerdos namque *ingrediens* vel *egrediens* moritur, si de eo sonitus non auditur.—*Ib.* 399. 14: Sio Segor gehælde Loth *fleondne* = 318^a: Segor civitas, quæ *fugientem* salvet infirmum.

Ælfric:—*Hom.* i. 232^a: Crist ableow ðone Halgan Gast ofer ða apostolas, ða-gyt *wunigende* on eorðan.—*Ib.* ii. 250^b 2: Se H. ða stod on ðam domerne *gelædd*.

Gosp.:—*Mat.* 7. 6: hig ðonne ongean *gewende* eow tosylton = *conversi* dirumpant vos.—*Mk.* 15. 15: sealde him ðone hælend *beswungenne* = tradidit Jesum flagellis *cæsum* (or Adjectival?).

II. In Poetry.

Beow.:—535: Wit ðæt gecwædon *cniht-wesende*.—*Ib.* 815: wæs gehwæðer oðrum *lifigende* lað.

El.:—529: Ðus mee fæder min on fyrndagum *unweaxenne* wordum lærde.

Gen.:—2169: ac ic ðe *lifigende* her wið weana gehwam wreo ȝ scylde.

III. CAUSAL.

Of the 228 Causal Participles, 157 belong to the prose and 71 to the poetry.

The present participle is found 56 times, the preterite 172 times.

An object occurs with the present participle in 23 instances, and with the preterite in 51 instances.

The causal use is pretty evenly distributed throughout the various prose and poetical texts.

Not a few of the examples are doubtful.

I. In Prose.

Ælfred:—*Bede*¹ 8. 5: þæt Bryttas mid ðy mærran hungre *genedde* ða elreordian of heora gemærum adrifan = 29. 12: Ut Brettones fame famosa *coacti* barbaros suis e finibus pepulerint.—*Ib.* 62. 13: he ða *gefeonde* wæs gefulwod = 47. 22: *credens* baptizatus est.—*Ib.* 186. 31: ac heo swa *ondrædende* from him gewat = 151. 10: quin in tantum *timens* aufugit.

Ælfric:—*Hom.* I. 380^{b2}: he *feallende* tobærst on feower sticca.—*Ib.* I. 594^{b1}: Egeas *geæbyligd* het hine ahon.

Gos.:—*Mk.* 3. 5^b: ofer hyra heortan blindnesse *geunret* cwæð = *contristatus* super cæcitate . . . dicit.—*Mat.* 14. 8: Ða cwæð heo fram hyre meder *gemyngod* = At illa *præmonita* a matre sua . . . inquit (or Temporal?).—*Ib.* 15. 31: swa ðæt ða mænegu wundredon *geseonde* dumbe sprecende etc. = Ita ut turbæ mirarentur *videntes* mutos loquentes.—*Lk.* 4. 28: Ða wurdon hig ealle on ðære gesamnunge mid yrre gefylled, ðas ðing *gehyrende* = Et repleti sunt omnes in synagoga ira, hæc *audientes*.

II. In Poetry.

Andr. 436: wæteregeasa sceal *geðyd* 7 *geðreatod* ðurh ðryðcining, lagu lacende liðra wyrðan.—*Ib.* 746: oððe sel nyton mode *gemyrde*.

El. 1128: he ðan næglan onfeng egesan *geaclod* 7 ðære arwyrðan cwene brohte.

Gen. 1571: Swiðe on slæpe sefa nearwode, ðæt he ne mihte on gemynd *drepen* hine handum self mid hrægle wryon 7 sceome ðeccan.

IV. FINAL.

The appositive participle denoting purpose is rare, only 40 examples having been found; 39 in the prose, and 1 in the poetry (doubtful).

This use is confined almost exclusively to the present participle; but one example occurs in the preterite (*Ælfr.* *Hom.* I. 134^b), and that is doubtful.

The final participle has an object oftener than not; of the 39 present participles 35 have an object. The single example of the preterite participle has no object.

A glance at the table will show that only three examples have been found in Early West Saxon: two in *Bede*, each answering to a Latin participle; and one in *Gregory*, corresponding to a Latin infinitive of purpose. Most of the examples occur in *Ælfrie's Homilies* and in the *Gospels*.

Among the examples may be cited:—

I. In Prose.

Ælfred:—*Bede*¹ 10. 7: bodode; 7 swa mid his lefnysse Godes word *bodigende* on Cent eode = 44. 25: sic Cantiam *prædicaturus* intrauerit (or Pred.?).—*Ib.* 276. 12: licode us efencuman æfter ðeawe arwyrðra rehta *smeagende* be ðam etc. = 215. 1: placuit conuenire nos, *tractaturos* de etc.—*Greg.*¹ 61. 3: Se læce . . . ðe gæð æfter oðra monna husum *læcnigende* = 36^a: percussum *mederi* properat.

*Bened.*¹ 135. 27: sume heora fnada and wrædas gemiccliað, idel lof fram mannum *begytende* = 232. 2: alii fimbrias et phylacteria sua magnificant, gloriam *captantes* ab hominibus.—*Ib.* 134. 13: Oðer cyn is muneca, ðe feor fram mannum gewitað ond westestowa and ælætu and anwunung gelufiað, *geefenlæcende* Elian = 231. 6: Secundum genus est eremitarum qui, procul ab hominibus recedentes, deserta loca et vastas solitudines sequi, atque habitare perhibenter, *ad imitationem* scilicet Eliæ.

Ælfrie:—*Hom.* 1. 74^a: Hi ða begen ðone apostol gesohton, his miltsunge *biddende*.—*Ib.* 1. 134^b: gebrohte ðæt cild ðe heo acende, H. C., *gelacod* to ðam Godes temple (or adjectival?).—*Ib.* 1. 338^b: “ðonne forlæt he ða nigon and hundnigontig on westene and gæð *secende* ðæt an ðe him losode” [or Pred.? Cf. *Mat.* 18. 12: gæð and secð = vadit quærere].

Gosp.:—*Mat.* 19. 3: þa genealæhton him to farisæi hyne *costnigende* 7 cwædon = Et accesserunt ad eum Pharisei ten-

tantas eum, et dicentes.—*Lk.* 2. 45: hig gewendon to hierusalem hyne *secende* = regressi sunt in Jerusalem *quirentes eum.*—*J.* 6. 6: ðæt he cwæð his *fandigende* = Hoc autem dicebat *tentans eum.* So *J.* 8. 6: *fandiende.*

II. In Poetry.

Beow. 2062: if we read *lifigende*; but we have the modal use if we read *wigende* (see above, under Modal).

Dan. 355: wearð se hata lig todrifen 7 todwæsed, ðær ða dædhwaton geond ðone ofen eodon 7 se engel mid, feorh *nerigende*, se ðe ðær feorða wæs, Annanias 7 Azarias 7 Miscel (or pred.?).

V. CONCESSIVE.

The concessive use of the appositive participle is somewhat rarer even than the final. 33 examples occur in all, 25 in the prose, and 8 in the poetry.

Of these 19 are in the present, and 14 in the past tense.

An object is very rare, only 4 occurring with each of the two participles.

As to its distribution, but three examples have been found in Early West Saxon, namely, one each in *Bede*, *Gregory*, and *Orosius*, the two first corresponding to Latin participles, and all being doubtful. Most of the instances are in the *Gospels*. One example occurs in each of these poems: *Beowulf*, *Elene*, *Genesis*, *Guthlac*, *Juliana*, and *Metres of Boethius*, and two in the *Phœnix*.

The following will serve as examples:—

I. In Prose.

Ælfred:—*Bede*¹ 278. 18^b: Gif he æne sipa onfongen, *haten ham hweorfan, ne wille, etc.* = 216. 16^b: Quod si semel susceptus noluerit *inuitatus* redire, etc. [May be temporal, as Miller translates.]—*Greg.* 153. 1: Ac monige scylda open-

lice *witene* beoð to forberanne = 110^a: Nonnulla autem vel aperte *cognita*, mature toleranda sunt, etc. [May be adjectival.]—*Oros.* 250. 14: Æfter ðæm Germanie gesohton Augustus *ungeniedde* him to friðe. [May be modal.]

Ælfric:—*Hom.* i. 596^{b 8}: forðan ðe he ne gewicð soð to bodigenne, nu twegen dagas cucu *hangigende*.

Gosp.:—*Mat.* 13. 13^{a & b}: forðam ic spece to him mid bigspellum, forðam ðe *lociende* hig ne geseoð 7 *gehyrende* hig ne gehyrað = quia *videntes* non videat, et *audientes* non audiunt. So: *Mk.* 4. 12^{a & b}; *Lk.* 8. 10^{a & b}.—*Lk.* 5. 5^b: Eala bebedend ealle niht *swincende* we naht ne gefengon = Præceptor, per totam noctem *laborantes*, nihil cepimus.—*Ib.* 6. 35: læne syllað nan ðing ðanum eft *gehihtende* = date, nihil inde *sperantes*.

II. In Poetry.

Beow. 2350: for ðon he ær fela nearo *neðende* niða gedigde. [K. Köhler classes as modal, but Garnett translates as concessive.]

Gen. 2649: Me sægde ær ðæt wif hire wordum selfa *unfriegendum*, ðæt etc.

Guth. 1260: Bad se ðe sceolde eadig on elne endedogor *awrecen* wælstrælum. [Furkert: Pred. after intransitive verb, but Gollancz translates as appositive and concessive.]

Jul. 241: Symle heo wuldorecning herede æt heortan heofonrices god in ðam nydelafan, nergend fra, heolstre *bihelmad*.

Phoenix: 162: Ðonne waðum strong west gewiteð wintrum *gebysgad* fleogan feðrum snel.—*Ib.* 368: Forðon he *drusende* deað ne bisorgað.

Metres of Boeth. 11. 34: Swa hæfð geheaðærod hefonrices weard mid his anwealde ealle gesceafta, ðæt hiora æghwile wið oðer winð, 7 ðeah *winnende* wreðiað fæste = 48. 3: Quod *pugnantia* semina foedus perpetuum tenent.

VI. CONDITIONAL.

Least frequent of all the adverbial uses of the appositive participle is the conditional. Of the 29 examples 13 are in the prose and 16 in the poetry.

The present participle is used 4 times, the preterite 25.

Twice the present participle has an object, and 11 times the preterite participle.

In Early West Saxon, I have found only 4 examples (1 in *Bede* and 3 in *Boethius*). Late West Saxon, also, has very few examples, there being one doubtful example in *Ælfric* and two in the *Gospels*. In the poetry are represented *Beowulf* (2), *Genesis* (3), *Exodus* (2), *Eadgar* (1), *Andreas* (3), *Elene* (2), *Riddles* (2), and *Metrical Psalms* (1).

As my quotations show, several of these examples are quite doubtful.

Typical examples are :—

I. In Prose.

Ælfred:—*Bede*¹ 278. 18^a: Gif he æne siða onfongen haten ham hweorfan [ne wille] = 216. 16^a: Quod si semel *susceptus* noluerit inuitatus redire etc.—*Boeth.*¹ 30. 25, 26: Ac gif hi yfele sint 7 lytige ðonne sint hi ðe pliolicran 7 geswincfulran hæfd ðonne næfd; forðæm yfele ðegnas bioð simle heora hlafordes fiend = 37. 47 f.: Qui si uitiosi moribus sint, pernicioſa domus sarcina et ipsi domino uehementer inimica.—*Ib.* 91. 8: Ne mæg ic nane cwuce wuht ongitan ðara ðe wite hwæt hit wille, oððe hwæt hit nylle, ðe *ungened* lyste forweorðan = 78. 45: nihil inuenio, quod *nullis* extra *cogentibus* abiciant manendi intentionem et ad interitum sponte festinent.

*Bened.*¹ 28. 2: *geneadod* to anre mile gange, gang willes twa = 54. 7: *angariati* milliario vadunt duo.—*Ib.* 28. 6.

Gosp.:—*Mk.* 7. 15: Nis nan ðing of ðam men *gangende* ðæt hine besmitan mæge = Nihil est extra hominem *introiens* in eum quod possit eum coinquinare. [May be adjectival or

temporal.]—*Ib.* 7. 18: Ne ongyte ge ðæt eall ðæt utan cymð on ðone man *gangende* ne mæg hine besmitan? = Non intelligitis quia omne extrinsecus *introiens* etc. [May be temporal.]

II. In Poetry.

Be w. 1368, 1370: ðeah ðe hæðstapa hundum *geswenced*, heorot hornum trum holtwudu sece, *feorran geflymed*, ær he feorh seleð.

Gen. 1263: Siððan hundtwelftig *geteled* rime wintra on worulde wræce bisgedon fæge ðeoda. So *geteled* rime(s): *Gen.* 1336, 2344; *Exod.* 372; *Andr.* 1035; *Eadgar* 11; *El.* 2 and 634; *Metr. Ps.* 67. 17.

Exod. 232: Wæs on anra gehwam æðelan cynnes alesen under lindum leoda duguðe on folcgetæl fiftig cista; hæfde cista gehwile cuðes werodes garberendra, guðfremmendra .x. hund *geteled* tireadigra.

Andr. 883: Swylce we gesegon for suna meotudes æðelum ecne eowic standan, twelfe *getealde*, tireadige hæleð.

Riddles 24. 15, 16: Nelle ic *unbunden* ænigum hyran nymðe *searosæled*. Saga, hwæt ic hatte! [24. 15 may be temporal.]

III. THE APPOSITIVE PARTICIPLE IS SUBSTANTIALLY EQUIVALENT TO AN INDEPENDENT CLAUSE.

Of the 890 co-ordinate participles 871 are found in the prose, and 19 in the poetry.

The present participle occurs 869 times, and the preterite 21 times.

An object is found far more frequently with the co-ordinate than with the adjectival or the adverbial participle, there being 633 instances with the present, and 2 with the past participle.

The co-ordinate participle is very rare in Early West Saxon and in the poetry; and whenever it occurs in the works of

Ælfred, it is in translation of a Latin appositive participle. It is very common in *Benedict*, in the works of *Ælfric*, in the *Gospels*, and in *Benet*.

I add a few examples to those already given in defining the co-ordinate use of the appositive participle. They are arranged under two heads: (1) the participle denotes an accompanying circumstance; (2) the participle repeats the idea of the principal verb. The former may conveniently be designated as the "circumstantial" participle in the narrower sense; the latter, as the "iterating" participle.

(1) *The "Circumstantial" Participle.*

I. In Prose.

Ælfred:—*Bede*¹ 312. 23^{a & b}: we wuldriað usserne Drihten swa swa ðas wuldredon, noht *toætecende* oððe onweg *ateonde* = 240. 18^{a & b}: glorificamus Dominum sicut . . ., nihil *addentes* uel *subtrahentes*.—*Ib.* 312. 25, 27: ða ðe heo onfengon we eac swelce onfoð, *wuldriende* God Fæder 7 his Sunu = 240. 20, 21, 22: . . . *suscipimus, glorificantes* Deum et filium eius.—*Ib.* 332. 16: Forðon ðe in ðæm ilcan mynstre. . . Hereswið . . . *regollicum ðeodscipum underðeoded*, in ða tid baad ðone ecan sige = 253. 10: Nam H., . . ., *regularibus subdita disciplinis*; expectabat (doubtful).—Other examples:—*Bede* 10. 12: *biddende* = *pæns*; 14. 4: *biddende* = *postulans*; 310. 1: *feohtende* = *compugnantes*; 438. 30: *sittende* = *residens*.—*Oros.*¹ 12. 32, 33: ðonne forð ðonan west *irnende* heo tolið on twa ymb an igland ðe mon hæst Mercen, 7 ðonan *bugende* ut on ðone Wendelsæ . . . ðæt seo ea bið flowende ofer eal Ægypta lond = 13. 20, 22: Ægyptus inferior . . . habet . . . *fluviumque Nilum, qui etc.* . . . *deinde diu ad occasum profluens, faciensque insulam nomine Mercen in media sui: novissime ad septentrionem inflexus plana Ægypti rigat.*

Chron. 656 E (p. 33^b): seo papa seonde ða his writ ðus *cwæðend* (or adjectival?). So 675 E (p. 35^b).

*Bened.*¹ 30. 3: swigean *healdende* ne sprece oð ðæt he geah-sod sy = 56. 19: taciturnitatem *habens* usque ad interrogationem non loquatur.

Ælfric:—*Hom.* 1. 48^a: And gebigde his cneowu, mid micelre stemne *clypigende* etc.—*Ib.* 1. 62^a: Iohannes beseah to heofonum, ðus *cweðende*.

Gosp.: *Mat.* 9. 29: Ða æthran he hyra eagena *cweðynde* = Tunc tetigit oculos eorum, *dicens*.—*Mk.* 1. 41: his hand aðenode 7 hina *æthrinende* [MS. Hatton: *æthrinede*] 7 ðus cwæð = extendit manum suam, et *tangens* eum, ait illi.

Benet 31. 16: mid ealre gehyrsumnessa hine sylfne ðeowde ealdre *geefenlæcende* drihtnes = omni obedientia se subdat majori, *immitans* dominum.

II. In Poetry.

Beow. 916: Hwylum *flitende* fealwe stræte mearum mæton.

Christ 950: Ond on seofon healfa swogað windas, blawað *brecende* bearhtma mæste.—*Ib.* 1016: Forðon nis ænig wundor hu him woruldmonna seo unclæne gecynd cearum *sorgende* hearde ondrede ðonne etc. (or adjectival?)

Metres of Bæth. 20. 212: swa deð monnes saul hweole gelicost, hwærfeð ymbe hy selfe oft *smeagende* ymb ðas eorðlican drihtnes gesceafta dagum 7 nihtum.—*Ib.* 20. 214, 221: *secende*.

Met. Ps. 50. 1. 56 (Cot.): Ac ðu synfulle simle lærdes, ðæt hio *cerrende* Criste herdon 7 hiom lif mid ðe langsum begeton.

(2) The "Iterating" Participle.

I. In Prose.

Ælfred:—*Bede*¹ 330. 30: heo of eorðan *alæded* leorde ðy fifeoðan dæge etc. = 252. 20: de terris *ablata* transiuit.—*Ib.* 240. 26: wool . . . feor 7 wide *grimsigende* micle menigeo monna afylde 7 fornom = 192. 4: longe lateque *desœuiens* . . . strauit.—*Ib.* 312. 2: æfter heora lare . . . geðwærelice

we gelyfað *ondettende* 239. 24: iuxta doctrinam eorum *professi* credimus consonanter, et confitemur.—*Oros.*¹ 240. 9: *wepende* mænde ða unare.

Chron. 1083 E^b: gyrne cleopedon to Gode his miltse *biddende* (or final?).

*Bened.*¹ 4. 10: Be ðæm ilican andgyte se hælend cwið on ðæm halgan godspelle ðus *clypiende* = 8. 16: Unde et Dominus in Evangelio ait.—*Ib.* 11. 8: hy ðeah *forhogiende* me forsawon = 18. 21: ipsi autem *contemnentes* spreverunt me (or modal?).

Ælfric:—*Hom.* 1. 104^b: ðæs Fæder stemn of heofenum hlude swegde, ðus *cwedende*.—*Ib.* 1. 294^b: him to spræc ymbe Godes rice, samod mid him *reordigende*.

Gosp.:—*Mat.* 8. 31: ða deofla soðlice hyne bædon, ðus *cweðende* = Dæmones autem rogabant eum *dicentes*.—*Ib.* 9. 30: se h. bebead him *cweðende* = comminatus est illis Jesus, *dicens*.—*Ib.* 11. 25: Se h. cwæð *andswariende* = *respondens* Jesus dixit.—*Ib.* 12. 10: hi ahsudun hyne ðus *cweðende* = interrogabant eum, *dicentes*.—*Ib.* 13. 31: He rehte him ða gyt oðer big-spel, ðus *cweðende* = . . . proposuit eis, *dicens*.—*Mk.* 3. 11: ðus *cweðende* clypedon = clamabant *dicentes*.

Wulfst. 199. 15: be ðam awrat Iohannes on ðære bec, ðe man hat apocalipsin, ðus *cweðende*. So 201. 8.—*Ib.* 246. 11: swa se witega ðe lærð ðus *cweðende*: sepi aures tuas spinis.

*Benet.*¹ 30. 14: gewrit bebyt *secgende* = scriptura præcipit *dicens*.

II. In Poetry.

Andr. 59: He ða *wepende* weregum tearum his sigedrihten sargan reorde, grette gumena brego geomran stefne.

Christ 387: Forðan hy, dædlhwæte, dome geswiðde, ðæt soðfæste seraphinnes cynn, uppe mid englum a *bremende*, unaðreotendum ðrymmum singað. [Hertel: pred. after intransitive verb.]—*Ib.* 992: Wepað *wanende* wer gum

stefnum, heane, hygegeomre, hreowum gedreahte. [Hertel: attrib., but Gollancz: "weep and moan."]

Guth. 401: Bonan gnornedon, mændon *murnende*, ðæt etc. [May be adjectival or modal.]—*Ib.* 879: hwilum *wedende* swa wilde deor cirmdon on corðre.

Jul. 662: Wærlic me ðinceð, ðæt ge *wæccende* wið hetendra hildewoman wearde healdan.

Spirit of Men 82: Forðon we sculon a *hygende* hælo rædes gemunan in mode mæle gehwylcum ðone selestan sigora waldend! Amen!

Harrowing of Hell 91: ðonne hy gehyrdon, hu we hreow[ige] [mændo]n *murnende* mæg burg usse. [May be adjectival or modal.]

Met. Ps. 104. 10: And him ða mid soðe sægde, *cweðende* = Et statuit illud Jacob in præceptum, et Israel in testamentum æternum, *dicens*.—*Ib.* 105. 4: Gemune us, drihten, on modsefan forð *hygende* folces ðines 7 us mid hælo her geneose = Memento nostri, Domine, in beneplacito populi tui; visita nos in salutari tuo.—*Ib.* 138. 17: Blodhreowe was! ge bebugað me, ðe ðæt on geðohtum ðenceað *cweðende* = Viri sanguinum declinate a me; quia *dicitis* in cogitationibus vestris. [Cf. 104. 10: where *cweðende* = *dicens*.]—*Ib.* 146. 10: Se ðe mete syleð manegum neatum, hrefnes briddum, ðonne heo *hropende* him cigeað to, cuðes æses = Sui dat jumentis escam ipsorum, et pullis corvorum *invocantibus* eum.

NOTES.

1. *Present Participle in a Passive Sense*.—I have found no instance of the present participle used in a passive sense in Old English. [Cf. Kellner, *Syntax des Englischen Verbums*, p. 85 f.; Koch, II, p. 72; Mätzner, II, p. 56; Sweet, § 2312; and, for the Germanic languages in general, O. Erdmann, *Grundzüge*, I, § 132 f.; Falk and Torp, § 138, I; and Grimm, IV, p. 68.]

2. *Passive Participle in an Active Sense.*—The preterite participle of intransitive verbs has an active sense, such as *cumen*, *forðfered*, etc.: *Bede*¹ 396. 20: in ðære he *forðfered* bebyrged beon sceolde = 228. 9: in quo *defunctus* condi deberet; *Ælf. L. S.* 462. 351: oððæt hi becomon to sumum ænlicum felda fægre *geblowen* (*sic!*); *Bl. Hom.* 87. 36: *befealden* to Hælendes cneowum, he cwæð; *Mat.* 7. 6: hig ðonne ongean *gewende* eow tosylton = *conversi* dirumpant vos. Cf. *bewend* in *Mk.* 5. 30; *L.* 7. 9, 10. 23, etc. Occasionally, too, the past participle of transitive verbs has an active sense: *Greg.*¹ 435. 1: gif hi færlecor syngoden *unbeðohte* = 360. 7: si in his sola *præcipitatione* cecidissent (or adverb?); *Ælf. L. S.* xxiv. 2: wæron twegen kyningas on crist *gelyfde*; *ib.*: xxv. 109, xxviii. 15, etc. (see Statistics); *Ælf. Hom.* i. 66. 12: ðonne færlice gewitt he of ðissere worulde, nacod and *forsecyldigod*. But, as in High German (see Grimm as cited below), the use of the preterite participle in an active sense occurs usually, not when the participle is appositive, but when it is attributive or predicative, or has been substantivized; under one of which heads come most of the examples cited by Mätzner, March, Schrader, and Sohrauer. *Druncen* in *wine druncen* and in *beore druncen*, cited by Mätzner and by March as active, seems to me passive in sense. [See Kellner, *Syntax des Verbums*, p. 97 f.; Koch, II, p. 72; Mätzner, III, p. 93; March, § 455; Schrader, § 104; Sohrauer, p. 31; Sweet, § 2356; and, for Germanics, O. Erdmann, *Grundzüge* I., § 133; Falk and Torp, § 138, II; Grimm, IV., p. 73.]

3. *Supplementary Particles.*—Only slight use is made of supplementary particles, which serve the more clearly to indicate the relationship of the participial to the main clause. They seem to be confined to the late West Saxon prose. Examples: *swa swa*: *Ælf. L. S.* xxiii. B. 234: ongan he sworetan *swa swa* eallunga gewæcced on ðam oreðe belocen; *swa ðeah*: *Ælf. Hept.* Numb. 15. 44: Hig *swa ðeah* ablende

beotlice astigon = At illi contenebrati ascenderunt; *ib. Ælf. L. S. XXXI. 42*;—*swa-ðeah-hwæðere: Ælf. L. S. XXIII. B. 285*: ic eom synful wif, *swaðeahhwæðere* utan ymbseald mid ðam halgan fulluhte;—*swilce: Ælf. Hom. I. 60^b*: Drusiana ða aras *swilce* of slæpe awreht; *ib. Ælf. L. S. 158. 174, XXV. 513, XXX. 411, etc.*;—*ða: Ælf. L. S. XXIII. B. 587*: Zosimus ða witodlice gehyrende ðæt . . . he hire to cwæð; *ib. Mk. 8. 13*;—*ðonne: Mat. 7. 6*: hig ðonne ongean gewende eow tosliton = et conversi dirumpunt; *ib. Ælf. Hom. I. 38^b; Ælf. L. S. XXIII. B. 115.*—Mätzner (III, pp. 73, 90) mentions only *swilce*.

4. *Pleonastic "and."*—As with the absolute participle (see *Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 21) so with the appositive there is occasionally a pleonastic *and*: *Bede*¹ 450. 20; *Oros.*¹ 12. 32, 33; *Bl. Hom. 243. 7*; *Ælf. L. S. XXIII. B. 542, 560, 588, etc., etc.* The same is true of Gothic and of Old High German (Gering, p. 401).

I close this chapter with tables showing the distribution of the appositive participle in its several uses (adjectival, adverbial, and co-ordinate), in the whole of Anglo-Saxon Literature.

SUMMARY OF USES.

I.—IN THE PROSE WORKS.

Total.	ADJECTI- VAL.		ADVERBIAL.										CO-ORDI- NATE.		Tot. Adj.	Tot. Adv.	Tot. Co- ord.	Tot. No Obj.	Tot. W. Obj.
			Mod.		Temp.		Cause.		Fin.		Conc.									Cmnd.
	No Obj.	W. Obj.	No Obj.	W. Obj.	No Obj.	W. Obj.	No Obj.	W. Obj.	No Obj.	W. Obj.	No Obj.	W. Obj.	No Obj.	W. Obj.					
107	15	3	48	2	22	1	3	1	1	1	...	...	...	6	18	79	10	93	14
73	35	9	12	1	11	1	8	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	44	27	2	60	13
17	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	14	1	17	...
10	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	4	...	10	...
58	1	...	48	1	6	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	57	...	56	2
24	7	1	3	...	6	...	6	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	16	3	23	1
16	2	1	7	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	10	...	14	2
5	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	4	1	4	5	...
20	...	...	3	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	4	1	16	7	13
4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	3	4	4
13	3	...	6	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	7	...	...	33	...
33	25	...	6	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	2	...	15	...
4	2	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	2	...	...	...
15	13	...	2	...	3	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	5	19	...	25	...
63	4	1	9	1	3	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	12	14	10	27	9
9	3	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	7	14	15	15	1
36	11	1	5	...	6	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	7	12	4	...	...	...
16	11	1	1	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	4	...	...	...
477	80	22	32	4	20	2	11	4	13	2	...	...	...	229	102	88	5	203	274
199	134	5	1	...	21	6	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	139	55	287	194	5
335	40	15	15	...	9	6	4	6	1	1	...	...	...	60	177	43	237	129	206
208	152	3	7	...	6	...	33	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	155	49	4	205	3
15	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	2	11	5	10
26	20	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	2	4	2	26	...
61	3	10	6	...	4	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	25	13	12	36	25	36
38	30	...	1	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	8	8	...	38	...
49	11	5	1	1	5	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	16	16	7	25	24	...
40	33	...	1	...	2	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	33	8	...	40	...
16	5	...	1	...	1	...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	5	7	3	11	5
6	4	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Gosp. ¹ { Pres.....	237	24	20	14	1	15	10	2	4	...	11	9	1	2	...	49	75	44	69	124	115	122
Wulfst. { Pres.....	43	17	6	...	...	16	1	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	23	12	8	36	7
Benet ¹ { Pres.....	9	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	16	2	5	3	6
Benet ¹ { Pres.....	19	12	4	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	13	4
Benet ¹ { Pres.....	103	16	16	4	2	10	4	3	4	...	1	...	1	...	...	7	33	32	31	40	40	63
Benet ¹ { Pres.....	89	15	8	1	1	8	...	3	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	23	16	...	30	9
Total Present.....	1636	222	95	212	13	108	28	30	21	4	34	12	8	2	2	217	633	317	469 ¹	850	807	829
Total Preterite.....	807	525	39	30	2	62	2	105	1	1	...	10	...	9	...	20	1	564	222 ²	21	762	45
Total Pres. & Pret.....	2443	747	134	242	15	170	30	135	22	5	34	22	3	11	2	237	634	881	691	871	1569	874

II.—IN THE POEMS.

Longer Poems:

Beow. { Pres.....	23	3	2	6	1	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	17	1	19	4
Beow. { Pret.....	68	10	35	4	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	...	18	50
Gen. { Pres.....	10	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	10	...
Gen. { Pret.....	32	9	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	11	21
Exod. { Pres.....	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	3	...
Exod. { Pret.....	9	1	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	3	6
Dan. { Pres.....	5	1	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	2
Dan. { Pret.....	8	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	1	7
Christ { Pres.....	14	5	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	13	1
Christ { Pret.....	51	9	29	1	4	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	...	7	36
Elene { Pres.....	17	7	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	3	14
Elene { Pret.....	17	9	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	2
Jul. { Pres.....	11	5	4	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	3
Jul. { Pret.....	17	5	4	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	1
Guð. { Pres.....	31	5	11	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	1
Guð. { Pret.....	31	5	11	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	3
Rid. { Pres.....	8	...	...	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	10	23
Rid. { Pret.....	36	6	25	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...
Andr. { Pres.....	7	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...
Andr. { Pret.....	26	8	8	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...
Phoen. { Pres.....	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	12	14
Phoen. { Pret.....	22	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...
Metr. { Pres.....	6	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	15
Metr. { Pret.....	7	1	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
Boeth. { Pres.....	17	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	4
Boeth. { Pret.....	17	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...
Metr. Ps. { Pres.....	20	6	9	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	11
Metr. Ps. { Pret.....	20	6	9	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...

¹ Without object, 368; with object, 101.² Without object, 217; with object, 5.

SUMMARY OF USES.

III.—IN THE PROSE AND IN THE POETRY.

	Total	ADJECTIV- VAL.		ADVERBIAL.												Co-ORDI- NATE.		Tot. Adj.	Tot. Adv.	Tot. Co- ord.	Tot. No Obj.	Tot. W. Obj.
				Mod.	Temp.		Cause.		Fin.		Conc.		Cond.									
		No Obj.	W. Obj.		No Obj.	W. Obj.	No Obj.	W. Obj.	No Obj.	W. Obj.	No Obj.	W. Obj.	No Obj.	W. Obj.								
Pres. in Prose.....	1636	222	95	212	13	108	28	30	21	4	34	12	3	2	2	217	633	469	850	823		
Pres. in Poetry....	148	48	12	26	3	30	...	3	2	...	1	3	1	...	...	15	4	69	19	125
Total Pres.....	1784	270	107	238	16	138	28	33	23	4	35	15	4	2	2	232	637	538	869	932		
Pret. in Prose.....	807	525	39	30	2	62	2	105	1	1	...	10	...	9	...	20	1	564	222	762		
Pret. in Poetry....	419	84	198	13	20	10	8	16	50	...	...	...	4	5	11	...	...	282	137	128
Total Pret.....	1226	609	237	43	22	72	10	121	51	1	...	10	4	14	11	20	1	846	359	890		
Total Pres.....	1784	270	107	238	16	138	28	33	23	4	35	15	4	2	2	232	637	538	869	932		
Total Pret.....	1226	609	237	43	22	72	10	121	51	1	...	10	4	14	11	20	1	846	359	890		
Grand Total.....	3010	879	344	281	38	210	38	154	74	5	35	25	8	16	13	252	638	1223	897	1822		

CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN OF THE APPOSITIVE PARTICIPLE IN
ANGLO-SAXON.

Is the appositive use of the participle a native English idiom, or is it borrowed from the Latin?

The only direct expressions that are known to me on this question are from Einkenel and myself. In his *Mittelenglische Syntax* (Münster, 1887), p. 273, in treating the present participle, Einkenel says: "Das Part. in appositiver Stellung (im Deutschen wiederzugeben durch Adjectiv-Satz) findet sich gelegentlich im A E., häufiger im Afranz., ist jedoch wol in keinem Falle ein einheimisches Gewächs, sondern stammt aus dem Lat., wo die Construction eine ganz gewöhnliche ist. Die verbale Kraft, die das so verwendete lat. part. besitzt, zeigt sich im A E. und Afranz." And in his chapter on English Syntax in Paul's *Grundriss*², § 129^a, he thus speaks of the preterite participle: "Zu erwähnen ist hier die schon im Altenglischen bekannte später zunehmende appositionelle Verwendung desselben, die vom Lateinischen hervorgerufen und später vom Altfranzösischen vielleicht auch vom Altnordischen unterstützt wird." Einkenel, then, holds that the appositive use of both the present and the past participle in Anglo-Saxon is due to Latin influence.

Before reading Einkenel's treatment I had come to the same general conclusion myself on noticing how sedulously Alfred avoided the use of the appositive participle in his translations from the Latin. And in my monograph on *The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon* (p. 50), in treating of the stylistic effect of the participle in Anglo-Saxon, I incidentally recorded this belief: "Clearly relief was needed here [*i. e.*, from the

heaping up of co-ordinate finite verbs]; and it came through the adoption of the appositive participle from the Latin."

An indirect statement concerning the origin is this by Th. Müller (p. 250): "Doch ist hinzuzufügen, dass die Verwendung der Participien zur Satzverkürzung im Ags. eine ziemlich beschränkte ist, namentlich die Verwendung des absoluten Particips. . . . Im Englischen hat die Anwendung des Part. zur Satzverkürzung sehr an Umfang gewonnen, besonders durch Einwirkung des Französischen und Lateinischen . . . Im Ae. ist die Satzverkürzung durch das Particip. noch beschränkt und nicht viel ausgedehnter, als im Ags." A. Erdmann cautiously expresses himself as follows (p. 30): "However common this use [*i. e.*, the appositive] of the participle present, as shown in II: 1:0, undoubtedly is, still the general run of the language seems to be opposed to the too frequent recurrence of it. There are to be found in the *Gospels*, in spite of the general closeness of the translation, numerous instances of co-ordinate finite verbs or subordinate clauses substituted for Latin-Greek participles present. In many of these passages the English translation readmits the participle, conformably to the original text." Owen (p. 61) seems to consider the construction native to English, though somewhat influenced by the Latin; but, as his statement is indefinite, it need not be quoted.

The statements of both Einkenkel and myself were in the nature of the case incidental and general. May not the present detailed study of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon enable us to make definite statements with reference to at least several of the uses of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon? I believe it will; and I turn, therefore, to the consideration of the several distinctive uses of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon.

I. THE ADJECTIVAL USE.

The appositive use of the present participle that is equivalent to a dependent adjectival (relative) clause, seems to have been largely due to Latin influence and never to have gained

a secure foothold in Anglo-Saxon, because, as my appended tables show :—(1) This use is rare in Early West Saxon. (2) In most of these Early West Saxon examples, the Anglo-Saxon participle is in direct translation of a Latin appositive participle. (3) The construction is rare, also, in the more original prose (the *Chronicle*, the *Laws*, and *Wulfstan*). (4) It is very rare, too, in the poetry ; and most of these examples occur in poems known to be translations of Latin originals. (5) It is common in Ælfric, in the *Gospels*, and in *Benet*. Of the 13 examples in the *Heptateuch* all but 2 are translations from the Latin ; of the 44 examples in the *Gospels* every participle except 1 ; and of the 32 in *Benet* all except 2. Despite this, it is possible that the appositive use of a few slightly verbal participles like *blissigende* and *gefeonde* (see *Bl. Hom.* 5. 8^{a & b}, p. 186 above), and *libbende* and *licgende* (see *Laws* : Cnut II, c. 24, Intr.^{a & b}, p. 181 above) may be the native extension of the attributive use of such participles in postposition, the apposition arising from the fact that we have a series of participles, some with modifiers. [See above pp. 149, 152, and below on the origin of the adjectival appositive preterite participle.]

Whether the foregoing be accepted or not, this much seems certain : the appositive present participle with a direct object is not native to English, a topic the treatment of which is deferred to the close of this chapter (p. 307).

On the contrary, the adjectival use of the appositive preterite participle is probably native ; or, if first suggested by the Latin, was soon naturalized. To me this use seems merely the extension of the attributive use of the preterite participle in postposition (see pp. 149, 152 above) when there was a series of participles modifying a single noun, or when the participle had an object or a somewhat extended adverbial modifier ; as in : *Ælf. Hept. (Exod. 12. 19)* : ne ete ge nan ðing onhafenes, ne utan *cymene* ne innan lande *geborene* ; *ib.* 29. 23 : Ðu nymst . . . anne holne hlaf mid ele *gesprengedne* ; *Beow.* 1126 : Gewiton him ða wigend wica neosian freondum *befeal-*

len Frysland geseon. This difference as to the origin of the appositive present and of the appositive preterite participle is not in reality so strange as may at first appear; for, as already stated in the Introduction, the preterite participle is much more adjectival in nature than is the present participle; and, as our statistics show, in Anglo-Saxon the appositive use of the participle (whether present or past, and in whatever function) is in keeping with this general principle: the construction is most frequent when the participle manifests most of its descriptive (adjectival) and least of its assertive (verbal) power.

Whatever the explanation, it is a fact that the adjectival use of the preterite appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon is far more common than that of the present participle, and it seems thoroughly naturalized, if not native. For our tables show (1) that the construction is common in Early West Saxon, in the more original prose works, and in the poetry, as well as in Ælfric, the *Gospels*, and *Benet*; and (2) that in the translations, notably in the *Heptateuch*, a considerable fraction of the appositive preterite participles used adjectivally are not translations of Latin participles.

The same distinction between the appositive present and the appositive preterite participle is found in the other Germanic languages (see chapter v).

II. THE ADVERBIAL USE.

1. *Modal*.

(1) *Manner*.

The appositive use of the participle (present and past) denoting manner, was probably native to Anglo-Saxon; if not, it was certainly early naturalized. We find this use very often in Early West Saxon, often in Ælfric and the *Gospels*, and occasionally in the more original prose and in the poetry. Moreover, in the translations, the Anglo-Saxon participle

corresponds not only to Latin participles, but also to Latin prepositional phrases, to nouns in the ablative, to finite verbs, to adjectives, and to adverbs; while in not a few cases there is no Latin corresponding to the Anglo-Saxon participle. Nor is the participle denoting manner confined to the poems known to be translations; on the contrary, the largest number of examples in any single poem is found in *Beowulf*. Finally, it may be said that in this use the participle has but slight verbal power; and hence the fact that the construction was native to Anglo-Saxon (or, if this be not allowed, was early naturalized), is what we should expect after what has been said above concerning the lack of verbal power in the Anglo-Saxon participle.

(2) Means.

The appositive use of the participle denoting means was in all probability not native to the English, but was borrowed from the Latin. It is found chiefly in the more direct translations and in the works of Ælfric, and in the former almost invariably corresponds to a Latin participle or to a Latin gerund in the ablative, in the majority of cases to the latter. It is practically unknown in the more original prose and in the poetry. Since the verbal power is more prominent in the participle denoting means than in that denoting manner, we need not be surprised at the difference in the origin (or the naturalness) of the two.

The modal participle in both of its uses has substantially the same history in the other Germanic languages (chapter v).

2. *Temporal*.

With the exception of a few slightly verbal participles like *being*, *living*, and *sleeping*, the temporal use of the appositive participle, strange as it may seem, can hardly have been a native idiom in Anglo-Saxon. When it occurs in the prose translations, it is with but a few exceptions a direct transla-

tion of a Latin appositive participle. Only two examples occur in the more original prose (*Laws*, 1 : *Ine C.* 35 : *Se ðe ðeof slihð*, he mot aðe gecyðan, ðæt he hine *fleondne* for ðeof sloge; and *Wulfstan*, 1 : 295. 14 : hi sculon *fleonde* on gefeohte beon ofslagene). As to the poetry, most of the examples occur in the poems that rest upon Latin originals. 14 examples, however, occur in *Beowulf*, nine in the present and five in the preterite (*lifigende* : 815 and 1953; *unlifgendum* : 1389; *slæpende* : 1581 and 2219; *wesende* (usually in composition with *cniht* and *umbor*) : 46, 372, 535, 1187; *druncen* (in *beore* and *wine druncen*) : 480, 531, 1467; *forðgewitenum* : 1479, which may be adjectival; and *fylle gef(r)ægnod* : 1333). But after all only five different words are involved; these are often used adjectivally, and the temporal use here may be partly due to that fact.* At any rate, the temporal use of the appositive participle can hardly be considered organic in a work showing only five words so used. Moreover, in Anglo-Saxon, time relations are normally denoted by a finite verb introduced by a subordinating conjunction, as is evidenced by its habitual rendering of the Latin temporal participle (see chapter IV).

In the other Germanic languages, also, the temporal use is restricted to participles of slightly verbal power, like *being*, *living*, *sleeping* (chapter V).

3. Causal.

The use of the appositive participle to denote cause seems, in the main, to be an imitation of the Latin. Few examples occur in Early West Saxon; and the majority of these as of those in other translations correspond to Latin participles, though a few answer to substantives in the ablative or to adverbs. The construction is exceedingly rare in the more

* Einkenkel (*Mittelengl. Syntax*, p. 279) derives the temporal use of the preterite appositive participle from the adjectival (relative) use of the same.

original prose, there being but two examples in the *Chronicle* (1087 E: *geseonde*, which has an object and is therefore to be excluded from consideration; 449 A: Hengest 7 Horsa from Wyrtegeorne *geleaðode*, Bretta kyninge, gesohton Bretene (MS. E: *gelaðode* Wyrtegeorn Angelcīn hider; MS. F: com Angelcynn to ðisum lande, *gelaðode* from Wyrtegeorne cinge)) and two in Wulfstan (133. 5^{a & b}: *sculon eowre heortan eargjan swiðe and eowra feonda mægen strangjan ðearle, and ge tofeseðe swiðe aforhte oft litel werod ealhlice forbugað* = 131. 23: *et animam uestram tabescentem faciam, et persequentur uos inimici uestri, et fugietis nullo persequente*). In the poetry, but five examples occur with the present participle; two have an object (*Andreas* 1, and *Guðlac* 1) and are therefore not to be considered; while three occur in poems based on Latin originals (*Genesis* 2, *Exodus* 1). In all probability, then, the causal use of the present appositive participle is not native to Anglo-Saxon poetry. As to the past participle, as I have already said in a preceding chapter, many of the examples are doubtful and may be considered adjectival (relative). K. Köhler, for example, does not consider as causal any one of the nine examples that I have classed as such in *Beowulf*. Most of the other causal preterite participles in Anglo-Saxon poetry are in poems based on Latin originals; those in the prose have been discussed in the beginning of this paragraph.

It seems highly probable, therefore, that the causal use of the present participle in both prose and poetry is due to Latin influence; it seems probable that the causal use of the preterite participle is largely due to Latin influence, but that it is partly an extension of the adjectival use of the preterite participle, which latter has been shown to be so common in Anglo-Saxon. As is shown in chapter IV, the Latin causal participle is in Anglo-Saxon normally translated by a subordinated finite verb.

For the other Germanic languages, see chapter V.

4. *Final.*

The appositive participle denoting purpose is mainly from the Latin. But three examples occur in Early West Saxon, two corresponding to Latin participles and one to a Latin infinitive of purpose. No example has been found in the more original prose. The instances in the *Gospels* and in *Benet* correspond invariably to a Latin participle. The single example in the poetry (already quoted: *Dan.* 355: *nerigende*) is from a poem based on the Latin. A still further reason for considering the final use unoriginal is this: 35 of the 39 present participles have an object (see p. 307 below). But, as the statistics show that the final participle in Old English occurs, as in Latin (Gildersleeve, *Latin Grammar*, § 670, 3), chiefly after verbs of motion, it may well be that the very frequent predicative use of the participle in Anglo-Saxon after verbs of motion contributed somewhat to its appositive use to denote purpose.

See, further, chapters IV and V.

5. *Concessive.*

The concessive use of the appositive participle is likewise to be ascribed to Latin influence. Of the three examples found in Early West Saxon, two are direct translations of Latin participles; while the third (*ungeniedde* in *Oros.* 250. 14), though without a Latin correspondence in this particular instance, answers to (*non*)*coacti*, which occurs elsewhere in Alfred's Latin originals (as in *Bede*² 29. 12: *co-acti* = 8. 5: *genedde*). No instance of the concessive participle has been found in the more original prose. Each example in the *Gospels* is in translation of a Latin participle. Of the eight examples in the poems, that in *Beowulf* (2350: *nearo neðende*) is considered modal by K. Köhler; the other seven occur in poems known to be from Latin originals (one each in *Elene*, *Genesis*, *Guðlac*,

Juliana, *Metres of Boethius*; and two in the *Phoenix*). Moreover, the Boethius example translates a Latin participle.

Compare chapters IV and V.

6. *Conditional.*

The appositive participle denoting a condition is probably due to Latin influence. Four examples occur in Early West Saxon, of which one corresponds to a Latin appositive participle (*Bede* 278. 18^a), one to a Latin absolute participle (*Boeth.* 91. 8), while two have no correspondents in Latin (*Boeth.* 30. 25, 26). Of the two examples in *Benedict*, one answers to a Latin participle, and one is without a correspondent. The two examples in the *Gospels* are translations of Latin participles, as are also the four in *Benet*. Only one example occurs in the remainder of Anglo-Saxon prose. Of the sixteen examples in the poetry, two are in *Beowulf* (1368: *geswenced*; 1370: *geflymed*), one in *Eadgar* (11 A: *geteled rimes*) three in *Genesis* (*geteled* rime(s) in 1263, 1336, and in 2344), two in *Exodus* 232: *geteled tireadigra*, 372: *geteled rime*), three in *Andreas* (309(?): *maðmum bedæled*, 883: *twelfe getealde*, 1035: *geteled rime*), two in *Elene* (2: *geteled rimes*, 634: *geteled rime*), two in the *Riddles* (24. 15: *unbunden*, 24. 16: *searosceled*), and one in the *Metrical Psalms* (67. 17: *geteled rime*).* In ten of these examples, however, the same word (*geteled* nine times, *getealde* once) is used; and, besides, the participle is not unmistakably conditional. From its frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon and its occasional employment in Old Saxon (*Heliand* 1251: *twelivi gitalda*), this seems to have been a favorite locution; but its use appears to have been phraseo-

*The translation of this phrase by Grimm (*computati numero*, note to *Elene* 1035 in his *Andreas u. Elene*), by Grein (*gezält der Zal nach*, in his *Glossary* sub v. *rim*), and by Kent (*the number told*, note to *Elene* 2) is, like the original, ambiguous, except that Kent does say that the participial phrase is used adverbially. Pratje (§ 158) considers the O. S. *gitalda* to be attributive.

logical rather than syntactical. The *Beowulf* examples, also, are doubtful. We know, too, that in Anglo-Saxon a condition is regularly denoted by a subordinated finite verb. I believe, therefore, that the use of the appositive participle to denote a condition is not a native English idiom, but was perhaps borrowed from the Latin.

See, too, chapters IV and V.

III. THE CO-ORDINATE USE.

The co-ordinate participle, in both its "circumstantial" and its "iterating" uses, is a direct importation from the Latin. No clear example of the co-ordinate participle occurs in *Gregory*, and only sixteen examples in the remainder of Alfred's works, each time in direct translation of a Latin participle. Three examples occur in the *Chronicle* and five in *Wulfstan*, all present participles with an object, and all due to Latin influence (see p. 307 below). No example is found in the *Laws*. With about a dozen exceptions all the examples in *Benedict*, in the *Gospels*, and in *Benet* are translations of Latin participles. In the *Prose Psalms*, however, only one of the sixteen co-ordinate participles answers to a Latin participle; but thirteen are present participles with an object, and, therefore, cannot be native English (p. 307).

In the poems, only nineteen examples occur: one in *Beowulf* (916: *flitende*), one in *Andreas* (59: *wepende*), four in *Christ* (387: *bremende*, 992: *wanende*, 950: *brecende*, 1016: *sorgende*), two in *Guthlac* (401: *murnende*, 879: *wedende*), one in *Juliana* (662: *wæccende*), one in *Spirit of Men* (82: *hygcende*), one in the *Harrowing of Hell* (91: *murnende*), three in the *Metres of Boethius* (20. 212: *smeagende*, 20. 214, 221: *secende*), and five in the *Metrical Psalms* (50. 56: *cerrende*, 104. 10: *cweðende* = *dicens*, 105. 4: *hygcende*, 138. 17: *cweðende* = *dicitis*, 146. 10: *hropende* = *invocantibus*). With the exception of *Beow.* 916 (which may not be co-ordinate) and of *Spirit of Men* 82 (of which I do not know the source), all the examples are from

poems known to be based on Latin originals. Two of the examples are in direct translation of Latin participles (*Metr. Ps.* 104. 10: *cweðende* = *dicens*; 146. 10: *hropende* = *invocantibus*), to which may confidently be added a third (*Metr. Ps.* 138. 17: *cweðende*), though here answering to a finite verb, *dicitis*. Finally, the majority of the remaining examples (like *brecende*, *murnende*, *sorgende*, *wæccende*, *wanende*, *wedende*, and *wepende*) really waver between the co-ordinate use on the one hand and the adjectival and the modal on the other; indeed, *brecende*, *murnende*, *sorgende*, and *wanende* are expressly declared to be attributive by Hertel and by Furkert, and I have put them here despite their extreme doubtfulness merely to avoid the appearance of bending statistics to conformity with a theory. The few clear cases that remain of the co-ordinate use (like *cerrende*, *hycgende*, *secende*, and *smeagende*) may, I think, safely be attributed to Latin influence. The Latin co-ordinate participle is in Anglo-Saxon usually rendered by a co-ordinate finite verb (chapter IV).

The co-ordinate participle is likewise uncommon in the other Germanic languages (chapter V).

THE GOVERNING POWER OF THE PARTICIPLE.

1. *The Present Participle.*

I conclude with a remark that applies equally to each of the three uses of the appositive participle: the present appositive participle with a direct object, no matter whether its use is adjectival, adverbial, or co-ordinate, is always in imitation of the Latin. For the Anglo-Saxon present participle, when used appositively, seems originally not to have had the power of governing a direct object in construction,—a fact not noticed hitherto so far as I am aware. This statement is substantiated, I believe, by the following considerations:—

1. Very few examples of a present participle having an object occur in Early West Saxon. Only eighteen examples

have been found in the works of Ælfred, distributed as follows: *Bede* 14, *Gregory* 2, *Orosius* 2.

2. With two exceptions each of these eighteen examples in Early West Saxon is a translation of a Latin appositive participle with a direct object. In one of the exceptional cases (*Greg.*¹ 171. 13: *lærende* (MS. C.: *beoð lærende*) = 126^a: *praedicando*) the Anglo-Saxon participle translates a Latin gerund in the ablative; in the other (*Oros.*¹ 52. 27) the accusative seems to belong to the finite verb as well as to the participle (see Statistics).

3. In hundreds of instances the Early West Saxon translators (Ælfred and his helpers) clearly avoided turning the Latin participle with an object by an Anglo-Saxon participle with an object (see chapter IV).

4. An object is exceedingly rare in the more original prose works, there being but four examples in the *Chronicles*, one in the *Laws*, and six in *Wulfstan*; in all eleven instances.

5. In every one of these eleven examples the participle can be traced directly or indirectly to a Latin source. In the *Chronicle*, *biddende* (1083 E), *cweðende*, which occurs twice (656 E, 675 E, both already quoted above), and *geseonde* (1087 E), may be due to the Latin *petens*, *dicens*, and *videns*, which latter occur so often in the Vulgate *New Testament*, in Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*, in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and in other books that we may assume to have been in the hands of the compiler of MS. E., especially as this MS. is itself occasionally interlarded with Latin. Or, since it was written about 1121 (Plummer, II, § 26), the editor of E. could have borrowed these participles from the Anglo-Saxon *Gospels* or from the works of Ælfric, in both of which they abound. The single example in the *Laws* (Wihtr. C. 18: Preost hine clænsie sylfæs soð, in his halgum hrægle ætforan wiofode, ðus *cweðende*: "Ueritatem dico in Christo, non mentior") may confidently be ascribed to Latin influence, not only that it is *cweðende*, but that the participle is immediately followed by a quotation in Latin. As to *Wulfstan*, four of the examples

are *cweðende* (105. 30, 199. 15, 201. 8, 246. 11), which here as elsewhere is to be ascribed to Latin influence. *dicens* (*dicentes*) occurs five times in Wulfstan, though not in the above examples; twice it is translated by a co-ordinated finite (60. 14, 87. 15) and once by a subordinated finite verb (87. 18), and twice it is not translated at all (31. 32, 77. 3). Moreover, in two instances (201. 8, 246. 11) *cweðende* immediately precedes a quotation in Latin. The other two examples in Wulfstan (244. 7^b: *gemende*, 278. 9: *ðancjende*: see Statistics) sound like translations from the ritual. Be this as it may, the participle may unhesitatingly be ascribed to Latin influence; for in Wulfstan there are interlarded with the Anglo-Saxon fourteen Latin present participles with an object.

6. Very few objects are found with the present participle in the poetry, only twenty-three in all, distributed as follows: *Beowulf* four (1227: dream *healdende*; 2106: *fela fricgende* (but K. Köhler considers *fela* an adverb); 2350: *nearo neðende*; 1829: *ðec hettende*, which may be substantival, as K. Köhler construes it), *Cynewulf's Christ* one (1271: *wræc winnende*, Grein¹ and Gollancz^{1 & 2}: *wræcwinnende*), *Andreas* three (570: *dom agende*, 491: *mere hrerendum*, *mundum freorig*, 300: *wine ðearfende*), *Elene* two (1096: *god hergendra*, 1220: *god hergendum*), *Doomsday* one (112: *deað beacnigende tacen* = *signa minantia mortem*), *Judith* one (272: *mid toðon torn ðoligende*: cf. *Ps.* 111. 9: *torn toðum ðolian* = *dentibus fremere*), *Daniel* two (355: *feorh nerigende*, 396: *lean sellende*), *Guthlac* one (1029: *torn ðoliende*: cf. *Judith* 272), *Juliana* one (6: *god hergendra*: cf. *Elene* 1096, 1220), *Spirit of Men* one (82: *hycgende hælo rædes*), *Wonders of Creation* two (14: *fricgende fira cynnes*, 15: *secgende searoruna gespon*), *Metrical Psalms* four (104. 10: *cweðende* = *dicens*; 138. 17: *cweðende* = *dicitis*; 105. 17: *hæðenstyrces hig etendes* = *in similitudinem comedentis fœnum*; 105. 4: *gemune us, drihten, on modsefan forð hycgende folces ðines* = *memento nostri, Domine, in beneplacito populi tui*). Of

these twenty-three participles, three (*Doomsday* 112, *Metr. Ps.* 104. 10 and 105. 17) are direct translations of corresponding Latin participles with an object; and to this class we may add a fourth (*Metr. Ps.* 138. 17), for the *cweðende* here, though corresponding to *dicitis*, must be due to *dicens*, which occurs not infrequently in the Latin *Psalms*. But what about the remaining nineteen examples? In the first place it is to be noticed that, except in four instances (*Spirit of Men* 82, *Wonders of Creation* 14 and 15, and *Metr. Ps.* 105. 4), the object immediately precedes its participle; that, though they are not so printed in Grein-Wülker, possibly we have accusative compounds (except in *Beow.* 1829), which compounds are in the main descriptive epithets, as are the hyphenated accusative compounds. And an object in an accusative compound seems to me to stand on an entirely different footing from an object in construction (cf. Strong, Logeman, Wheeler, p. 334, and Storch, p. 25). The accusative compound is often made because the Anglo-Saxon had no single word for the idea to be expressed, as when the translator of the *Psalms* (81. 2) turns the Latin *peccator* by *syn-wyrcende*, etc. Oftener, perhaps, the compound is made for the sake of its picturesqueness; hence it is more frequent in poetry than in prose. That the participles which govern an object in composition do stand by themselves and that their governing an object in composition does not necessarily imply an antecedent power of governing an object in construction is attested, I think, by the fact that only one or two of the participles with an object in composition are found, also, with an object in construction. This principle by itself might account for most of the participles under consideration. But we see, further, that of these participles eleven occur in works known to be translations from the Greek or the Latin (*Andreas* 3, *Christ* 1, *Elene* 2, *Judith* 1, *Daniel* 2, *Guthlac* 1, *Juliana* 1), and the participles here may be due in part to the influence of the participles in the originals, even if at times, as in the two examples from the *Elene*, the Anglo-Saxon participles correspond, not to

Latin participles, but to Latin finite verbs. It will be observed, also, that in these eleven examples there are only eight different participles, the participle of *hergian* occurring three times and that of *ðolian* twice. As to the four participles with objects following in construction, I think that they must be ascribed to foreign influence, though I cannot definitely trace that influence in three of the examples, as I do not know the sources of the *Spirit of Men* and the *Wonders of Creation*. *Hyegende* of *Metr. Ps.* 105. 4 may safely be ascribed to the influence of the Latin participles of the *Psalter*, though none is found in the particular verse corresponding to this line.

7. An object is likewise rare in the other Germanic languages, especially in High German and in Old Saxon, as will be shown in chapter v.

8. The only fact known to me that seems to militate against the assumption that the present participle in Anglo-Saxon had not, originally, the power of governing an object, is this: in the *Prose Psalms* there are thirteen examples of the present participle with an object, no one of which is known to have a Latin appositive participle as its original correspondent. All of these participles occur in the Introductions to the *Psalms*. And, in his very able discussion of the *Paris Psalter* (p. 64 ff.), Bruce has shown that these Introductions are paraphrases of Latin originals, principally of the *argumenta* in the commentary *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*. In the originals as given by Bruce I find but two correspondences to our participles: in *Psalms* 34 *siofigende* corresponds to a substantive in the ablative with a genitive modifier (Dauid sang ðysne feower and ðrittigoðan sealrn, *siofigende* to Drihtne his yrmða = *occasione ærumnarum suarum* David hunc psalmum in tempore Jeremiæ componit, etc.), and in *Ps.* 38 to an ablative absolute (Dauid sang ðysne eahta and ðrittigoðan sealrn, *seofigende* to Drihtne, mid hu manegum unrotnessum he wæs ofðrycced under Sawle = *Argentibus* sub Saule *mæroribus*, hunc

psalmum cecinit etc.); while in the remaining eleven examples (37 : *andettende*, 28 : *bebeodende*, 33 : *gehatende*, 39 : *gylpende* (w. gen.), 32 : *herigende*, 47 : *mycliende*, 37 : *seofigende* : 43 : *seofigende*, 32 : *ðanciende*, 45 : *ðanciende*, 31 : *wundriende* (w. gen.)) there is no Latin correspondence. It will be observed, however, that, since one word is repeated four times (*seofigende*) and another twice (*ðanciende*), only seven words are involved; that, although there are no participles in the Latin corresponding to the Anglo-Saxon participles, participles are abundant in the Latin originals; that, as Bruce shows, the *Prose Psalms* are the work of an ecclesiastic; and that the Anglo-Saxon participles are those the Latin correspondents of which must have been often before the eyes and upon the lips of an ecclesiastic (such as *confitens*, *postulans*, *benedicens*, etc.). While, then, in the *Prose Psalms* the number of present participles with an object for which no immediate Latin source has been found, does seem to militate against the statement that originally in Anglo-Saxon the present participle had not the power of governing an object, in reality it does not: the author was an ecclesiastic and naturally molded his English translation on the pattern of what was at once his official language and his literary source.

9. In Late West Saxon, to be sure, especially in Ælfric and in the *Gospels*, there are numerous present participles with direct objects; but this fact does not invalidate the contention that in Anglo-Saxon the present participle had not the governing power originally. It will be observed, further, that in the Late West Saxon translations the participles with objects usually correspond to Latin participles with objects (25 times out of 36 in the *Heptateuch*, 117 times out of 122 in the *Gospels*, and 62 times out of 63 in *Benet*); and that in scores of instances the Latin participle is translated into Anglo-Saxon by a finite verb. The frequency of the participle with an object in Ælfric's *Homilies* and in his *Lives of Saints* is due, of course, to the fact that, as he tells us, these

works are translations from the Latin. The rareness of the present participle with an object in the poems and in the more original prose, especially in the late Wulfstan, would seem to indicate that, despite its great frequency in Ælfric and in the *Gospels*, this construction was never thoroughly naturalized in Anglo-Saxon.

10. Whenever it does govern an object, the present participle, as our examples show, has the same regimen as the verb from which it is derived. We find as object occasionally the genitive (*Gregory*¹ 99. 4: *wilnigende*; *Metr. Ps.* 105. 4: *hyegende*; etc., etc.) and the dative (*Bede*¹ 426. 30: *biosmriendes*; *Ælf. Hom.* II. 128^b: *ðeowigende*; etc., etc.), but usually the accusative (see Statistics).—In the preceding discussion as to the origin of the present participle with a direct object I have included not only the accusative, but all the cases that from the modern English standpoint appear to be direct objects and, in the Early West Saxon texts and in the poems, all participles with objects, whether direct or not.

2. *The Preterite Participle.*

1. With reference to the preterite participle, the word *object*, as stated in the prefatory note to the Statistics, is used to include not only the object in the ordinary sense, but also any noun modifier of the participle. We find with the preterite participle the object in the genitive (*Ælf. L. S.* XXIII. B. 442: *ælces fylstes bedæled*; *Beow.* 845: *niða ofercumen*; *Gen.* 2344: *geteled rimes*; etc., etc.), the dative (*Ælf. Hom.* I. 544^b³: *deorum geferlæhte*; *ib.* II. 314^b: *beboda mannum gesette*; *Bede*¹ 172. 26: *Ðisse fæmnan Gode gehalgodre weorc*; etc., etc.), and the instrumental (*Bede*¹ 214. 11: *onlised ðy lichoman*; *ib.* 344. 28: *ðy betstan leoðe geglenged*; etc., etc.). This use of the preterite participle occurs both in the prose and in the poetry, but much more frequently in the latter. The construction seems to be thoroughly natural in Anglo-Saxon.

2. In the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature, however, I have found but one instance of an appositive preterite participle governing an accusative of the direct object, namely, *Luke* 9. 55 (MSS. B. & C.): hine *bewend*, he hig ðreade = *conversus* increpavit illos. The remaining three MSS. and the corresponding *Glosses* here use a finite verb (see p. 225); and Professor Bright in his footnote to the above passage considers *bewend* a slavish translation of the Latin participle. It is scarcely possible to consider as original a construction of which but one example is found in our texts. I believe, therefore, that in Anglo-Saxon the past participle, when used appositively, did not have the power of governing a direct object.

I append tables showing the Latin correspondences of the Anglo-Saxon appositive participles, in their several uses, in the more definite Anglo-Saxon translations from the Latin.

BEDE.¹

A.-S. PTC. WITHOUT OBJECT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

A.-S. PTC.
WITH OBJECT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

Use.	Tot. Ap. Ptes. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Abs. Ptc.	Fin. Vb.	Inf.	Ger. in Abl.	Ger. in Gen.	Prep. Phr.	Sub. in Abl.	Sub. in Nom.	Adj.	Adv.	No Lat.	Tot. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Gerundive.	Fin. Vb.	No Lat.
Adj. { Pres.....	15	12				1					1		1	3	3			
{ Pret.....	35	26						1			2		6	9	2			
Mod. { Pres.....	48	19		5		19					1	2	2	2	2	1		
{ Pret.....	3	3												1	1			
Temp. { Pres.....	22	19			2			1					1	1	1			
{ Pret.....	11	10												1	1			
Caus. { Pres.....	3	3												1	1			
{ Pret.....	8	6									1		1	1	1			
Fin. { Pres.....	1	1											1	1	1			
{ Pret.....	0												0	0				
Conc. { Pres.....	0												0	0				
{ Pret.....	1	1											0	0				
Cond. { Pres.....	0	0											0	0				
{ Pret.....	1	1											0	0				
Co-ord. { Pres.....	4	4											6	6	1			
{ Pret.....	1	1											1	1				

BOETHIUS.¹

Adj. { Pres.....	2								2					0				
{ Pret.....	6	3		1										0				
Mod. { Pres.....	12	1		1							2		2	0				
{ Pret.....	0													0				
Temp. { Pres.....	1	1												0				
{ Pret.....	0													0				
Caus. { Pres.....	1									1				0				
{ Pret.....	1													0				
Fin. { Pres.....	0													0				
{ Pret.....	0													0				
Conc. { Pres.....	0													0				
{ Pret.....	0													0				
Cond. { Pres.....	0													0				
{ Pret.....	3		1										2	0				
Co-ord. { Pres.....	1	1												0				
{ Pret.....	0													0				

GREGORY.¹

A.-S. PTC. WITHOUT OBJECT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

A.-S. PTC.

WITH OBJECT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

USE.	Tot. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Abs. Ptc.	Fin. Vb.	Inf.	Ger. in Abl.	Ger. in Gen.	Prep. Phr.	Sub. in Abl.	Sub. in Nom.	Adj.	Adv.	No Lat.	Tot. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Ger. in Abl.	Sub. in Acc.	No Lat.
Adj. { Pres.....	1	1												0				
{ Pret.....	7	4												1				
Mod. { Pres.....	48	5		4	2	18	1	7	6	2			1	1			1	
{ Pret.....	3							1		1				0				
Temp. { Pres....	6	4		2							1			0	1			
{ Pret....	6	4												1				
Caus. { Pres....	0													0				
{ Pret....	6	2							2 ¹			1	1	0				
Fin. { Pres.....	1				1									0				
{ Pret.....	0													0				
Conc. { Pres....	0													0				
{ Pret.....	1	1												0				
Cond. { Pres....	0													0				
{ Pret....	0													0				
Co-ord. { Pres....	0													0				
{ Pret....	0													0				

OROSIUS.¹

Adj. { Pres.....	2	1											1	1	1			
{ Pret.....	4	2						1					1	0				
Mod. { Pres....	7									2 ²	1		4	0				
{ Pret....	0													0				
Temp. { Pres....	2												2	0				
{ Pret....	0													0				
Caus. { Pres....	0													0				
{ Pret....	0													1	1			
Fin. { Pres.....	0													0				
{ Pret.....	0													0				
Conc. { Pres....	0													0				
{ Pret....	1													0				
Cond. { Pres....	0												1	0				
{ Pret....	0													0				
Co-ord. { Pres....	3	3												0				
{ Pret....	0													0				

¹ 1 is in the dative.² These are in the genitive.

METRICAL PSALMS.

A.-S. PTC. WITHOUT OBJECT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

A.-S. PTC.

WITH OBJECT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

USE.	Tot. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Abs. Ptc.	Fin Vb.	Inf.	Ger. in Abl.	Gerundive.	Prep. Phr.	Sub. in Abl.	Sub. in Gen.	Adj.	No Lat.	Tot. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Fin. Vb.	Adj.	Prep. Phr.	No Lat.
Adj. { Pres.....	7	2		2						1	1	1	1	1				
Mod. { Pret.....	6	2										4	1	5		1		3
Temp. { Pres.....	1	1											0					1
Caus. { Pret.....	0												0					
Fin. { Pres.....	3	3		2									0					
Conc. { Pret.....	3	1											0					
Co-ord. { Pres.....	0												0					
Co-ord. { Pret.....	0												0					
Co-ord. { Pres.....	2	1										1	1	3	1	1		1
Co-ord. { Pret.....	0												0					

BENEDICT.¹

Adj. { Pres.....	4	2									1	1	1	1				
Mod. { Pret.....	3					1					2	1	1	1				
Temp. { Pres.....	9			2				1	1			5	0					1
Caus. { Pret.....	2											2	0					
Fin. { Pres.....	3	3											3	3				
Conc. { Pret.....	0												0					
Co-ord. { Pres.....	1	1											0					
Co-ord. { Pret.....	1	1											0					
Fin. { Pres.....	0												2	1		1		
Conc. { Pret.....	0												0					
Co-ord. { Pres.....	0												0					
Co-ord. { Pret.....	0												0					
Co-ord. { Pres.....	2	1										1	0					
Co-ord. { Pret.....	8	6		1								1	31	20	7			4
Co-ord. { Pret.....	0												0					

HEPTATEUCH.¹

A.-S. PTC. WITHOUT OBJECT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

A.-S. PTC.

WITH OBJECT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

USE.	Tot. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Abs. Ptc.	Fin. Vb.	Inf.	Ger. in Abl.	Ger. in Gen.	Prep. Phr.	Sub. in Abl.	Sub. in Nom.	Adj.	Adv.	No Lat.	Tot. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Fin. Vb.	Ger. in Abl.	No Lat.
Adj. { Pres.....	3	2		1										10	9	1		
Adj. { Pret.....	30	10		1				2	1				16	0				
Mod. { Pres.....	6	4		1									1	0				
Mod. { Pret.....	1										1			0				
Temp. { Pres.....	4	4												0				
Temp. { Pret.....	0													0				
Caus. { Pres.....	0													0				
Caus. { Pret.....	7	1											6	0				
Fin. { Pres.....	1							1						1	1			
Fin. { Pret.....	0													0				
Conc. { Pres.....	0													0				
Conc. { Pret.....	0													0				
Cond. { Pres.....	0													0				
Cond. { Pret.....	0													0				
Co-ord. { Pres.....	11	5		3									3	25	15	2		
Co-ord. { Pret.....	0													0				

THE GOSPELS.¹

Adj. { Pres.....	24	24												20	19			1
Adj. { Pret.....	17	16									1			6	6			
Mod. { Pres.....	14	10				2		1					1	1	1			
Mod. { Pret.....	0													0				
Temp. { Pres.....	15	15												10	10			
Temp. { Pret.....	6	5		1										1	1			
Caus. { Pres.....	2	2												4	4			
Caus. { Pret.....	5	5												0				
Fin. { Pres.....	0													11	11			
Fin. { Pret.....	0													0				
Conc. { Pres.....	9	9												1	1			
Conc. { Pret.....	0													0				
Cond. { Pres.....	2	2												0				
Cond. { Pret.....	0													0				
Co-ord. { Pres.....	49	45	1	2									1	75	71	3		1
Co-ord. { Pret.....	8	8												0				

METRES OF BOETHIUS.

A.-S. PTC. WITHOUT OBJECT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

A.-S. PTC.

WITH OBJECT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

USE.	Tot. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Abs. Ptc.	Fin. Vb.	Inf.	Ger. in Abl.	Ger. in Gen.	Prep. Phr.	Sub. in Abl.	Sub. in Nom.	Adj.	Adv.	No Lat.	Tot. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Ger. in Abl.	Adj.	No Lat.
Adj. { Pres.....	1										1			0				
{ Pret.....	1	1												3				
Mod. { Pres.....	0													0	1		1	1
{ Pret.....	2			1										0				
Temp. { Pres.....	1												1	0				
{ Pret.....	0												1	0				
Caus. { Pres.....	0													0				
{ Pret.....	1	1												0				
Fin. { Pres.....	2													0				
{ Pret.....	0													0				
Conc. { Pres.....	1	1												0				
{ Pret.....	0													0				
Cond. { Pres.....	0													0				
{ Pret.....	0													0				
Co-ord. { Pres..	1												1	0				
{ Pret..	0													0				

BENET.¹

Adj. { Pres.....	16	14									2			16	16			
{ Pret.....	15	15												8	8			
Mod. { Pres.....	4	1			3									2	2			
{ Pret.....	1	1												1	1			
Temp. { Pres.....	10	10												4	4			
{ Pret.....	8	8												0				
Caus. { Pres.....	3	3												4	4			
{ Pret.....	3	3												0				
Fin. { Pres.....	0													1	1			
{ Pret.....	0													0				
Conc. { Pres.....	0													1		1		
{ Pret.....	1	1												0				
Cond. { Pres.....	0													2	2			
{ Pret.....	2	2												0				
Co-ord. { Pres..	7	7												33	33			
{ Pret..	0													0				

PROSE PSALMS.¹

A.-S. PTC. WITH OBJECT.

A.-S. PTC. WITH-
OUT OBJECT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

LATIN EQUIVALENT.

USE.	Tot. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Abs. Ptc.	Fin. Vb.	Inf.	Ger. in Abl.	Ger. in Gen.	Prep. Phr.	Sub. in Abl.	Sub. in Nom.	Adj.	Adv.	No Lat.	Tot. in A.-S.	Ap. Ptc.	Abs. Ptc.	Sub. in Abl.	No Lat.								
Adj. { Pres.....	0	2					2	1	1		1			0												
Mod. { Pret.....	4													0												
Mod. { Pres.....	3							1	1					0												
	0													0												
Temp. { Pres....	0													0												
	0													0												
Caus. { Pres....	1										1		0													
	0												0													
Fin. { Pres.....	0												0													
	0												0													
Conc. { Pres....	0												0													
	0												0													
Cond. { Pres....	0												0													
	0												0													
Co-ord. { Pres....	3	1						1					1	13		1	1	11								
	0													0												

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANGLO-SAXON RENDERING OF THE
LATIN APPOSITIVE PARTICIPLE.

When not turned by an appositive participle, the Latin appositive participle is translated into Anglo-Saxon as follows:—

I. NORMALLY BY A CO-ORDINATED FINITE VERB.

Most frequently the Latin appositive participle is rendered in Anglo-Saxon by a co-ordinated finite verb, though the texts vary widely, as is evident from the table in the footnote.¹ That the co-ordinated finite verb is the most frequent rendering of the Latin appositive participle, while the subordinated finite verb is the commonest translation of the Latin absolute participle (see *The Abs. Ptc. in A.-S.*, p. 36), is doubtless due to the fact that not a few of the Latin appositive participles have what we have denominated the “co-ordinate” use; and this rendition is, therefore, more appropriate for the appositive than for the absolute participle.

¹The proportion of co-ordinated to subordinated finite verbs is as follows:—

<i>Bede</i> ¹	= 2.14:1.
<i>Benedict</i> ¹	= 1:1.97.
<i>Benet</i> ¹	= 1:2.
<i>Genesis</i> ¹	= 5.36:1.
<i>Gregory</i> ¹	= 1:1.56.
<i>Matthew</i> ¹	= 3:1.
<i>Poetical Psalms</i>	= 1:1.88.
<i>Prose Psalms</i>	= 1:1.27.

The ratio of the total co-ordinated to the total subordinated finite verbs in these works is 1.35:1.

But it must be allowed that no principle has been consistently followed throughout by the Anglo-Saxon translators; and that not infrequently this rendition ignores shades of meaning in the original, and at times does positive violence to the sense. Undoubtedly, however, the modification of the sense of the original is often deliberately made by the translator because of his different conception of the relative importance of the ideas denoted by the Latin verb and the Latin participle.

The co-ordinated verb is usually in the indicative, though occasionally in the optative or the imperative. As a rule, the co-ordinated verb occurs in the same sentence as the verb with which it is co-ordinated, but occasionally it stands in an independent sentence. The clauses are generally united by a conjunction, but sometimes there is no connective.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate the range of the construction:—

(1) *Co-ordinated Indicative*: (a) With a verb in the same sentence: *Bede*² 21. 9: *relinquens* reuersus est = 40. 1: *wæs forlætende* ⁊ hwearf; *Greg.*² 62. 7: Hinc per Isaiam Dominus admonet, *dicens* = 91. 19: forðam myndgode Dryhten ðurh Essaiað ðone witgan ⁊ cwæð; *Mat.* 12. 25: *sciens* dixit = *wiste* ⁊ cwæð; *Gen.*² 22. 3: Abraham *consurgens* stravit etc. = A. *aras* . . . and ferde.—Other examples: *Bede*² 98. 34 (122. 9), 100. 13 (124. 21); *Greg.*² 24. 2 (45. 13), 76. 18, 21 (111. 6, 9); *Gen.* 42. 7, 9; *Mat.* 24. 2, 25. 18; etc., etc.—(b) With a verb in another sentence: *Greg.*² 70. 17: Coram testamenti arca Dominum consulit, exemplum . . . rectoribus *præbens* = 103. 6; frægn ðæs Dryhten beforan ðære earce. . . He *astealde* on ðæm bisene; *Gen.* 42. 3; etc.

(2) *Co-ordinated Optative*: *Greg.*² 394. 23: ne in semetipsis *torpentes* opere alios excitent voce = 461. 15: ðylæs he oðre awece mid his wordum, ⁊ himself *aslawige* godra weorca; *Bede*² 112. 12, 13: *adueniens* . . . peruolauerit, qui . . . *ingrediens* . . . exierit = 136. 1, 2: *Cume* an spearwa,

... fleo 7 *cume* ... ut gewite.—Other examples: *Bened.*² 56. 2 (29. 6), 56. 8 (29. 12); 58. 16 (31. 11); *Mat.*² 22. 24; etc.

(3) *Co-ordinated Imperative*: *Greg.*² 150. 24, 25: Et vos domini eadem facite illis, *remittentes* minas, *scientes* quod et illorum et vester Dominus est in cœlis = 203. 1: Ge hlafordas, doð ge eowrum monnum ðæt ilce be hira andefne & *gemetgiað* ðone ðrean; *geðencað* ðæt ægðer ge hira hlaford ge eower is on hefenum.—Other examples: *Mat.*² 5. 24, 9. 13, 10. 7; *Ps. Th.*² 17. 48; etc.

II. FREQUENTLY BY A SUBORDINATED FINITE VERB.

Almost as frequently as by a co-ordinated finite verb the Latin appositive participle is translated by an Anglo-Saxon subordinated finite verb, introduced by a conjunction that indicates the relation sustained by the Latin participle to the principal verb. The dependent verb in Anglo-Saxon is more commonly in the indicative, though occasionally in the optative; while at times the form of the verb is ambiguous. The use of the indicative or the optative rests upon the well-known distinction between these two moods, but the principle is not infrequently ignored. I cite examples of each mood. In the main, the examples are arranged according to the use of the appositive participle in Latin:—

1. *The Latin Temporal Clause* is translated by a subordinated finite verb introduced by a temporal conjunction or conjunctive phrase: usually by *ða*, *ða ða*, *ðonne*; less frequently by *æfter ðam ðe*, *æfter ðon ðæt*, *mid ðy*, *oð ðæt*, *siððan*, *sona swa*, *swa*, *swa swiðe swa*, *ða hwile ðe*. Examples: (1) *Indicative*:—*ða*: *Mat.*² 27. 24: *Udens* autem pilatus ... lavit manus = *Ða geseah* p. ... *ða* ... he ðwoh his handa; *ib.* 8. 8; *Bede*² 91. 5 (112. 2), 91. 30 (112. 26); *Greg.*² 70. 23 (103. 11); *Gen.*² 28. 18, 30. 9; etc.; *ða ða*: *Bede*² 87. 4 (106. 24); *Greg.*² 136. 5 (181. 17); *Gen.*² 3. 8; etc.; *ðonne*: *Greg.*² 8^a (27. 17), 32. 15 (57. 2); *Ps. Th.*² 21. 11; *Bened.*² 152. 12 (85. 9); etc.; *æfter ðam ðe*: *Greg.*² 216. 23

(287. 9); *æfter ðon ðæt: Bede*² 11. 25 (28. 7); *mid ðy: Bede*² 84. 5 (102. 30); *oððæt: Greg.*² 102. 23 (143. 17); *siððan: Greg.*² 78. 16 (113. 11), *Bened.*² 132. 18 (70. 9); *sona swa: Greg.*² 32. 17 (57. 6); *swa swiðe swa: Greg.*² 68. 17 (99. 21); *ða hwile ðe: Greg.*² 344. 16 (421. 28.—(2) *Optative: ðonne: Bened.*² 32. 11: Injuriam non facere, sed *factam* patienter sufferre = 17. 11: ac *ðonne* him mon yfel *do*, he sceal geðyldelice aræfnian; *Bede*² 83. 6 (100. 33); *Greg.*² 322. 10 (403. 14); *Mat.*² 6. 7; *oð ðæt: Bened.*² 202. 14 (131. 6); *siððan: Bened.*² 138. 14 (73. 9); *sona swa: Bened.*² 138. 14 (73. 9); *swa: Bened.*² 158. 11 (91. 13).

Note.—The Latin Co-ordinate Participle, though normally translated into Anglo-Saxon by a co-ordinated finite verb (see above, p. 321), is sometimes translated by a subordinated finite verb, which clause is temporal. Thus in *Greg.*² 156. 3 (*increpat, dicens* = 207. 14 *tælde, ða he cwæð*) we have as the translation of *dicens* the dependent *ða he cwæð* instead of the more common independent *and he cwæð* (*Greg.*² 98. 16 (137. 16), etc.). I have noted about thirty examples of *dicens* = *ða he cwæð* in *Greg.*² and about forty examples of *dicens* = *and he cwæð*. Besides, the Anglo-Saxon dependent temporal clause is substituted for other co-ordinate participles of the Latin.

2. *The Latin Relative Clause* is translated by a subordinated finite verb introduced by a relative pronoun. Examples:—(1) *Indicative: Bened.*² 72. 14: *Lectiones ad ipsum deum pertinentes dicantur* = 39. 9: *rædinga syn gesungene, ðe to ðam freolsdæge belimpað; ib.* 2. 6, 8 (1. 7, 9); *Greg.*² 18^a 2 (37. 22); *Bede*² 92. 8 (114. 6), 94. 28 (118. 12); *Gen.* 23. 17; *Mat.* 22. 11, 25. 29, 25. 34; *Ps. Th.*² 3. 6; etc., etc.—(2) *Optative: Bened.*² 44. 8: *Scurrilitates vero vel verba otiosa et risum moventia, æterna clausura in omnibus locis damnamus* = 22. 5: *gegafspræce and idele word and ða word, ðe leahter astyrien . . . we . . . forbeodað; Greg.*² 126. 26 (173. 8); *Bede*² 57. 17 (80. 25).

3. *The Latin Causal Clause* is rendered by a subordinated finite verb introduced by *forðæm*, *forðæm ðe*, *forðon*, *forðon ðe*, *mid ðy*. Examples:—(1) *Indicative*: *forðæm*: *Greg.*² 50. 14: *ad exemplum aliis constitutus* = 77. 13: *Forðæm he bið gesett to bisene oðrum monnum*: *Ps. Th.* 18. 7;—*forðon*: *Greg.*² 52. 9 (79. 10); *Bede*² 6. 9 (2. 19); *forðæmðe*: *Greg.*² 219. 1 (276. 15 *Cot.*), *ib.* 232. 12 (305. 2); *Bede*² 116. 3 (142. 1); *for ðon ðe*: *Bede*² 309. 10 (432. 30); *mid ðy*: *Bede*² 12. 13 (28. 18) (or Temporal?).

4. *The Latin Conditional Clause* is translated by a subordinate finite verb introduced by *gif*. Examples:—(1) *Indicative*: *Greg.*² 44. 6: *Pupilla namque oculi . . . albuginem tolerans nil videt* = 69. 18: *gif hine ðone ðæt fleah mid ealle ofergæð, ðonne ne mæg he noht gesion*; *ib.* 208. 25 (277. 8); *Bede*² 98. 8 (120. 22); *Bened.*² 86. 17 (46. 16), 96. 20 (52. 4); *Mat.*² 21. 22.—(2) *Optative*: *Greg.*² 22. 23: *Cui nolenti in faciem mulier sput* = 45. 2: *Gif hire ðonne se wiðsace, ðonne is cynn ðæt him spiwe ðæt wif on ðæt nebb*.

5. *The Latin Concessive Clause* is turned by a subordinate finite verb introduced by *ðeah*, *ðeah ðe*. Examples:—(1) *Indicative*: *ðeah*: *Greg.*² 192. 3: *non levabo caput, saturatus afflictione et miseria* = 253. 8: . . . *ðeah ic eom gefylled mid broce & mid iermðum*.—(2) *Optative*: *ðeah*: *Greg.*² 34. 19: *co-actus* = 59. 10: *ðeah hiene mon niede*; *ib.* 42. 18 (67. 23); *Ps. Th.*² 3. 5; *ðeah ðe*: *Greg.*² 68. 7 (99. 9), *Bede*² 57. 29 (82. 4), 272. 28 (368. 16).

6. *The Latin Final Clause* is translated by a subordinated finite verb introduced by *to ðæm ðæt*, *to ðy ðæt*, *ðæt*, *ðe læs*, *ðe læs ðe*, *ðylæs*. Examples:—(1) *Indicative*: I find no example.—(2) *Optative*: *ðæt*: *Mat.*² 14. 15: *dimitte turbas, ut euntes in castella emant sibi escas* = *forlæt ðas mænegeo ðæt hi faron . . . ȝ him mete bigean*; *Greg.*² 122. 19 (167. 17); *to ðæm ðæt*: *Greg.*² 246. 20 (319. 20); *to ðy ðæt*: *Bened.*² 204. 15 (132. 15); *ðe læs*: *Mat.*² 13. 29; *ðe læs ðe*: *Gen.*² 32. 11; *ðylæs*: *Greg.*² 90. 2, 4 (127. 14, 15), 180. 13 (239. 2).

7. *The Latin Modal Clause* is turned by a subordinate finite verb introduced by *swa swa*, *swelce*. Examples:—(1) *Indicative*: *swa swa*: *Greg.*² 348. 14: *ut qui voluptatibus delectati discessimus, fletibus amaricati redeamus* = 425. 14: *ðætte us biterige sio hreowsung, swa swa us ær swetedon ða synna*; *Mat.*² 9. 36; etc., etc.—(2) *Optative*: *swelce*: *Greg.*² 156. 6: *quasi compatiens* = 207. 17: *suelce he efnuiðe him bære*; *ib.* 80. 22 (117. 1), 94. 30 (135. 1); *Bened.*² 180. 6 (113. 25).

8. *The Latin Consecutive Clause* is translated by a subordinated finite verb introduced by *swa* *ðæt*, *ðæt*, *ðætte*. Examples:—(1) *Indicative*: *swa* *ðæt*: *Mat.*² 13. 2: *congregatæ sunt ad eum turbæ multæ, ita ut in naviculam adscendens sederet* = *mycle mænigeo wæron gesamnade to him swa* *ðæt* *he eode on scyp 7 ðær sæt*; *Bede*² 278. 11, 12 (378. 20, 21); *ðæt*: *Bede*² 116. 4 (142. 2); *Bened.*² 188. 15 (124. 5); *ðætte*: *Greg.*² 182. 7 (241. 3).—(2) *Optative*: *ðæt*: *Greg.*² 34. 21: *caveat ne acceptam pecuniam in sudarium ligans de ejus occultatione judicetur* = 59. 13: *healde hine* *ðæt* *he ne cnytte* *ðæt* *underfongne feoh on* *ðæm swatline*; *ib.* 38. 14 (63. 15), 398. 20 (463. 13); *ðætte*: *Greg.*² 164. 23 (219. 7); *swa* *ðæt*: *Bened.*² 12. 4 (5. 24).

III. BY A PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE.

Not infrequently the Latin appositive participle is translated into Anglo-Saxon by a prepositional phrase.

(1) The phrase denotes Manner, Means, or Instrumentality, and is introduced by *mid*, *in*, *ðurh*. Examples:—*mid*: *Bened.*² 52. 19: *subsequuntur gaudentes et dicentes* = 27. 11: *ðus æfterfylgendlice mid blisse clypiað*; *ib.* 104. 9: *adjutus* = 55. 16: *mid heora fulltume*; *Greg.*² 274. 1: *iratus* = 353. 20: *mid his ierre*; *in*: *Bede*² 239. 18: *Cristus incarnatus* = 310. 26: *Crist in menniscum lichoman*; *ðurh*: *Bened.*² 178. 15: *admonitus* = 113. 13: *ðurh myngunge*.

(2) The phrase denotes Time, and is introduced by *æfter*, *be*, *on*, *under*. Examples :—*æfter* : *Bede*² 110. 23 : *eidem perempto* = 132. 14 : *æfter his slege* ; *on* : *Bened.*² 88. 12 : *dormientes* = 47. 11 : *on slæpe* ; *Greg.*² 218. 15 = 289. 10 ; *under* : *Bede*² 114. 26 : *albatī* = 140. 4 : *under crisman* (or *Modal* ?).

(3) The phrase denotes Cause, and is introduced by *for*. Examples :—*Bened.*² 96. 20 : *excommunicatus* = 52. 5 : *for amansunge* ; *Greg.*² 28. 12 (51. 14) ; *Greg.*² 68. 18 : *miseratus* = 99. 22 : *for mildheortnesse* ; *Greg.*² 124. 5 : *supernæ formidinis et dilectionis spiritu afflatus* = 169. 3 : *for Godes lufum* 7 *for Godes ege* ; *Bede*² 32. 30 : *fame confecti* = 54. 2 : *for hungre* ; *Gen.* 19. 29 : *Deus recordatus Abrahamæ liberavit Lot* = *alysde l.* *for Abrahame* ; *Gen.* 45. 3 : *nimio terrore perterriti* = *for ege*.

(4) The phrase denotes Condition and is introduced by *butan* : *Mat.*² 22. 25 : *non habens semen* = *butan bearne*.

IV. BY A VERB IN THE INFINITIVE MOOD.

Occasionally the Latin appositive participle is translated by an infinitive. Examples :—(1) *The Uninflected Infinitive* : (a) *Without a subject* : *Bened.*² 10. 13 : *Et si fugientes gehennæ pœnas ad vitam volumus pervenire perpetuam* = 5. 5 : And gif he hellewites susla *forbugan* willað and to ecum life cuman ; *Bede*² 99. 25 : *uerbis delectatus promisit* = 122. 33 : Ða ongon he *lustfullian* ðæs biscopes wordum and geheht ; etc. ; (b) *With a subject* : *Bede*² 46. 5 : *ad iussionem regis residentes . . . prædicarent* = 58. 28 : Ða het se cyning hie *sittan* . . . and hie . . . bodedon ; *Mat.*² 27. 26.—(2) *The Inflected Infinitive* : *Greg.*² 178. 25 : *ita nonnunquam quibusdam audita vera nocuerunt* = 237. 11 : *sua dereð eac hwilum sumum monnum* ðæt soð *to gehierenne* ; *Greg.*² 300. 15 : *ut cum . . . tunc quasi a nobismetipsis foras etiam alios instruentes exeamus* = 385. 9 : Ac eft ðonne . . . ðonne bio we of ðære ceastre ut afærene, ðæt is of urum agnum ingeðonce, oðre

men *to læranne*; *Bede*² 8. 10: omnes ad quos hæc eadem historia peruenire poterit . . . *legentes siue audientes suppliciter precor*, ut = 486. 8: ic eaðmodlice bidde . . . ðætte to eallum ðe ðis ylce stær to becyme . . . *to ræðanne oððe to gehyranne* ðæt, etc.; *Bede*² 54. 24: si . . . *actura gratias intrat* = 76. 12: ðeah ðe heo . . . *Gode ðoncunge to donne* . . . gange; *Ps. Th.*² 9. 12.

V. BY AN ATTRIBUTIVE PARTICIPLE.

The Latin appositive participle is at times translated by an Anglo-Saxon attributive participle. Examples:—*Bened.*² 24. 13: ut non solum detrimenta gregis sibi *commissi* non patiatur = 14. 8: ðæt he him ðæs *befæsten* eowdes nanne æfwirdlan næbbe; *ib.* 92. 14 (49. 18), 146. 11 (78. 10); *Greg.*² 22. 12 (43. 14), 126. 7 (171. 11); *Mat.* 17. 14.

VI. BY AN ABSOLUTE PARTICIPLE.

Rarely the Latin appositive participle is translated by an Anglo-Saxon absolute participle. Examples:—*Mat.*² 13. 1: In illo die *exiens* Jesus de domo, sedebat secus mare = On ðam dæge ðam *hælende ut-gangendum* of huse he sæt wið ða sæ; *Mk.*² 5. 2, 16. 12; *Mat.*² 17. 14; *Lk.*² 1. 63, 17. 7; *Oros.*² 33. 29 (34. 1). (See *Abs. Ptc. in A.-S.*, pp. 8, 13.)

VII. BY AN ADVERB.

Occasionally the Latin appositive participle is turned by an adverb. Examples:—*Greg.*² 360. 18: Hinc iterum *iratus* dicit = 435. 11: he cwæð eft *ierrenga*; *Greg.*² 402. 18, 21: *cautus* . . . *sollicitus* = 467. 1, 3: *wærlice* . . . *geornlice*; *Ps. Th.*² 16. 10: *projicientes* = *forsewenlice*.

VIII. BY AN ADJECTIVE.

The Latin appositive participle is at times translated by an Anglo-Saxon adjective. Examples:—*Bede*² 108. 32: scio . . .

quæ *uentura* tibi in proximo mala formidas = 128. 25 : ic wat . . . hwylc *toweward* yfel ðu ðe in neahnesse forhtast; *Bede*² 82. 5 : adlatus est quidam . . . oculorum *luce priuatus* = 100. 3 : ða lædde mon forð sumne *blindne* mon; *Mat.*² 8. 16 : multos *dæmonia habentes* = manege *deofol-seoce*.

IX. BY A SUBSTANTIVE.

Rarely a Latin appositive participle is represented in Anglo-Saxon by a substantive. Examples :—*Bened.*² 116. 7 : Mensis fratrum *edentium* lectio deesse non debet = 62. 3 : Gebroðra *gereorde* æt hyra mysum ne sceal beon butan rædinge; *Greg.*² 160. 16, 17 : Egit . . . doctor, ut prius audirent *laudati*, quod recognoscerent, et postmodum, quod *exhortati* sequerentur = 213. 20. 21 : Sua gedyde se . . . lareow ðæt hie æresð gehierdon ða *heringe* ðe him licode forðæm ðæt hie æfter ðæm ðe lusðlicor gehierden ða *lare*.

CHAPTER V.

THE APPOSITIVE PARTICIPLE IN THE
OTHER GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

I.

In the main, the uses of the appositive participle in the other Germanic Languages tally with those found in Anglo-Saxon. My discussion must be brief not only because of the want of space but also because of the lack of a comprehensive treatment of the appositive participle in these languages. But the treatises of Douse and of Gering answer admirably for Gothic; those of Falk and Torp, of Lund, and of Nygaard for the Scandinavian languages; those of Dietz, O. Erdmann, K. Förster, Mourek, Rannow, Seedorf, Seiler, and Wunderlich, for Old High German; that of Barz for Middle High German; and those of Behaghel and Pratje for Old Saxon. Mourek, Pratje, and Rannow do not classify their examples according to use. Perhaps it is not improper to state that, while this chapter is based on the statistics of others, the interpretation thereof is my own.

1. *Gothic.*

In the Introduction I have already commented on the unwisdom of Gering's excluding the adjectival (relative) participle from the appositive use. Ignoring this, we find the appositive participle freely used adjectivally, adverbially, and co-ordinately (though Gering does not use the last term). As Lücke has shown with reference to the absolute participle, so it is with the appositive participle: Ulfilas was a slavish translator; and his usage represents, I believe, the genius

of the classical (especially Greek) and not of the Germanic languages (see II. below). But at times even Ulfilas turns the Greek appositive participle by a finite verb, Gering (p. 313 ff., 399 ff.) giving not a few examples of the same (over fifty subordinate and twenty-five co-ordinate verbs); whereas the turning of a Greek finite verb by a Gothic appositive participle is very rare (four * examples, according to Gering, p. 401).

I append a few examples from Gering: *I. Adjectival (Relative)* (Gering's attributive): *Mat.* 8. 9: Jah auk ik manna im *habands* uf waldufnja meinamma gadrauhitins = Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀνθρωπὸς εἰμι . . . ἔχων ὑπ' ἐμαυτὸν στρατιώτας; *L.* 2. 13: managei harjis himinakundis, *hazjandane* guþ jah *giþandane* = Πλήθος στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου αἰνούντων τὸν θεὸν καὶ λεγόντων; *II. Adverbial*: *Mat.* 27. 63: qaþ nauh *libands* = εἶπεν ἔτι ζῶν (temporal); *Mk.* 6. 20: Herodis ohta sis Iohannen, *kunnands* ina wair garaihtana jah weihana = Ἡρώδης ἐφοβεῖτο τὸν Ἰωάννην, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ ἁγίον (causal); *J.* 6. 6: þatuh þan qaþ *fraisands* ina = Τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγεν πειράζων αὐτόν (final); *Mat.* 6. 17: iþ þu *fastands* salbo haubiþ þein = Σὺ δὲ νηστεύων ἀλειψαί σου τὴν κεφαλὴν (conditional according to Gering, but may be temporal); *Lk.* 2. 48: sa atta þeins jah ik *winnandona* sokidedum þuk = ὁ Πατὴρ σου καὶ γὰρ ὁδυνώμενοι ἐζητοῦμέν σε (modal: manner); *Mk.* 6. 5: siukaim handuns *galaggjands* gahailida = ἀρρώστοις ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐθεράπευσεν (modal: means, Gering's instrumental); *J.* 7. 15: hwaiwa sa bokos kann *unuslaisiþs*? = Πῶς οὗτος γράμματα οἶδεν μὴ μεμαθηκώς (concessive, Gering's limitative); *III. Co-ordinate* (not treated by Gering as such): *Mat.* 6. 31: Ni maurnaiþ nu *giþandans* = Μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσετε λέγοντες; *Mk.* 9. 12: Iþ is *andhafjands* qaþ du im = ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς.

* But since, in making this statement, Gering limits himself to the adverbial uses of the appositive participle, there must be more than four examples in all. I have myself found about this number in *Mark*.

2. *The Scandinavian Languages.*

According to the statements of Lund, of Falk and Torp, and of Nygaard, the appositive participle has had the same history in the Scandinavian languages as in Anglo-Saxon.

As Lund's *Oldnordisk Ordföjningslære* * is out of print, it is best, perhaps, to quote in full what he has to say of the appositive use of the participle in Old Norse, together with his examples (§ 149): "Tillægsformerne, især den handlende, föjes (som hosstillet) til et navneord i sætningen for at betegne en med hovedhandlingen samtidig (eller förtidig) handling eller tilstand, der står således i forbindelse med hovedhandlingen, at den ikke alene kan bestemme dens tidsforhold, men også dens måde og andre omstændigheder, som grund, anledning, betingelse, modsætning osv., hvilke forhold almindelig ellers (som på Dansk) udtrykkes ved bisætninger (med bindeord eller henførende udtryk) eller ved en forholdsordsforbindelse. Skönt denne brug ikke er meget almindelig (som i Græsk og Latin), tjener den dog ikke sjælden til at give talen korthed og bøjelighed, da tillægsformerne på denne måde kunne föjes ikke alene til sætningens grundord, men også til genstanden, hensynet og andre led deri." Then follow his examples: *Hlæjandi Völundr hófsk at lopti, grátandi Bōðvildr gekk ór eyju. Völundarkv. 27.*—(Hann) hafði tekit lax ór forsinum ok át blundandi. *Sn. Edd. 72.*—Ór hans siðu sofanda tók guð eitt rif ok fyllði rúm rifsins með holði. *Gisl. 44, 66.*—Sá sem norrœnaði, kennandi sinn fátækdóm ok vanfæri tók þetta verk upp á sik af boðskap ok forsögn fyrri sagðs virðuligs herra. *Stjórn 2.*—Sá er kaupir vís vitandi (*sciens, med sit vidende, således at han ved*) *Grág. I., 15.*—Hón drottningin þetta sjandi (*hoc videns, ved at se dette*) fylldist spáleiksanda ok mælti svá. *Biskupa S. 217.*—At fengnum andsvörum spurðra luta ok offraðu miklu fê. *Alex. 51.*—Drukku jarlar

* For the loan of this book I am indebted to Professor James Morgan Hart, who also kindly called my attention to the work of Falk and Torp.

öl þegiandi (*tiende æ: uden at råde dertil*), en œpanda ölker stóð. *Hervar.* 41.—In the next paragraph (§ 150) Lund discusses the attributive use of the participle; and some of the examples there given would come under our “adjectival” use of the appositive participle.

In their recent work, *Dansk-Norskens Syntax i Historisk Fremstilling*, Falk and Torp briefly treat the appositive use of the participle not only in Old Norse but also in the modern Scandinavian languages. Their statement is an admirable supplement to that of Lund, and is worthy of quotation (§ 67. 3): “Apposition af participier forholder sig væsentlig som adjektivernes. Ved præsens particip forekommer appositiv brug i oldnorsk kun i lærd stil: *hon misgørði etandi af tressins ávexti; talaði þá fyrir sínum mǫnnum svá mœlandi*. Endnu er udtryk som: jeg gik igang med arbeidet stolende paa hans løfte; trodsende alle hindringer trængte han frem, fremmede for den egte folkelige udtryksmaade. Den ældre kancellistil yndede saadanne vendinger: paa eet andhet stedt talindis om bandt siger han saa (P. Elies.); T. gick vd emod dennem berendis hostiam (Abs. Ped.); andre breffue lydendis at (St. D. Pr.); jeg befaler dig Gud ønskendis dig ald lyksalighed (Pont.); befalendiss dig hermed gud og himmelen (Chr. VI.). Ved fortidsparticip findes appositiv brug i oldnorsk klassik prosa kun i et parenkle udtryk: *þá lagu þar fyrir Danir komnir ór leiðangri*. I lærde skrifter forekommer ogsaa foranstillet apposition: *utgenginn af skóla heldr hann sik nú upp á leikmanna hátt; ór sínu valdi kastadr dó hann i myrkvastofu*. Endnu er forbindelser som: forladt af alle døde han i ensomhed; opbragt herover pønsede han paa hævn, ganske uhjemlige og fremmede for godt landsmaal. Uden anstød er derimod den efterstillede apposition i udtryk som: Gud sendte sín søn, født af en kvinde; til en by, kaldet Ephrem. I den ældre kunstige stil paatræffes vendinger som: rigdom ther ijlde brughet giffuer orsage till alwerdsins homíodt (P. Elies.); aaliye, ther mange menniskir smwrde met worde karseke (*ib.*). Sml. § 139, 1.” The section cited runs:

“Appositivt particip til betegnelse af den en hovedsætning underordnede handling, erstattende en relativ, tids-eller aarsagssætning, er i det hele og store en fremmed brug i nordisk : se § 67, 3. I vort skriftsprog er denne udtryksmaade ikke sjelden : han gik bort, pønsende paa hævn ; ankommen til byen, gik han straks ned til havnen. I dagligtalen anvendes den aldrig. Anderledes hvor participiet betegner subjektets tilstand under handlingen. Her fungerer det som adjektiv, idet dette kan anvendes paa samme maade : *Guðrún grátandi gekk ór túni* ; han gik slagen derfra (sml. han gik glad bort) ; se § 68, 2 b.”

Nygaard considers that the use of the participle in Norse prose is largely due to Latin influence. As I have not had access to his article on *Den Lærde Stil i den Norrøne Prosa*, I quote the summary of the Berlin *Jahresbericht* for 1896 : “Der gelehrte stil zeigt sich in der nordischen prosa : 1. in der erweiterung des gebrauchs des part. præsens, das in volkstümlichen stile nicht allzu häufig angewendet wird. Auf dem gebrauch dieses part. hat im gelehrten stil das lat. part. præsens und das gerundium eingewirkt. 2. Auch der gebrauch des part. præter. ist in dem gelehrten stil wesentlich erweitert. Namentlich wird das part. præter. häufig mit präpositionen (*at*, *eptir*) verbunden ; wir haben hier eine konstruktion, die dem lat. abl. absol. entspricht.”

3. *High German.*

(1) Old High German.

I have been surprised to find how closely the uses of the appositive participle in Old High German correspond to those in Anglo-Saxon. True, Tatian has no Anglo-Saxon counterpart, for he is as slavish in following his original as is Ulfilas ; and haſ hundreds of examples of the un-Germanic co-ordinate participle. But the more original Otfrid and Isidor are quite different. In Otfrid and Notker the modal participle was

so common that it developed an adverbial ending in *-o* (O. Erdmann, *Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, p. 219), as in Otfrid, IV., 12. 53: *er fuor ilonto*; V., 9. 14: *ir get sus drurento*. The modal use is found, too, in Isidor. In Isidor and in Otfrid, again, the adjectival use of the preterite participle is common, while that of the present is comparatively rare, being limited as in Anglo-Saxon to participles with slight verbal power. The other uses are rare in both writers. Isidor, for instance, has only four examples of the co-ordinate participle, all from *quedan*; two are in direct translation of the Latin *dicens*, and we may add also the other two, though *dicens* does not occur in these two passages. But eighteen times Isidor translated a Latin co-ordinate participle by a finite verb (nine co-ordinated and nine subordinated). Clearly, then, if Isidor and Otfrid are true types, the co-ordinate participle was as unnatural in Old High German as in Anglo-Saxon. In the *Benediktinerregel*, finally, the present participle often answers to a Latin gerund in the ablative (Seiler, p. 470).

Examples: (1) *Adjectival (Relative)*:—Tatian, 88. 2: *Uuas sum man dar drizog inti ahto iar habenti in sinero unmahti* = *Erat autem quidam homo ibi triginta octo annos habens in infirmitate sua*; Otfrid, III., 20. 1: *gisah einan man, blintan giboranan*; Tatian, 107. 1: *Inti uuas sum arm betalari ginemnit Lazarus* = *Et erat quidam mendicus nomine Lazarus*; (2) *Adverbial*:—Otfrid, I., 17. 73: *sie wurtun slafente fon engilon gimanote* (temporal); Tatian, 192. 2: *Inti anderu managu bismaronti quadun in inan* = *Et alia multa blasphemantes dicebant in eum* (modal: manner); Tatian, 12. 3: *inti inan ni findanti fuorun uidar zi Hierusalem inan suochenti* (causal and final); Otfrid, V., 12. 26: *er ingiang ungimerrit, duron so bisperrit* (concessive); Otfrid, I., 8. 6: *thiu racha, sus gidan, nam thes huares thana wan* (conditional); (3) *Co-ordinate*:—Otfrid, I., 13. 18: *barg thiu wort, in herzen ahtonti*; Tatian, 6. 6: *Maria uuarlihho gihielt allu thisiu uuort ahtonti in ira herzen* = *M. autem conservabat omnia verba haec conferens in corde suo*; Tatian, 54. 6: *antvvurtenti quad zi in* = *re-*

spondens dixit ad illos; Tatian, 81. 2: sprach in *quedenti* = locutus est eis *dicens*.

(2) Middle High German.

The story is the same in Middle High German, if we may take Barz's * statistics of the *Nibelungenlied* and *Iwein* as true for Middle High German in general. Here the adverbial participle denoting manner is very common, and we meet with *sorgende*, *swigende*, *unwizzende*, etc., as in Anglo-Saxon. But the adverbial participle denoting means is practically unknown, and the other uses of the adverbial appositive participle are rare. Those cited as temporal and as final occur in close connection with verbs of motion, and waver between predicative and adverbial uses. The adjectival (relative) use is almost exclusively confined to the preterite participle. The co-ordinate use is not known.

Examples from Barz:—(1) *Adjectival (Relative)*: *Nib.* 2. 3: ein vil edel magedin, daz . . . sin, Kriemhilt *geheizen*; *Nib.* 833. 2: die truogen liehte pfelle . . ., *geworht* in Arabin; (2) *Adverbial*: *Nib.* 1065. 1: vil lute *seriende* daz liut gie mit im dan (temporal); *Nib.* 2333. 3: ez giengen iuwer helde zuo disem gademe *gewafent* wol ze vlize (temporal); *Nib.* 502. 3: *sorgende* † wahte er (modal: manner); *Iw.* 3227: er stal sich *swigende* † dan (modal); *Iw.* 6113: daz ist *unwizzende* † geschehen (modal); *Iw.* 531: daz ich *suoehende* rite einen man (final); *ib. Iw.* 4163, 5775.

(3) New High German.

The fullest recent treatment accessible to me of the appositive participle in New High German is that by von Jagemann in his *Elements of German Syntax*; of which this section of

* Paul does not treat the construction.

† Barz (p. 22) puts this under *Adverbialer Gebrauch des Participiums*, not *Appositiver Gebrauch*.

my paper is scarcely more than a summary. In § 124, 4a, he gives the three following examples of the appositive participle in New High German: "She sat weeping by the bedside of her mother = Sie sass weinend am Bette ihrer Mutter; He entered the room in silence = Schweigend trat er in das Zimmer; Pierced by an arrow he sank to the ground = Von einem Pfeile getroffen sank er zu Boden." To me, however, the participle in the first example appears to be used predicatively. The remaining two are appositive, the former denoting manner and the latter cause. In § 125, notwithstanding, we are told: "Present participles should not be used in German to express adverbial relations of time, cause, or *manner*."* I do not know how to reconcile the italicized part of this statement with example two above, unless for the moment Professor von Jagemann had in mind the statement made in § 124, 3c: "A limited number of present participles are no longer felt as such, but as common adjectives, and they may therefore be used predicatively and *adverbially**: He is absent = Er ist abwesend; She sang charmingly = Sie sang reizend;" and thought that he had put Schweigend trat er in das Zimmer under § 124, 3c instead of § 124, 4a. Be this as it may, his statement that the present participle may be used adverbially is in strict keeping with the tradition not only of High German, but also of the Germanic languages in general, so far as it is used to denote manner. The non-use of the present participle to denote time and cause is what our preceding investigation has led us to expect.

Again, we learn that the "adjectival" use of the present appositive participle is not allowed (§ 124, 4b): "This [*i. e.*, the appositive] use of a participle, however, is not permitted in the numerous cases in which an important limitation of a noun is to be expressed. The participle should then be used attributively, before the noun, preceded by its own qualifiers

* The italics are mine.

(see § 231, 2); or else a relative clause should be substituted: The book lying on the table was a Greek Grammar = Das auf dem Tische liegende Buch war eine griechische Grammatik, *or* Das Buch, das auf dem Tische lag etc.; The candidate receiving the largest number of votes is elected = Der die meisten Stimmen erhaltende Candidat (*or* derjenige Candidat, welcher die meisten Stimmen erhält,) ist erwählt; I prefer an edition of Molière's works printed in France = Ich ziehe eine in Frankreich gedruckte Ausgabe von Molière's Werken (*or* eine Ausgabe von . . . die in Frankreich gedruckt ist,) vor."

Finally, we are told that the "co-ordinate" use of the present participle is not common (§ 124, 1c): "A present participle should not, ordinarily, be used to express an idea as important as, or more important than, that expressed by the finite verb, but a co-ordinate verb should be used instead of the participle: He sat at his desk all day, writing letters = Er sass den ganzen Tag an seinem Pulte und schrieb Briefe; He stood on the mountain, looking down into the valley = Er stand auf dem Berge und sah ins Thal hinunter." This usage is in strict accord with that of Early West Saxon.

No specific statement is made as to the governing power of the present participle when used appositively. But, from § 124. 4^{b & c} above quoted, we learn that the present appositive participle seldom governs an object in New High German, the participle with an object usually being attributive.

As to the past participle, von Jagemann has this to say (§ 126): "Although past participles are more frequently used in German to express adverbial relations than present participles, yet they cannot be used with the same freedom as in English, and it will often seem best to make substitutions for them similar to those just indicated for present participles."

4. *Old Saxon.*

In Old Saxon (cf. Behaghel, and Pratje, §§ 156, 159) we again meet with the adverbial participle denoting manner

(*sorgondi*, *gornondi*, *grootandi*, etc.), but not means. The only instances of the temporal participle are with *slapandi* and *libbiandi*. The other adverbial uses are unrepresented (cf. Behaghel, § 300). The adjectival (relative) use is commoner with the preterite than with the present. The co-ordinate participle is unknown; for the participles cited by Behaghel in § 300, B., are either predicative or modal.

Examples (all from the *Heliand* as given by Pratje):—(1) *Adjectival (relative)*: 3391: *huo ik hier brinnandi* thrauuere tholon; 2776: that man iro Johannes . . . hōbid gavi *alosit* fan is lichamen; (2) *Adverbial*: Temporal: 1013: that gi so *libbeandi* thena landes uuard selvon gisahon; 701: sagda im an suefna *slapandion* on naht;—modal: 4588: thuō bigan thero erlo gibuilic te oðremo . . . *sorgondi* gisehan; 4071: griot *gornondi*; 2996: gruoſta ina *grootandi*; etc. Pratje (§ 155. 2) considers *uuillandi* an adverb in 1965: thoſ hie . . . manno huilicon *uuillandi* forgeue uuatares drincan.

II.

Despite the professed incompleteness of the preceding presentation of the uses of the appositive participle in the Germanic languages exclusive of English, I believe it warrants us in drawing certain general conclusions concerning the origin of the appositive participle in the Germanic languages, as follows:—

1. The adverbial participle denoting manner and the adjectival (relative) past participle are most probably native to the Germanic languages. Perhaps, too, the adjectival and the temporal uses with words like *be*, *live*, and *sleep* are native.

2. All other uses of the appositive participle, whether present or past, are probably of Greek or Latin origin.

3. That the appositive use of the present participle having an object is derived from the Greek and the Latin is highly probable. True, the appositive participle in Ulfilas and in Tatian governs an object with extraordinary frequency; but

I believe that a comparison of the examples with the originals would show that in almost every case the construction is in direct imitation of the Greek and the Latin. Neither Gering nor Mourek cites all the examples of the participle with an object; Mourek does not give the Latin original along with the Old High German; and I have not made an exhaustive comparison in either case. But the slight study I have given forces me to the above conclusion. I find, for instance, that out of 151 present participles with a direct object in the Gothic *Mark* 139 correspond to Greek participles with objects; and that in most of the twelve exceptional cases the participle translates a Greek participle elsewhere in *Mark*. Mourek cites 140 examples of *quedenti* in Tatian; and, on turning to the Latin, I find that in 137 of these instances the Old High German participle is a direct translation of *dicens*. More than this, not a few of the Greek participles with an object that are cited by Gering (pp. 313 ff., 399 ff.) are turned by a finite verb, whereas the whole number of Greek verbs turned by Gothic participles is very small. In the more original Old High German texts, a present participle with an object is almost unknown. Of the appositive participles (present) cited from Otfrid by Erdmann only three have an object (*singenti*, I. 12. 22; *hel-senti*, I. 11. 46; *êrênti*, I. 5. 50). With the present appositive participles cited from Isidor by Rannow, an object occurs only four times, each time the participle of the verb *quedan*; in two of these instances in direct translation of the Latin *dicens*, and in the other two without any corresponding participle in the Latin. More than this, eighteen times Isidor translated a Latin participle having an object by a finite verb (co-ordinated nine and subordinated nine), nine of these being forms of *dicens*.—In Middle High German, too, an object is seldom found. Barz cites only three examples from *Iwein* and the *Nibelungenlied* (*Nib.* 2292: gie Wolfhart . . . *houwende* die Guntheres man; *Iw.* 531: daz ich *suochende* rite einen man; *Iw.* 4163: die reit ich *suochende*), and these are in connection

with a verb of motion, and waver between the predicative and the appositive use.—The comparative infrequency of the present participle with an object in New High German is known to all.—As for Old Saxon, not one of the genuine appositive participles cited by Pratiċ has an object.

III.

The other Germanic languages employed about the same substitutes for the Greek and Latin appositive participle as did Anglo-Saxon; hence this topic may be treated with great brevity.

1. *The Co-ordinated Finite Verb.*

Of the co-ordinated finite verb, Gering (p. 399 f.) cites about twenty-five examples from Ulfilas, such as *Mk.* 5. 41 : *κρατήσας τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ παιδίου λέγει* = *fairgraiþ bi handau þata barn qaþuh*; *J.* 18. 22 : *ἔδοκεν ῥάπισμα . . . εἰπὼν* = *gaf slah . . . qaþuh*; etc.—This translation is common in Old High German, also, ten examples occurring in Isidor (Rannow, p. 99 f.): 39. 26 : *etiam locus ipse coruscans miraculis . . . ad se omnem contrahat mundum* = *ioh auh dhiu selba stat chischeinit . . . ioh zi imu chidhinsit allan mittingart*; 4. 33 : *respondens . . . ait* = *antuurta . . . quad*; etc.

2. *The Subordinated Finite Verb.*

For the dependent clause as a translation of the Greek and Latin appositive participle in the other Germanic languages, see Gering, p. 395 ff.; Rannow, p. 100.

As to Gothic, Gering gives but two or three examples of this locution in his treatment of the appositive participle (*J.* 13. 30 : *λαβὼν . . . ἐξῆλθεν* = *biþe andnam þana hlaib jains, suns galaþ ut*; *Philip.* 1. 27); but, as already stated, Gering limits the term appositive to the “adverbial” uses of the participle, and excludes therefrom the “adjectival,” unwisely considering all the latter “attributive.” Many of his attributive parti-

ciples are, according to our definition, appositive; and in not a few of these examples, as Gering states (p. 313), the Greek participle is translated by a Gothic subordinated finite verb introduced by a relative pronoun, as in: *Mat.* 6. 4, 6. 18: ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ = *atta þeins saei saihwiþ* in *fulhnsja*; *Eph.* 1. 3: θεὸς . . . ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς = *guþ . . . izeigabiupida* uns; etc., etc. (about fifty examples in all). Moreover, as Gering tells us (p. 317 ff.), the Greek substantivized participle is often turned by a Gothic dependent clause. In reality, then, the translation of a Greek appositive participle (especially in its adjectival use) by a subordinated finite verb is very common in Gothic.

In Old High German, also, the dependent finite verb often translates a Latin appositive participle. Rannow (p. 100) cites ten examples from Isidor; of which I quote two only: 19. 14: secundum Moysi sententiam *dicentis* = after Moyses quhidim, *dhar ir quhad*; 21. 16: sed semetipsum exinanivit formam servi *accipiens* = oh ir sih selbun aridalida, *dhuo ir scalches chilihnissa infenc*.

3. The Prepositional Phrase.

Rannow (p. 102) cites one instance of this construction in Isidor: 19. 26: *incarnatus* et homo factus est = in *fleisches liihheman* uuardh uuordan; which should be compared with Bede² 239. 18: *Cristus incarnatus* = 310. 26: in *menniscum lichoman*.

4. The Infinitive.

Gering (p. 397) cites one example from the Gothic: *Mk.* 10. 46: ἡ ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προσαιτών = *sat faur wig du aihtron*, but the Greek participle here is better considered predicative.

5. The Adverb.

! Four examples of this locution occur in Gothic (Gering, p. 306): 2 *Cor.* 13. 2, 10: ἀπὸν γράφω = *alþaþro melja*; *Phil.* 1. 25, 27.

6. *The Adjective.*

This substitution is very common in Gothic (Gering, p. 301 f.): *Mk.* 6. 9: ὑποδεδεμένος = *gaskohs*; etc., etc.—Six examples occur in Isidor (Rannow, p. 102): 33. 5: *mente caecati* = *muotes blinde*; etc.

7. *The Substantive.*

This construction occurs in Gothic (Gering, p. 303) and in Old High German (Rannow, p. 102). Examples:—(a) Gothic: *Mat.* 8. 16: προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δαιμονιζομένους πολλούς = *atberun du imma daimonarjans managans*; etc.;—(b) Old High German: Isidor, 21. 30: *dominus numeravit scribens populos* = *druhtin saghida dhazs chiscrip dhero folcho* (see Rannow's footnote on this sentence).

CHAPTER VI.

THE ANGLO-SAXON APPOSITIVE PARTICIPLE
AS A NORM OF STYLE.

In my dissertation on *The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon* a chapter is given to "The Absolute Participle as a Norm of Style," which is based on Professor Gildersleeve's essay "On the Stylistic Effect of the Greek Participle." In that chapter is discussed the stylistic effect not only of the absolute participle, but also, incidentally, of the appositive participle. I need not, therefore, detail here the theory there laid down, the more so that nothing has occurred to make me change the view then expressed. Since, however, this study may come into the hands of some to whom the earlier paper is not accessible, I shall briefly state the theory there given, and add such comments and illustrations as may seem called for by the present detailed investigation of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon.

The theory as to the stylistic effect of the absolute participle in Anglo-Saxon was summarized in these words (p. 52): "The stylistic effect of the absolute participle in Anglo-Saxon was much the same as in the classical languages: it gave movement to the sentence; it made possible flexibility and compactness. But, owing to the artificial position of the absolute construction in Anglo-Saxon, its stylistic value was reduced to a minimum, was indeed scarcely felt at all. The absolute participle rejected as an instrument of style, the Anglo-Saxon had no adequate substitute therefor. The two commonest substitutes, the dependent sentence and the coordinate clause, as used in Anglo-Saxon, became unwieldy and monotonous. Brevity and compactness were impossible; the sentence was slow in movement and somewhat cumber-

some. The language stood in sore need of a more flexible instrument for the notation of subordinate conceptions, of such an instrument as the absolute dative seemed capable of becoming but never became."

In the light of the foregoing history of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon, does this theory as to the stylistic effect of the absolute participle apply likewise to the appositive participle? Was the appositive participle as artificial a construction as the absolute participle? or was it more or less naturalized, if not native, in Anglo-Saxon?

Undoubtedly the stylistic effect of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon is to give the sentence movement, flexibility, and compactness; and it does this to a somewhat greater degree, I think, than could an equal number of absolute participles. To test this statement one need only compare a half dozen pages of Alfred, in which, as we have seen, the appositive participle (especially in certain uses) is rare, with the same number of Ælfric's, which are strewn therewith. The slowness and the clumsiness of the former are not more patent than the rapidity, the flexibility, and the grace of the latter. Space does not allow quotations, nor are they necessary.

But the above statement is with reference to the appositive participle as a whole, whereas in Anglo-Saxon, as we have learned, the appositive participle has three sharply differentiated uses. Let us look at each for a moment by itself.

In its adjectival use, the appositive participle contributes not only to rapidity and flexibility but also to picturesqueness. The two former effects were attained in both prose and poetry; the last, as a rule, in poetry only; and all three to a greater or less degree in all stages of the Anglo-Saxon period, at least so far as the preterite participle was concerned. For the adjectival use of the present participle the Anglo-Saxon went to the Latin, though not until the Late West Saxon period. What a boon this borrowing was is clearly revealed by a comparison of Alfred with Ælfric or with the *Gospels*; or, to give a more modern illustration, by comparing modern English with New High German, as,

for instance, in the examples quoted from von Jagemann in chapter v.

Of the adverbial uses, the Anglo-Saxon at the outset wielded with skill only that denoting manner, as in *swigende cwæð*, etc. How poor he was as compared with us may be readily realized if we suppose the modern Englishman deprived, as is the modern German, of the ability to express means, time, cause, concession, etc., by the appositive participle. That was the situation of the Early West Saxon; but, thanks to Ælfric and the translators of the *Gospels*, Anglo-Saxon borrowed from the Latin what was so sadly needed; and Ælfric's pages run as smoothly as do those of a modern Englishman. The fact, however, that these newly introduced uses of the adverbial appositive participle are so rare in the latter part of the *Chronicle* and in Wulfstan, leaves it doubtful whether the wisdom of Ælfric's adoption received as immediate recognition as it deserved; though the non-use in the former may be due to the fact that it professes to be merely a bald record of facts. It seems probable, nevertheless, that these uses did not become normal for English until after the close of the Anglo-Saxon period, largely perhaps through the Anglo-Saxon and Middle English translations of the Bible, supplemented by French influence.

The Anglo-Saxon stood in greater need, I think, of the co-ordinate participle than of the adverbial (exclusive of that denoting manner); and Alfred's persistent refusal to use it accounts in a large measure for the monotony of his style. Again Ælfric and the translators of the *Gospels*, discerning the need, borrowed from the Latin, this time the co-ordinate participle, and thereby gave to English a construction that, judged from the standpoint of style, was of immense value. Here, also, the difference between Alfred and Ælfric is the difference between modern English and modern German, happily illustrated in the examples cited from von Jagemann above (chapter v). A third time Ælfric's lead was coldly followed by his immediate successors (Wulfstan and the author(s) of the later *Chronicle*),

and the construction hardly became fixed until the Middle English period, again through the help of the biblical translations. The foregoing applies chiefly to the present participle; the preterite participle, being inherently unsuited to the co-ordinate use, is as rare in Ælfric as in modern English.

The chief shortcoming, however, of the Anglo-Saxon appositive participle was, I take it, that in no one of the three uses did the present participle originally have the power of governing an object in construction. The introduction of this use, from the Latin, by Ælfric and the Late West Saxon translators constitutes, to my mind, their chief contribution to English style; for, with the possible exception of the infinitive and the modern gerund, no single construction has contributed so much to the compactness and the flexibility of the modern English sentence. Here, too, the innovation was tardily accepted, being seldom resorted to by Wulfstan or by the author of the *Peterborough Chronicle*. The general adoption of the construction in English was largely due to the influence of the biblical translations. Finally, the difference between Alfred and Ælfric is once more paralleled in that between modern English and modern German.

The Anglo-Saxon substitutes for the appositive participle call for only brief comment. The most frequent substitute, the co-ordinated finite verb, does well enough for the co-ordinate participle, but for no other, since it ignores shades of meaning. The next most common, the subordinated finite verb, is ill fitted to take the place of the co-ordinate participle, since it unduly subordinates the idea of the participle to that of the principal verb; but it is an excellent substitute for the adjectival and the adverbial participle, and is often so used not only in Anglo-Saxon but also in modern English and in the other Germanic languages. Undoubtedly, however, the appositive participle is a more flexible instrument for the denotation of subordinate ideas than is the dependent finite verb; witness the difference in this regard between modern English and modern German.

CHAPTER VII.

RESULTS.

The following are in brief the results that I believe to be established by this investigation:—

1. In Anglo-Saxon the appositive participle occurs oftenest in the nominative case, occasionally in the accusative and the dative, rarely in the genitive.

2. In Anglo-Saxon, especially in Late West Saxon and in the poems, the appositive participle is often not inflected, much oftener indeed than has hitherto been supposed. For details see p. 150 ff.

3. When inflected, the appositive participle almost invariably follows the strong declension.

4. As a rule, the appositive participle follows its principal, though occasionally (about 100 times in all) it precedes.

5. The uses of the appositive participle are three-fold:—

(1) Adjectival, in which the participle is equivalent to a dependent adjectival (relative) clause.

(2) Adverbial, in which the participle is equivalent to a dependent adverbial (conjunctive) clause; subdivided into (*a*) modal (manner and means), (*b*) temporal, (*c*) causal, (*d*) final, (*e*) concessive, and (*f*) conditional clauses. Some participles denoting manner, however, are equivalent, not to dependent adverbial clauses, but to simple adverbs.

(3) Co-ordinate, in which the participle is substantially equivalent to an independent clause; subdivided into (*a*) the "circumstantial" participle in the narrower sense, which merely denotes an accompanying circumstance; and (*b*) the

“iterating” participle, which simply repeats the idea of the chief verb.

6. As to the origin of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon, in some uses it is (A) native and in others (B) foreign (Latin).

A. Native.

(1) In the following uses the appositive participle appears to be a native English idiom:—

(a) The adjectival use of the preterite participle and, perhaps, of a few slightly verbal present participles like *living*, *lying* (*liegende*), etc.

(b) The modal use of the present and of the preterite participle when each denotes manner.

(c) Perhaps the temporal use in a few present participles of slight verbal force like *being*, *living*, and *sleeping*.

(2) The grounds for the statements in (1) are as follows: (a) In the uses there specified the appositive participle is found in Early West Saxon. (b) It occurs, also, in Late West Saxon, in the more original prose (the *Chronicle*, the *Laws*, and *Wulfstan*), and in the poems not known to be based on Latin originals as well as in those believed to be translations. (c) In a number of instances in the translations, the Old English participle does not correspond to an appositive participle in the Latin original, but to various other constructions (see Tables at end of Chapter III). (d) In these uses the appositive participle is common in the other Teutonic languages.

B. Foreign (Latin).

(3) In the uses named below, on the contrary, the appositive participle is not a native English construction, but is borrowed from the Latin:—

(a) The adjectival use of the present participle except in a few that have but little verbal force like *living* and *lying*.

(b) The modal use of the present and of the preterite participle when each denotes means.

(c) The temporal use of the participle except in a few slightly verbal present participles like *being*, *living*, and *sleeping*.

(d) The causal use of the present and of the preterite participle, though the latter may in part be an extension of the adjectival preterite participle.

(e) The final use of the participle, though this may in a slight degree be due to the frequent predicative use of the present participle after verbs of motion in Anglo-Saxon.

(f) The concessive use of the participle.

(g) The conditional use of the participle.

(h) The co-ordinate use of the participle.

(i) The present participle (whether adjectival, adverbial, or co-ordinate) when it governs an object in construction.

(4) The statements of (3) are believed to be substantiated by the following considerations: (a) The specified uses of the appositive participle are practically unknown in Early West Saxon; and, in the few instances in which they do occur, they are usually in direct translation of a Latin appositive participle. (b) In hundreds of instances Alfred expressly avoided the constructions, although they occurred on every page of his Latin originals. (c) These uses are very rare in the more original prose (the *Chronicle*, the *Laws*, and *Wulfstan*), and in almost every instance have been traced to a direct or indirect Latin prototype. (d) They are very rare, too, in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and are found almost exclusively in the poems known to rest on Latin originals. (e) They seldom occur in the other Germanic languages except in the more slavish translations. (f) They are very common, on the other hand, in the later and closer Anglo-Saxon translations (*Ælfrie*, the *Gospels*, and *Benet*¹).—The cogency of these arguments varies somewhat with respect to the several uses; concerning which see the detailed treatment in Chapter III.

(5) From the above statements ((1)–(4)) as to the different origin of the several uses of the appositive participle we draw

this general conclusion: Anglo-Saxon was favorable to the appositive participle with pronounced adjectival (descriptive) force, but was unfavorable to the appositive participle with strong verbal (assertive) force.

7. Originally in Anglo-Saxon, the present appositive participle did not have the power of governing a direct object in construction. All present participles with a direct object are due to Latin influence.

8. Nor did the preterite appositive participle have the power of governing an accusative of the direct object. Only one example occurs in the whole of Anglo-Saxon literature, and that is in imitation of the Latin original.

9. The Anglo-Saxon substitutes for the appositive participle were:—

- (1) Most frequently a co-ordinated finite verb.
- (2) Somewhat less frequently a subordinated finite verb.
- (3) Not infrequently a prepositional phrase.
- (4) Occasionally a verb in the infinitive mood, both inflected and uninflected.
- (5) Rarely an attributive participle.
- (6) In a few instances an absolute participle.
- (7) Occasionally an adverb.
- (8) Rarely an adjective.
- (9) Very rarely a substantive.

10. Although my treatment of the appositive participle in the other Germanic languages is professedly not exhaustive, it seems to make probable the following conclusions:—

(1) The uses of the appositive participle in the other Teutonic languages are on the whole substantially the same as in Anglo-Saxon, but with considerable variation in the different languages and authors. Ulfilas and Tatian, for instance, are much more addicted to the appositive participle, especially that with verbal force, than are any of the Anglo-Saxon writers except the author of *Benet*¹, which is a gloss.

(2) In the other Teutonic languages as in Anglo-Saxon the appositive participle is of two-fold origin. The adverbial participle denoting manner, the adjectival (relative) past participle, the adjectival present and the temporal participle in such verbs as *be*, *live*, and *sleep*, are perhaps native. In all other uses the appositive participle; whether present or past, is probably of Greek (Ulphilas) or Latin origin, though in one or two of these functions, as in Anglo-Saxon, the appositive participle may in part be an extension of the attributive or the predicative use of the participle. The present appositive participle with an object in construction seems to be of wholly foreign origin.

(3) The substitutes for the appositive participle are about the same in the other Germanic Languages as in Anglo-Saxon.

11. As for its stylistic effect, in Anglo-Saxon as in the classical languages the appositive participle conduces to rapidity, compactness, and flexibility. In the adjectival use of the preterite participle and in the adverbial use of the present and of the preterite denoting manner, this is more or less exemplified in all periods of Anglo-Saxon; and in the poetry the participle contributes, also, to picturesqueness. The other uses of the appositive participle were practically ignored by the Early West Saxons, and to this fact are largely due the unwieldiness and the monotony of Alfred's style. Ælfric and the translators of the *Gospels*, on the other hand, adopted these uses from the Latin, and handled the same almost as skillfully as do modern Englishmen; whence results in great measure the excellence of Ælfric's style in point of flexibility and grace. But these innovations were looked upon coldly by Ælfric's immediate successors (Wulfstan and the author of the *Peterborough Chronicle*), and scarcely became thoroughly naturalized during the Anglo-Saxon period.

MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Originally not intending to discuss the inflection of the appositive participle, I did not in my first draft jot down all the peculiar forms observed. After deciding to treat the subject, I thought that the Introduction could be held in type until the final proving and printing of the Statistics. But, as their bulk made this impossible, the following additions and corrections are called for in the section of the Introduction (IV) dealing with the inflection of the appositive participle:—

THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE.

NS. (p. 150):—L. 7 from below: change *three* to *two*, and strike out *Ælfr. L. S. 282. 5*; for, after the preparation of the Statistics, I received vol. IV of Skeat's edition of this work, in the "Errata" of which he corrects *feohtend* to *feohtende*. This, of course, changes *feohtend* in my Statistics (p. 197, l. 27).

L. 3 from below: change *four* to *five*, and add *104. 16* after *95. 11*.

L. 1 from below: to exceptions add *-ænde: Benet¹ 68. 1; -ynde: Mat.¹ 9. 29.*

ASM. (p. 151, l. 6):—*Ælfr. L. S. 78. 489* has *-ande*, which reduces the number of *-ende* by one.

N. and A. PMFN. (p. 151, l. 10): to the exceptions add: (1) masculine: *-ænde: Benet¹ 55. 4, Greg.¹ 123. 16: -onde: Bede¹ 72. 9, Bened. 9. 7; -ynde: Mat.¹ 9. 27, 31; (2) neuter: -ande: *Ælfr. L. S. 224. 86.*²*

THE PRETERITE PARTICIPLE.

NSM. (p. 151, l. 16):—*Benet¹ 100. 3* has *bepæhð* for *bepæht*; and *Chron. 1048 E* has *unswican*.

DSMN. (p. 151, l. 22):—insert *-on* after *-an*.

ASM. (p. 151, l. 6 from below):—to the inflectional ending add *-um* for *-an*, weak (*Bede*¹ 130. 33), and see p. 153, where the example is quoted in full.

ASN. (p. 152, l. 1):—*Mat.*¹ 11. 7 has *-yd* instead of *-ed*.

NPM. (p. 152, l. 2):—*Laws* (*Wihtr.*, c. 4) has *-yne* instead of *-ene*; and *Benet*¹ 113. 9 has *astrehð* for *astreht*.

NAPN. (p. 152, l. 7):—to the inflectional endings add *-u* (*Greg.*¹ 245. 8^a & ^b), in which the participles are probably accusatives rather than nominatives (as given on p. 173, l. 10). *Beow.* 3049 has *ðurhetone* instead of *ðurhetene*.

GP. (p. 152, l. 10):—to the exception add *geferede*: *Elene* 992.

DPM. (p. 152, l. 11):—to the inflectional ending add *-e*: *Ælfr. Hept.* (*Judges* 16. 7).

On p. 203, ll. 8, 18, and 25, strike out *uncwð*.

The following typographical errors should be noted:—

P. 146, l. 26: change dash to hyphen.

P. 147, l. 2: for *rechfertigen* read *rechtfertigen*.

P. 149, l. 16: for *Indo-Germanie* read *Indo-Germanic*.

P. 180, l. 23: for *unbefohtenene* read *unbefohtene*.

P. 181, l. 11: for *ðinge* read *ðingc*.

P. 185, l. 26: for *geondead* = *angaritia*: 7. 54 read *geneadod* = 54. 7: *angariati*.

P. 288, l. 12: for *cwedende* read *cweðende*.

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A NOTE OF THANKS.

I wish heartily to thank my colleagues in the School of English, Drs. Killis Campbell and Pierce Butler, and my honored teacher, Professor James W. Bright, for gracious help in the issuing of this monograph. Each of the three has kindly assisted in reading the proof, and has offered valuable suggestions for the betterment of my study.

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Ælf. Hept. = *ib.*

Ælf. Hom. = Thorpe, *The Homilies of the A.-S. Church*, 2 vols., London, 1844, 1846.

Ælf. L. S. = Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, E. E. T. S., nos. 76, 82, 94, London, 1881, 1885, 1890. Vol. IV (1900) was received too late to be read for this study. Vols. I and II are cited simply by page and line; vol. III, by number of homily and of line.

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*Oros.*² = Latin in *Oros*.¹

*Ps. Th.*³ = Latin in *Ps. Th.*¹ [The Introductions are taken from *Bruce* in II.]

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IX.—THE PRIMITIVE *PRISE D'ORANGE*.

The existence of a primitive *Prise d'Orange*, now unhappily lost, is better attested than that of any lost poem of the *Geste de Guillaume*. Indeed, there are more references to this poem than to the majority of the poems still extant in the *Geste*.

The existence of a lost *Prise* different from the present one is shown, first, in the *Vita Sancti Guglielmi*, whose date is about 1122.¹ The language of the *Vita* is vague, as is natural in the biography of a saint whose life was probably far from edifying, unless perhaps during the six years of monastic virtue which brought to Guillaume the title of saint: "Et si est sains, Diex l'a fait beneir En paradis celestre" (*Aliscans*, 641, 642).

Another bit of ancient testimony is found in the famous forged chart of Gellone, compiled between 1120 and 1130. This chart may be from the same hand as the *Vita*. Its evidence is vague, but gives none the less a glimpse of a *Prise* different from the present one.²

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, VI, p. 802.

² Ch. Révillout, *Etude historique et littéraire sur l'ouvrage latin intitulé Vie de Saint Guillaume*, Paris, 1876; *Romania*, VI, 467.

A third piece of evidence is to be found in the ecclesiastical history of Orderic Vitalis, who wrote in Normandy about the year 1130.¹

Again, there is a passage in the ancient version of the *Moniage Guillaume*, date about 1150, which is thought to contain traces of an earlier form of the legend.²

Further traces of such a legend are found in various MSS. of the *Enfances Guillaume*, such as the MSS. of Boulogne, and MSS. 1448, 774, 24369, of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Other evidence exists in the prologue to the *Charroi de Nîmes* MSS. of Boulogne; in *Aliscans*, 1050-1061, 1144-1153; and, finally in the *Storie Nerbonesi*, written by Andrea da Barberino, a Florentine, about the year 1400.³

In all of these sources save the last the information to be gleaned concerning the earlier form of the legend is very vague, and may be said to indicate only two divergencies from the poem still preserved, namely, in the early account Guillaume seems to have seized Orange by a sudden feat of arms, and the Saracen hero, Tibaut, Guillaume's great rival, appears to have played a much more important rôle than in the present poem.

In the *Storie Nerbonesi*, on the other hand, all of the data are specific and clear, and the divergences from the present *Prise* are numerous and radical.

This same radical divergence between the events of the cycle in general as given by Andrea, and those corresponding in the poems preserved, extends throughout the Italian compilation, with few exceptions. It has long been the fashion to consider the work of Andrea da Barberino as of little value,⁴ and it is only recently that a more respectful tone has

¹ Duchesne, *Hist. Normannorum Scriptores*, p. 598.

² Cited by Jonckbloet, *Guillaume d'Orange*, II, p. 129.

³ Edited by Isola, two vols., Bologna, 1877-1887. With regard to Andrea, see Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources hist. du moyen âge*.

⁴ Gautier, *Épopées*, IV, pp. 30 ss., 317, 341, 374, 438, 439, 476; Ph. Aug. Becker, *Der Quellenwert der Storie Nerb.*, Halle, 1898, pp. 49, 50; also for

been discernable in the utterances of the critics. From my own studies, I have become more and more convinced of the injustice done the old Florentine music teacher, and have several times declared that in my opinion he has, in general, preserved for us a state of the *Geste* considerably more primitive than that of the epics still extant.¹ There can be no doubt that the evidence of Andrea permits us to reconstruct the elements which enter into *Aliscans*, a poem whose startling inconsistencies almost all disappear in the light of the Italian history, reinforced by that of the internal evidence of the Old French poem. The radical reconstruction of *Aliscans* here hinted at, being a reconstruction of the great central epic of the cycle, must be followed by that of all the related epics. For it is apparent, that if we change to any serious extent our ideas of the former state of a central poem, we must also change our ideas with regard to former condition of related poems, which now fit the present central poem. If, for instance, we receive new light on the former state of the legends represented in *Aliscans*, we are led to examine into the effect of this reconstruction on subordinate related poems; and the *Enfances Guillaume*, the *Charroi de Nîmes*, the *Priise d'Orange*, the *Covenant Vivien*, the *Enfances Vivien*, *Foucon de Candie*,—all these epics must be examined in turn to see how they are affected by the new theories.

In making rapidly such an examination, I have reached the *Priise d'Orange*, and it is my purpose to set down here very briefly the main results of this examination. In so doing, I am not unconscious of the doubts which my novel conclusions will arouse. They are given for what they are worth, and the writer may be the first to abandon certain of them.

more favorable opinion: A. Jeanroy, *Romania*, XXVI, p. 190; O. Densusianu, *La Priise de Cordres*, Soc. des Anc. Textes, p. VIII, note, pp. XI, XII; Rolin, *Aliscans*, pp. LXV, LXVI.

¹ See article on "The Messenger in *Aliscans*," in the *Child Memorial Vol.*, Ginn & Co.; *Romania*, XXVIII, p. 126 ff.

It will be necessary to recount the events of the *Prise d'Orange* in the Old French poem and in the Italian version.

The events corresponding to the *Charroi de Nîmes*, events which are supposed to precede those of the *Prise*, are the same in the two sources,¹ save in one important point which need not be mentioned here. The events of the present *Prise* are as follows: Guillaume, having possessed himself of Nîmes, learns from an escaped prisoner, Gillibert, of the riches of Orange and the beauty of Orable, the wife of Tibaut, who dwells there. Guillaume goes to Orange disguised as a Saracen, in company with Gillibert and Guielin. They obtain an interview with Arragon, the governor of the city, and with Orable. Guillaume's identity is discovered by the Saracens during this interview, he is attacked, but succeeds in shutting himself up in the palace, in company with his two friends and Orable. They resist for some time, but are surprised by the entry of the Saracens through a subterranean passage. They are thrown into a dungeon of Orable, at her request. Messengers are sent to Tibaut, who is in the orient, to tell him that his great enemy is prisoner. Orable, however, releases the prisoners, and on her advice Guillaume sends a messenger through a subterranean passage to Bertran, at Nîmes. The fact that the Christians are at liberty is soon discovered; they are retaken and cast into prison along with Orable. Guillaume and Guielin are brought before a council to be judged. They lose their temper and a general mêlée ensues, which is fortunately interrupted by the arrival of the help from Bertran, who penetrates into the city through the passage above mentioned. Bertran and Guillaume take the city, Orable is baptized, her name changed to Guibour, and she becomes the wife of Guillaume.

This stupid and impossible poem² contains not a small number of inconsistencies and repetitions. For instance, it

¹ Cf. Gautier, *Épopées*, iv, p. 374.

² I am thoroughly of the opinion of L. Willems in this regard: *L'Élément Historique dans le Couronnement Loois*, Gand, 1896, p. 11, note 2.

is clear from the passage where Tibaut is sent for, and makes such preparations for a warlike campaign at Orange (1255-1323), that he should be again mentioned in the poem. This, however, does not occur. Among the foolish repetitions may be given the fact that the Christians shut themselves up three times in the palace; they are twice seized; a subterranean passage is made use of three times. In short, so full is this poem of wearisome commonplaces, so deficient in epic power, that no one has yet been found to claim for it the slightest merit.

The events of the Italian account are much the same as those of the French poem up to the interview with Orable, save that the escaped prisoner, here named Guidone, is the only one to accompany Guillaume to Orange. Here are the events of the Italian account subsequent to the point of divergence from the French story: Orable divines who Guillaume is during the interview. She is touched that he should run such dangers for her, and tells him that if he can vanquish Dragonetto, the governor, she will open the gates to him, and accept him as her husband. She has Guillaume conducted secretly forth from the city. He returns to Nimes, where, in spite of the advice of Bertran, his nephew, he sets off with a small army, leaving Bertran in charge at Nimes. Arrived before Orange, Guillaume accomplishes wonders against the Saracens, but is overcome by their superior numbers, and takes flight. He is the only Christian to escape. He arrives exhausted and heart-broken at Nimes, where Betran encourages him to go to Paris to ask aid of the king. Louis receives him brutally, and only consents to help him at the prayer of the queen. With a new army, Guillaume leaves Paris, is joined by Bertran, and with him gains a victory over Dragonetto, who perishes. Orable is baptized, and becomes Guillaume's wife. The recital closes with the preparations of Tibaut to avenge himself on his enemy. The divergence between the two accounts begins at about line 738 of the *Prise*.

There can be no doubt that the form of the story in the Italian bears more of the epic stamp than that of the Old French poem. A perusal of the recital of Andrea will disclose several passages which in the original must have possessed no small power. Such, for instance, is the flight of Guillaume, his arrival at Nîmes, and the scene before the king.¹

Inasmuch as my purpose is not to dwell at any length on the version of the *Storie Nerbonesi*, I will simply, in passing, mention several points out of a number which indicate that this version is more ancient than that of the French poem preserved. The passage cited concerning the preparations of Tibaut for coming to Orange, which have such a strange air in the *Prise*, are made clear in the *Nerbonesi*, where, on Guillaume's defeat by Dragonetto, a messenger is sent to announce the victory and to ask for reinforcements. Tibaut departs, but arrives too late. There follows the famous long siege of Orange. Again, lines 1047-1061 of *Aliscans*, lines which bear the mark of antiquity, are supported and explained by the Italian story. Again, we read in a very important passage in *Aliscans*, with regard to Orange :

Ainc n'i alerent chevalier tant vaillant
C'onques en France fuisent puis repairant.
Mar acointames Guillame a son beubant !
Car laist Orengé, as maufes le commant !
(2696-2699).

It is evident from this passage that several expeditions to Orange had been sent out, and that all, or at best most of them, had been unfortunate. As the poems now stand, we know of no unfortunate expedition of this kind at the moment when these words are supposed to be said. The only expedition against Orange of which we know in poems now extant,

¹ The critics have seen in these events only an imitation of *Aliscans*: Gautier, *Epopées*, IV, p. 397; A. Jeanroy, *Romania*, XXVI, p. 6, note 1. Observe, however, that the summary of the lost *Prise*, given by M. Jeanroy on pp. 5, 6, follows closely the *Nerbonesi*. Far from these events having been pillaged from *Aliscans*, this epic is the plagiarist.

is that led by Bertran from Nîmes, as related above, and this one was successful. One of the disastrous expeditions evidently referred to in this passage was certainly the one narrated in the *Storie Nerbonesi*. In other words, we find here, in a passage of *Aliscans* considerably older than the present *Prise*, a confirmation of the version of the *Nerbonesi*.

The *Prise d'Orange*, then, of the *Storie Nerbonesi* is, as M. Jeanroy has already said,¹ more ancient than that preserved in the French poem. That it was not, however, the most ancient version in *langue d'oïl*, we shall see later.

Before leaving the present point, why did the *Prise* of the Italian account disappear? Clearly enough, from the analysis given as well as from the frequent references to the poem, it must have possessed considerable beauty and power. It is a mistake to suppose that such a poem could disappear under the circumstances surrounding a central poem in a powerful geste, without some strange combination of events.

The disappearance of this form of the *Prise* is so bound up in the story of the origin of *Aliscans*, that it will be necessary to sketch briefly the complicated and puzzling genesis of this latter epic.

There existed, in my opinion, as early as 1050, the following poems touching Orange: I. A poem of *remplissage*, of which more will be said shortly, relating how Guillaume, the hero of the court of France, went south to conquer for himself a fief. In this poem Guillaume is at first terribly defeated under the walls of Orange; he flees for his life, and is urged by Bertran to go to the court for aid. The king at first refuses. Wrath of Guillaume. The king yields. Return of Guillaume with an army; conquest of Orange; marriage with Orable, the wife of Tibaut, lord of Orange. II. A poem telling how Tibaut came with an enormous force to retake Orange, and avenge himself on Guillaume. A seven years' siege of the city. When the seven years are nearly up Bertran goes as a messenger to urge the king to help. Louis refuses

¹ *Romania*, xxvi, pp. 5, 6.

at first. Wrath of Bertran. The king yields. Orange is relieved. III. A poem somewhat more recent than the other two, telling how Guillaume marched to the rescue of Vivien in Spain. He arrives after the death of Vivien, and is himself fearfully defeated, escaping alone from the field, and being pursued clear to Orange. The city is at once besieged by Tibaut and others. A messenger is despatched to court and to Guillaume's friends. An army is formed, the Saracens are defeated. About the middle of the twelfth century there arose a new poem, IV, which sang of another siege of Orange, this time by Desramé. Guillaume goes as a messenger to court, the king grants aid without difficulty. There accompanies Guillaume a grotesque hero, Renoart, who, although Saracen born, is to play the great rôle in the delivery of Orange. The army of Desramé is routed. This poem, called doubtless the *Enfances Renoart*, or the *Renoart*, attained an enormous popularity because of its comic elements.

It will be noticed that there are certain similar events in these epics. The hero is twice defeated and flees alone (I and III), once before Orange, once in Spain; he is three times besieged in the city (II, III, and IV), twice by Tibaut, once by Desramé. A messenger goes four times for aid; this messenger in two cases is Guillaume himself (I and IV); in II the messenger is Bertran, in III a more obscure hero who need not be named. The king refuses aid twice (I and II); the messenger becomes angry on these two occasions, and the king ends by yielding. Orange is relieved three times by an army from France (II, III, IV).

The present *Aliscans* is a composite poem, made up from the above four sources. I imagine this to have come about, not through any studied blending by any one remanieur, but little by little, through the habit of the jongleurs of singing selections of the most striking scenes from these four related epics. It is very possible that a jongleur might ask what song his audience desired, and that one might say, "Sing the defeat of Guillaume," another, "The wrath of Guillaume or

of Bertran," another, "The death of Vivien," another, "The siege of Orange," another, "The exploits of Renoart." Now, many of these events in one poem were paralleled in another, which facilitated the process of union. The jongleur was led little by little to form a connected series of striking scenes from his répertoire. In this way arose the much admired epic of *Aliscans*, which begins with the death of Vivien (drawn from III), which gives Guillaume's flight (drawn in the main from III), which contains the touching farewell between Guillaume and his wife (drawn from II), the departure and journey northward of the messenger (drawn from II), the magnificent scene of the messenger's wrath before the king (drawn from I and II), the departure of the relieving army (drawn from II and IV), the relief of Orange, and the defeat of the Saracens (drawn from II and IV). It would have been surprising if in this composite poem the events preserved their historic order. Vivien, for instance, who "historically" died in the source III, here dies at the very opening of the new poem. He could not well die in the proper sequence, because the poem must record the vengeance taken for his death. It will be noted, too, that Desramé has almost entirely replaced Tibaut, the hereditary rival of the old epic Guillaume. The scene of the defeat and flight of Guillaume is placed near Orange, although the defeat which followed the death of Vivien took place "historically" in Spain, and similarly with other points.

The success of *Aliscans*, which contains a larger number of fine scenes than any other French epic, meant the effacement and disappearance of all the four sources whence came the epic. All of these poems have disappeared, save only as fragments have been preserved in some later poems.

In the case of the *Prise d'Orange*, there were particular reasons why this epic could not subsist in the presence of *Aliscans*. The main reason is that the new poem followed, in its main lines, the action of the *Prise*. Indeed, the *Prise d'Orange* had probably a more pervasive and important influence in the formation of the new epic than any other poem.

The *Prise* began with an expedition and battle in which Guillaume lost all his men, and was forced to flee alone.¹ Similarly with *Aliscans*. In the *Prise*, Guillaume was comforted by Bertran, his nephew and most tried friend. Similar events in *Aliscans*, where Guibour plays the rôle of comforter. In the *Prise*, Guillaume went for help, was refused by the king, lost his temper in the royal presence, and ended by obtaining the desired aid. Similar events in *Aliscans*. In both poems the siege is raised, and the enemy defeated.² Clearly, the popularity of *Aliscans* once established, the *Prise d'Orange* was doomed in the form under discussion.

The poem, however, was not wholly abandoned. The old beginning could still be in the main utilized. A second companion was given Guillaume in his first visit to Orange, in order that there might be a messenger to send by the secret passage, an event which was of course lacking in the older poem. The larger part of the first seven hundred and thirty-eight lines of the present *Prise* are doubtless from the older version, that given in the *Storie Nerbonesi*.

Shall we conclude from the above arguments that the version of the *Prise d'Orange*, as related in the *Nerbonesi*, was the earliest in *langue d'oïl*? By no means. There undoubtedly once existed a *Prise d'Orange* in which Guillaume went directly to Orange from the north, with no mention of Nîmes. There are many things which indicate this. In the first place, no ancient source seems to know anything about Nîmes in connection with Guillaume, whereas a number of these early records mention Orange in this connection. The remark of Léon Gautier is to be cited in this matter, where he says that the troubadours often mention the *Prise d'Orange*, but never the taking of Nîmes, of which they seem to know nothing.³

¹ If Guillaume loses Vivien in *Aliscans*, he loses Ruberto and Guidone in the account given in the *Nerbonesi*: vol. II, p. 396 ff.

² Not to complicate matters, no mention is made here of the fact that the version of *Aliscans* which preceded its fusion with the *Renoart* must have had a hero other than Renoart to play the *grand rôle*.

³ *Les Épopées*, IV, p. 392.

There is, however, a stronger argument, one which requires some mention of the *Charroi de Nîmes*. The purpose of this poem is to link together the epics in the north that sang of one Guillaume and those in the south that sang of a different Guillaume. At the time when the poets of north France were becoming interested in the epics of Provence, they found there a series of poems which celebrated a hero named Guillaume, whose seat was Orange. At this same time, there existed at the north a series of poems in *langue d'oïl* which sang of another hero named Guillaume. When the northern poets translated the Provençal epics into north French, people began to wonder if these Guillaumes were one and the same person. Accordingly, some remanieur conceived a plan for showing that these two were one. He created a poem telling how Guillaume, who had been a trusted lieutenant of Charlemagne and a faithful friend to Louis, was mistreated by this latter, and in wrath declared that he would go to the southward and conquer a realm for himself. He went through the fiction of receiving these lands as a fief from the hand of Louis, a proceeding calculated to flatter the pride of the northerners. It is this poem which I believe to be the original *Prise d'Orange* in *langue d'oïl*. For there can be no doubt, the northern Guillaume must have gone direct to Orange, the seat of the southern Guillaume, the object of the poem being to achieve their identity as speedily and naturally as possible.¹

¹ Several MSS. of the *Enfances Guillaume* speak of the taking of Orange, but do not mention that of Nîmes, which is surprisingly late testimony of the newness of the legend concerning Nîmes. For instance, the following lines from the *Enfances*, cited by Jonckbloet, *Guillaume d'Orange*, II, p. 146:

Par moi orres la chanchon de Guillaume,
Com il conquist premierement Orengue,
Et com il prist dame Guiborc a feme.

Guillaume says to the king in *Aliscans* (3118-3120):

Tu me juras, ke l'oïrent mi per,
Ke s'en Orengue m'asaloient Escler,
Ne me fauries tant com peusies durer.

No mention, of course, of Nîmes.

This fusion of the northern and southern cycles was probably an accomplished fact by the first quarter of the eleventh century, and perhaps earlier. The epic family of Guillaume appears already in the *Fragment de la Haye*, and in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. This fusion can only have been brought about by such a poem as has been mentioned, and this poem cannot have been the *Charroi de Nîmes*, which is posterior by more than a hundred years to the time of the soldering together of the two cycles.

In the original *Prise* here postulated, what can have been the motive ascribed for Guillaume's change of seat from the north to the south? Two motives suggest themselves: he may have been sent southward by the king to repulse the Saracens, and take from them Orange; or the motive may have been that of the present *Charroi*, namely, the thanklessness of the king. The first of these motives is perhaps nearer historical, if the word can be employed in this case; the second appears to possess far more poetical power, and accords much better with the character of the epic Guillaume. The first would explain satisfactorily how the hero came to go to Orange, but not why he remained there. The *Couronnement*, for instance, recounts several expeditions of our hero, who always, however, returns to the court. It is not to be denied, of course, that some plausible reason for a continued residence at Orange could have been found to serve in the poem mentioned, such for instance as the possible desire of Guibour to remain at Orange, or the necessity of keeping a Christian outpost in the edge of the enemy's country. None the less, the action of the *Charroi* offers the most probable and most poetic motif to serve as the *trait d'union* between the two cycles.

It being established, then, that the original *Prise d'Orange* in the *langue d'oïl* represented Guillaume as going direct to Orange, and it being very possible that the motive for his change of residence was that given in the present *Charroi de Nîmes*, we are led to ask whether the famous opening of the

Charroi, one of the most splendid fragments of the old French epic, may not be the original beginning of the lost *Prise*. As has been above asserted, the original *Prise*, together with all epics which were put under contribution to form *Aliscans*, disappeared. If we suppose the beginning of the *Charroi* to have been that of this original *Prise*, we can readily believe, masterly as it is, that it would either have been comprised in the new poem—*Aliscans*—or would have been incorporated in some other poem. Such a splendid fragment could hardly, under the circumstances, have been altogether lost. Now, are there reasons why this fragment could not have been easily included in the series of magnificent tableaux which were linked together and which formed *Aliscans*? There appear to be such reasons. In the first place, the new poem was to recount the touching death of a Christian hero, accompanied with that of an entire Christian army, and the vengeance that was exacted for these misfortunes. Strung on this string of action were to be a long series of splendid and stirring scenes. The opening scene of the present *Charroi* could only have figured as the opening scene of the new poem, because of the chronology of events. The only objection to the new poem beginning in this way, would be a certain congestion in the action, a somewhat improbable rapidity in the events supposed to succeed each other. For here would be a hero quarreling with his feudal master, the king of France; going to possess himself of lands in the Saracen country; succeeding in his enterprise to the extent of becoming absolute lord of Orange; marching to the aid of one of his nephews, Vivien, whom he finds dead; undergoing a terrible defeat; fleeing for his life; besieged in Orange; escaping, and going to court for help; obtaining this help after great difficulty; returning to the neighborhood of Orange; defeating the Saracens and relieving the city. Assuredly this would be an amazingly complex and prolonged action for a single poem. The present *Aliscans* contains eight thousand four hundred lines. The prefixing of the fragment mentioned would carry

the total to nearly or quite nine thousand lines. It may be that an early version of what we call *Aliscans* began with the masterly scene of the *Charroi*, and we may one day discover evidence that such a version was sung. It appears, however, much more probable that such was not the case, the main reason for this being the difficulty of according the action of the poem which was in process of formation.

Supposing, then, that the original *Prise d'Orange* conducted Guillaume directly to the walls of Orange,¹ and that the motive for his change of seat was that given in the *Charroi*, it is by no means improbable that the *Charroi* preserves for us the beginning of the lost *Prise*. Under this theory, the opening of the *Prise* not having been utilized when the geste was going to pieces—perhaps during the first third of the twelfth century,—some poet who saw the beauty of the masterly lines mentioned, continued them after his own fashion, and left us the present *Charroi de Nimes*. That the two parts of the *Charroi* are in striking contrast, and that the first part—say the first eight hundred and fifty lines—is as full of epic fire as the remainder is of common-place trivialities, has been observed by several critics, and must be felt by all who read the poem. Indications of a difference in the two parts of the poem are also to be found in the language and in the verse forms, although arguments of this kind can have no great value until they are based on a collation of all the manuscripts. Whether the above hypothesis offers a tenable explanation of the differences between the two parts of the poem, may of course be doubted, but that these parts have different origins cannot be doubted.

The supposition is advanced in this brief article that the primitive *Prise d'Orange* may not have been entirely lost, and that the beginning of this celebrated epic may be preserved to us in the first part of the *Charroi de Nimes*.

RAYMOND WEEKS.

¹See the excellent article by M. Jeanroy, already cited: *Romania*, xxvi, pp. 5, 6, 10, 21.

X.—ON THE LATIN SOURCES OF *THÈBES* AND *ÉNÉAS*.

The French poems *Troie*, *Thèbes*, and *Énéas*, contemporaneous with one another in the sixth and seventh decades of the twelfth century, have many characteristics in common. They each repeat in a modernized form, and with incidents and details suited to their own age, the story of one of the great epics of classical antiquity, the *Iliad*, the *Thebaid*, and the *Aeneid*. They also combine with this traditional outline of adventure and conquest the narrative of romantic love and courtship, as conceived by Western Europe in the Middle Ages. And finally they each and all show an effort to attain some degree of excellence in style and composition. Thus they form a class by themselves, animated, as they are, by the same spirit and having the same purpose in view, and are the first exponents in the modern tongues of the ideals of chivalry.¹ The sources of these poems, therefore, are an object of unusual interest to the student of mediaeval literature.

The origin of the *Roman de Troie* has been in dispute for more than a generation. Dunger² and Greif³ have argued that the French poem is based directly on the texts of Dares and Dictys which have come down to us. Körting,⁴ Jäckel,⁵

¹ It is evident that there is no resemblance between these poems and the various versions of the story of Alexander the Great in the vernacular. The octosyllabic *Alexandre* is earlier than any of them and possibly also the decasyllabic ascribed to a certain Simon. But these versions do not seem to have affected our romances, unless the name of Naptanebus, who fights with Turnus in the *Énéas* (9496-9544), was suggested by the decasyllabic *Alexandre*. See Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, etc., Paris, 1886, vol. I, page 28, line 61.

² H. Dunger, *Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege*, etc., Dresden, 1869.

³ W. Greif, *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage*, etc., Marburg, 1886. No. 61 of Stengel's *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*.

⁴ G. Körting, *Dictys und Dares*, Halle, 1874.

⁵ R. Jäckel, *Dares Phrygius und Benoît de Sainte-More*, Breslau, 1875.

and Constans¹ hold, on the contrary, that the immediate predecessor of *Troie* was an enlarged Dares, if not an enlarged Dictys, but that their manuscripts have since disappeared, at least those of the larger Dares. Further discussion of the question seems likely to prove barren of results. We therefore choose our side in the struggle and adopt the opinion of Körting and Constans. For in no other way can we explain the two notable self-contradictions in *Troie*. In lines 18814–18837 of that poem,² Palamedes dies from a wound made by an arrow shot at him by Paris. Benoît is following Dares here. In an episode which extends from line 27551 to 27745 the same hero meets his fate through the treachery of Ulysses and Diomed, who stone him to death. Here the French poet is translating Dictys. It might be claimed that Benoît had forgotten the first account by the time he had arrived at the second. This explanation would be perhaps a plausible one had Benoît not been guilty of the same offense in the meantime. For he gives two versions also of the death of Telamonian Ajax. In lines 22529–22768 of *Troie* he tells how the Greek chieftain, though mortally wounded by Paris, has still strength enough to cut him to pieces before expiring. The episode is an unusual one and memorable. But within the comparatively short space of four thousand lines our translator quite destroys the effect he had produced by relating Ajax's quarrel with Diomed and Ulysses over the possession of the Palladium and his assassination one night by unknown enemies (*Troie*, 26485–27062). Dares is the authority for the first version, Dictys for the second. The length of these two passages does not admit of the excuse of absentmindedness on the part of Benoît. We can only conclude that he followed most blindly the text which lay before him. He repeatedly assures us that he adds nothing to that original narrative, and contradictions so glaring as

¹ L. Constans in Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française*, I, 204–214.

² A. Joly, *Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie*, etc., Paris, 1870–1871.

these force us to believe him. In other words, Benoît could not have possessed the requisites for independent composition, and four-fifths of his *Troie* are probably a direct translation of some Latin romance which went under the name of Dares.

The same means of controlling the conjectural original of the *Roman de Thèbes*¹ do not exist. Between it and its ultimate source, Statius's epic poem of the *Thebaid*, there is no prose intermediary known. The author of *Thèbes* rarely owns up to any literary obligation. He merely states he is translating a Latin book "called Statius," because laymen could not read Latin.² The "book" in question may have been the *Thebaid* itself, or a prose narrative based on the *Thebaid*. Constans³ inclines to the latter view, Paul Meyer⁴ to the former. There are, Meyer says, no facts which can be cited to show that such a prose work ever existed. But the French poem could be more easily explained if Constans's opinion of its original should hold. Between Statius's epic and the mediaeval story of love and combat there are differences which a translator would hardly have introduced. The mythology of the *Thebaid* is quite suppressed, also many of its episodes, while some which are retained in outline are recast and modified. Wholly new episodes of a romantic nature are inserted. And these changes are not the result of any failure on the part of the author of the *Roman de Thèbes* to carefully copy the incidents of his source. He reproduces enough of the details of Statius to show that he was not rhyming from memory. Besides, in the passage already referred to, he says he is translating a text.⁵ A com-

¹ *Le Roman de Thèbes* publié par L. Constans, Paris, 1890. Société des anciens textes français. 2 vols.

² Cf. Constans, *op. cit.*, II, 106:

Il le fist tout selonc la letre
Dont lai ne sevent entremetre;
Et por chou fu li romans fais
Que nel savoit hon ki fust lais.

27-30.

³ *Op. cit.*, II, cxix-cxxii.

⁴ *Romania*, XXI, 108.

⁵ See note.

parison of many of the shorter incidents and accessories of the main plot of the *Thebaid* and the *Roman* attests his veracity.

We find among these likenesses the correspondence between the two poems in the names of their leading characters; also such minor allusions as the reflection on the walls of Argos (*Thebaid*, I, 380-382), magnified into a glowing carbuncle set on the city's tower (*Roman de Thèbes*, 629-638); Tydeus's stature (*Theb.*, I, 414-415; *Roman*, 744); Polinices's aversion to telling his lineage (*Theb.*, I, 465-467; *Roman*, 843-844); the blushes of the Argive princesses (*Theb.*, I, 536-537; *Roman*, 945-946), and the likening of them to Pallas and Diana (*Theb.*, I, 535; *Roman*, 935); the fear of Etiocles that Polinices's wife might quarrel with his family (*Theb.* II, 438-441; *Roman*, 1339-1342); Thiodamas, who in the *Thebaid* (VIII, 278) is a "descendant" of Melampus, and in the *Roman* (5119-5120) is merely "younger;" Tydeus's blow which misses Haemon (*Theb.*, VIII, 528-538; *Roman*, 6025-6030); Atys's desire to be seen by Ismene as he goes to the fight (*Theb.*, VIII, 564-565; *Roman*, 6101-6102); Ismene's dream in which she sees Atys's mother (*Theb.*, VIII, 633-634; *Roman*, 6203-6210). All these resemblances, and others cited by Constans,¹ are details which would escape the memory merely. They show constant reliance on a text of some kind.

This text, the direct source of the French poem, could not in all probability have been the *Thebaid* itself, because of the changes and modifications which the story has undergone in the *Roman*. If we assume that the latter is taken from Statius's work without any intermediate version we must admit that it is an adaptation and not a translation, an adaptation which to all intents is an independent composition. While the outline of events in the *Thebaid* is retained, the mass of the material in the *Roman* is drawn from other sources, a proceeding which the ordinary mediaeval translator

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, cxx-cxxii.

would be unable to carry out. In other words the power of invention disclosed by the *Roman de Thèbes* is considerable, and invention was a rare faculty among the writers of the vernacular in the middle of the twelfth century. Leaving out of consideration the spirit of the *Roman*, and the two long episodes of Monflor (lines 2681–3464) and Daire le Roux (lines 7642–8600), which are unknown to the *Thebaid*, the plot of *Thèbes* shows that great liberty has been taken with Statius's poem. Books I and II of the *Thebaid* are repeated quite fully in the *Roman*, Books III and IV appear only partially, Book V is fairly well outlined, VI is much abridged, VII, VIII, and IX are freely used, X, XI, and XII very sparingly. Besides this evidence of a critical mind the *Roman* begins with the story of Oedipus, an introduction which Statius did not give and which he only hints at in his opening lines.

In the body of the French poem there are also evidences of an arranger who had views of his own. The battle under the walls of Thebes in the Latin epic is worked over in the mediaeval romance. Compare, for instance, Jocasta's mission to the Greeks in the *Thebaid* (VII, 474–482) with the *Roman* (3494–3978); also the tiger episode in the *Thebaid* (VII, 564–607) with the one in the *Roman* (4283–4308). Statius puts Capaneus's exploits before Etiocles's (*Theb.*, VII, 675, 688). In the *Roman* (4551 ff.) they come after. Menoeceus is introduced after Haemon and Atys in the one (*Theb.*, VIII, 498, 555 ff., 598 ff.), and before them both in the other (*Roman*, 5615 ff., 5991 ff.).¹ Yet the French poem later on scrupulously observes the order of Book IX of the Latin.

Certain incidents of the *Thebaid* have also been recast. The tiger episode, already cited, is a case in point. The death of Atys, who is reviled by his slayer, Tydeus, in the Latin epic (*Theb.*, VII, 600) and bewailed in the French version (*Roman*, 6100 ff.), is another. The death of Hippo-

¹ See also Constans, *op. cit.* II, cxxi–cxxii.

medon (*Theb.*, ix, 144-546; *Roman*, 8995-9063) is a third. Constans (*loc. cit.*) has adduced others. All go to support the assumption that *Thèbes* is the product of an invention which is independent of the *Thebaid*. If we do not allow the translator this faculty then there must have been a text intermediate between the two poems.

There is some internal evidence presented by the *Roman* in favor of the theory of such a text, Latin in language. The statement of the versifier himself that he was translating, the use of the word *poète* for *prêtre* (*Roman*, 5081, 6453) to which Constans calls attention,¹ and which is apparently a rendering for *vates*,² and also a change of a single detail in the episode of Hypsipyle. In the *Roman* (2432-2439) the serpent which killed her charge is itself dispatched by means of a sharpened stake. The *Thebaid* at the same point of the narrative says it was killed with a lance, *hasta* (*Theb.*, v, 570). But four lines above (v, 566) it had spoken of the lance as *trabe fraxinea*, a locution which may have suggested the weapon used in the *Roman*. If a translator is responsible for this invention he is construing his task with unusual freedom. On the other hand an arranger could have fittingly profited by the idea suggested by the simile.

It is also worthy of comment that the French poem rarely cites its authority. The manuscripts mention Statius but a few times, and only in one place do they all seem to unite in making him sponsor for a particular statement. In speaking of a cup presented to Polinices we read :

Si com dit li livre d'Estace,
Li pomeaus en fu d'un topace. 7823-7824.

The *Thebaid*, however, does not relate the episode in which this cup appears, and we are forced to infer either that the French poet is telling a falsehood in quoting Statius or that

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 341-342.

² There is no corresponding passage in the *Thebaid* for either of these citations.

he is translating from some text which went under Statius's name. The *Thebaid* does, indeed, contain quite a full description of a cup (I, 539-551), and an arranger of the poem might have borne this feature in mind and reserved it for some future need. But a mere translator would hardly have postponed the incident so long.

An additional and weighty reason for supposing that the direct original of the *Roman de Thèbes* was a Latin narrative may be found in those literary allusions of the French poem which are wanting in the Latin epic. In the *Roman* (601-604) we read of the twelve winds ruled by Aeolus. Pliny enumerates the winds¹ in his *Historia Naturalis* (II, c. 46), but does not mention Aeolus. Virgil (*Aeneid*, I, 52) and Solinus (page 54, line 18 of Mommsen's edition) speak of Aeolus as king of the winds, but do not state their number. Again the *Roman* (763-764) adds to Tydeus's history as given by Statius (*Theb.*, I, 488-490) a detail which belongs to ancient tradition. There is an erudition here which we would not expect to find in a translator. Other allusions in the *Roman* might be derived from Latin works in current use in the schools of the Middle Ages. The reference to Arachne (*Roman*, 901-902) may come from Ovid (*Met.*, VI, 1 ff.). The War of the Giants² pictured on Amphiaraus's chariot (*Roman*, 4731-4748) may also be taken from Ovid (*Met.*, I, 151-155). The forging of the chariot by Vulcan (*Roman*, 4715-4720) sounds like the echo of the lines on Achilles's shield in the Pindarus Thebanus (862-864).³ A related passage in the Pindarus Thebanus (875-884) seems to have served the French poet in his decorations for Adrastus's tent (*Roman*, 2921-2946). The Mappemonde in a second

¹ So does Honoré d'Autun in his *De Imagine Mundi* (I, c. 54), edited by Migne.

² Is Capaneus's ancestry, "de l'orine as Geanz" (*Roman*, 2008) derived from the notion that, like them, he was undone by Jove's thunderbolts?

³ *Poetae Latini Minores*. Recensuit et emendavit Aemilius Baehrens. Vol. III: Italicæ Ilias Latina, Leipzig, 1881.

description of the same tent (*Roman*, 3985-4020) repeats such views of geography as may be found in Honoré d'Autun (*De Imagine Mundi*, I, c. 5, 6).¹ The Dircean gate of Thebes, mentioned by Statius (*Theb.*, VIII, 357), receives an explanation in the *Roman* (5250) which could have been suggested by one of Hyginus's *Fabulae* (no. 7). There is a variety and a richness in these allusions which indicate scholarship of a no mean order, a scholarship which we can hardly believe was possessed by the mediaeval versifier. Yet his erudition furnished them, or else he found them in his original. We prefer the latter alternative, and would assume that there was a Latin romance intermediate between the *Thebaid* and the *Roman de Thèbes*.

An examination of *Énéas*,² later than *Thèbes* by a decade or two, strengthens in a general way the theory of the existence in the twelfth century of Latin prose romances. *Énéas*, however, is closer to Virgil's epic than *Thèbes* is to Statius's. Its story follows quite closely the narrative of its great predecessor. Little new material is incorporated into it, if the love passages are excepted, and it does not contain such fine episodes as those of Monflor and Daire le Roux (in *Thèbes*). *Énéas*, nevertheless, shows the work of an arranger,³ who transposes and abridges at will. Its beginning is taken from the Second Book of the *Aeneid*, so as to present a sequence in time. There is another slight change in the order of events when the Seventh Book is reached.⁴ Lavinia's engagement to Turnus is mentioned in the French poem (3233 ff.) in a passage based on the Latin epic (VII, 249 ff.), which contains no reference to this particular relationship. In other words the author is planning his great episode some

¹ See also Hyginus's *Astronomica*, B. Bunte's edition, Leipzig, 1875. Pages 27-29.

² *Énéas*. Texte critique publié par Jacques Salverda de Grave. Halle, 1891.

³ The editor discusses this question in his Introduction (xxxi-xxxii) and decides in the negative.

⁴ Compare the *Aeneid*, VII, 195 ff., with *Énéas*, 3175 ff.

time before he reaches it, a precaution of which a translator is rarely guilty. There are also changes of fact as well as sequence in the French version. Hecuba (*Énéas*, 759-760) is substituted for Helen (*Aeneid*, I, 647-650). Achilles, Ajax, and Ulysses are named in *Énéas* (918-920), while only Achilles appears in the corresponding passage of the *Aeneid* (II, 29). Pallas's mother survives him in the French poem (*Énéas*, 6259-6374). In the epic she is already dead (*Aeneid*, XI, 159). In *Énéas* (7000-7006) Orsilochus kills Larina. In the *Aeneid* (XI, 690-698) he is killed by Camilla. Other divergences may be found in the comparison of the contents of the two poems made by the editor of *Énéas* in his Introduction.¹

Beside these arbitrary changes of details *Énéas* makes additions to the material of the *Aeneid*. The romantic episode of Lavinia and Aeneas, which covers more than fourteen hundred lines of the mediaeval poem (*Énéas*, 7857-9274), is not satisfied with simply following the outline of events as given by Virgil. It introduces new ones.² The account of a camp built by Aeneas before Laurentium (*Énéas*, 7257-7364) is wholly independent of the Latin text. These are inventions which belong to the province of an author, not a translator. Of a different texture, but leading in the same direction of conscious authorship, are certain passages of *Énéas* which offend us by their coarseness. They can hardly be explained if we admit that the mediaeval poet is adapting Virgil to an audience composed entirely, or partly, of women, for whom tales of romantic adventure were usually rimed. The jokes made by the Trojans to one another over Camilla's sex in the *Aeneid* (XI, 734-740) are elaborated in *Énéas*, and

¹ Pp. xxxvii-lxii. See also Constans in Petit de Julleville: *Hist. de la Langue et de la Lit. fr.*, I, 223.

² The arrow incident of this episode, much better told in the heroic epic of *Girbert de Metz* (*Zeit. für neufr. Sp. und Lit.*, XIX (Abh.) 296-304), furnishes an argument against the inventiveness of the translator. Was this episode first narrated in a Latin prose *Aeneid* and borrowed from it by the author of *Girbert*?

turned into a repartee in which Camilla herself indulges (7076-7125). And not satisfied with this unseemliness, an entirely new detail of unusual vulgarity is placed in the mouth of the queen (*Énéas*, 8565-8612), to be improved upon later by Lavinia, a supposed *ingénue*, herself (9130-9170). Would such an impropriety not suggest a Latin text back of our poem, a text written for monks only, in which the opportunity had been taken to enlarge on a vice of the cloisters?

We also find in *Énéas* many allusions to ancient mythology which suggest a mind much more erudite than one belonging to a mediaeval versifier. The editor of the poem has verified a number of these allusions.¹ Gaston Paris has indicated in a review the source of others.² A few still remain unnoticed. The reference to Tantalus (*Énéas*, 2747-2752) coincides with Hyginus's statement (*Fabulae*, no. 82). The death of Prothesilaus at Hector's hands (*Énéas*, 4270-4274) may have also been suggested by Hyginus (*Fabulae*, no. 103). Lavinia's opinion of Ganymede's relations with Jupiter may be traced to Ovid (*Met.*, x, 155-156). The source of the Judgment of Paris (*Énéas*, 101-183) is uncertain. It differs from Hyginus's version (*Fabulae*, no. 92) in the bribe offered by Minerva, in this particular repeating classical tradition. Another allusion of obscure origin refers to Tityus's assault on Diana (*Énéas*, 2737-2746), instead of Latona, as the ancient myth reads. The Greek Scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes says indeed that Euphorion affirms it was Artemis.³ But there seems no way of tracing the connection from the Greek commentator to the French rimer, if indeed "Diana" is not merely a slip of the pen.

The general impression gained by combining these various characteristics of *Thèbes* and *Énéas* is that they are modeled not on the epics of Statius and Virgil, but on Latin romances

¹ *Op. cit.*, lxiii-lxix.

² *Romania*, xxi, 285-286.

³ *Apollonii Argonautica*, etc. R. Merkel and H. Keil. Leipzig, 1854. Page 314, lines 19, 20.

based on those poems. These romances would be in prose, like the Dares, the Dictys, and the stories concerning Alexander the Great. Into the outline borrowed from the *Thebaid* and the *Aeneid* they would insert episodes of love and combat, and would embellish the whole narrative with passages of classical learning. These narratives when turned into the vernacular would receive descriptions suited to the taste of the public.

Now the supposed Latin romances would circulate, of course, only among the educated, those who could read Latin; in other words, in the schools and monasteries, and in the world of clerks. The time of their favor could be conjectured with perhaps as much plausibility as their existence. If we may draw any inferences from the appearance of the French translations, and the presence of Latin compositions something like the latter in spirit, we should fix upon the first half of the twelfth century. Indeed the earliest text at hand which presents the mediaeval conception of society—the mingling of sexes at the court of some monarch—and the modern idea of chivalrous adventure is Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*, which belongs to the third decade of the century.¹ Men and women seem to have met together in festivals held among the Celts, and the Arthurian stories may have started the notion, so fruitful in its consequences. Yet it is doubtful whether Geoffrey's work would have survived its translations had it confined itself to the Arthurian tradition alone. It may have been the chronicle, the serious part of the *Historia*, which saved it to posterity in its first form. At all events the supposed antecedents of *Thèbes* and *Énéas* possessed no such claim to existence. They could not have been chronicles in any sense of the word. They simply repeated the leading events of the great Latin epics. Their

¹The *Pseudo-Turpin* which narrates the exploits of the peers of Charlemagne as though they were actual deeds, is another indication of the romancing tendency of the times. It belongs to the first years of the twelfth century.

other elements were obviously fictitious. Whether as paraphrases of the *Thebaid* and the *Aeneid*, or as tales of romantic love and adventure they would have no lasting hold on the educated public, and could disappear when once given their proper form in the vernacular.

Furthermore, whether *Thèbes* and *Énéas* have emerged from a previous state of existence as Latin romances or not, it is certain that shortly before their appearance the mediaeval world was bestowing unusual attention on the more romantic narratives handed down to it by antiquity. The legends concerning Alexander, expanded from Latin originals still extant, had made their way into the modern tongues as early as the first third of the twelfth century. The *Roman de Troie* is a proof of the interest taken in the stories of Dares and Dictys. We also know that this epoch saw a general revival of Latin learning. The conquests of Sicily and England by the Normans, and the growing enthusiasm which culminated in the Crusades were a part of the same life which developed the great monastic schools of Bec, Chartres, and Tours, which dominated the very region where *Thèbes*, *Troie*, and *Énéas* were written. The spirit of adventure, rife with both clergy and laymen, and the new conception of the relations of man towards woman, which were spreading among the nobility, impressed themselves on reviving literature. In an endeavor to reflect the thought of the age and to bear witness to its sympathy with it, the erudition of the monasteries consented to repeat in a popular form and in a style suited to the prospective public the great imaginative works of antiquity. In lieu of the *Iliad* itself the colorless account of a Dares would be vivified with a new life, and would furnish perhaps a model of romantic prose for a modified *Thebaid* or *Aeneid*. Vernacular renderings of the Latin texts would soon follow.¹

¹ In the case of *Thèbes* see the remarks of the translator on page 377, note 2.

If we accept this theorizing as good reasoning, then it is to the Latinists of the Middle Ages that we owe the first literary embodiment of the mediaeval idea, the spirit of chivalry—a view supported by Geoffrey's *Historia Britonum*. And should this inference prove false, it is at least probable that we are indebted to the interest in this Latin renaissance of the eleventh and twelfth centuries for the first notions of style in the vernacular. For the *Roman de Thèbes*, the earliest in date of the poems we have been considering, whether worked over from the *Thebaid* or translated from a prose romance, is the first work in French which reveals an author who is conscious of his vehicle of expression. It is the first representative of the idea of style in the history of French literature.¹

F. M. WARREN.

¹A study of the style of *Thèbes* would support the opinion that its direct model was not the *Thebaid*. Neither the figures of speech nor the locutions employed by Statius reappear in the French poem. Its author looks to nature for his similes and has a fondness for proverbs. His verse rarely allows overflow, so frequent in the Latin epic.

XI.—THE PROLOGUE OF THE WIFE OF BATH'S TALE.¹

I.

Chaucer's prologues and connecting links in the *Canterbury Tales* deserve special study, for they are by far the most characteristic and original part of his writings. When telling his tales he seems to feel himself in a measure bound to reproduce the stories as he finds them. In the general *Prologue*, ll. 731-736, he says :

“Who-so shal telle a tale after a man,
He moot reherce, as ny as ever he can,
Everich a word, if it be in his charge,
Al speke he never so rudeliche and large;
Or elles he moot telle his tale untrewe,
Or feyne thing, or finde wordes newe.”

And though he may be partly jesting, as he so commonly is, there is more than a grain of truth in what he says. But in the prologues he is under no such compulsion and can give free rein to his fancy. In them, therefore, we find, perhaps more than anywhere else, the true Chaucer, working in his own way, and controlling his sources instead of being partly controlled by them.

Of his prologues three are preëminent in length and originality. These are the *Canon's Yeoman's Prologue*, the *Pardoner's Prologue*, and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*. The two latter are alike in that they are, in a sense, confessions—a popular mediæval type, by the way—and relate personal

¹I need scarcely remark that this paper does not profess to give a systematic account of Chaucer's sources for this *Prologue*, but rather to call attention to some matters that have, perhaps, not been sufficiently emphasized.

experiences. In effect, then, these two prologues are tales,¹ in which the narrator plays a leading part.

Of all the prologues the most notable for wit and originality is the *Prologue of the Wife of Bath's Tale*. Nothing exactly like it had been seen before in English literature, and nothing exactly like it has been seen since. Of course the modernizations do not count. It contains (inclusive of the words between the Summoner and the Friar) 856 lines, or only four less than the general *Prologue* itself. Chaucer half apologizes for the length of it by making the Friar say, l. 831 :

“ This is a long preamble of a tale.”

Yet, despite the length, there is no waste material in it. Nothing clogs the movement, but every word adds its own touch to the whole effect. It is safe to say that Chaucer wrote nothing with more zest than this *Prologue*. Twice he refers to the Wife of Bath in other poems—the *Merchant's Tale*, l. 441, and *Envoy de Chaucer a Bukton*, l. 29. In the *Prologue of the Legend of Good Women*, A. 280–284, he mentions several of the authors afterwards directly used in the composition of this *Prologue*. With no great exaggeration we may say, then, that Chaucer had been all his life unconsciously preparing the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, and when he did set it down in writing he gave it a freshness and spontaneity equalled in few of his other poems. In it he shows how far he has moved away from the spirit of the earlier part of the *Roman de la Rose*, with its attenuated sentimentality and over-wrought allegory, and how thoroughly he has absorbed the spirit of the later part of the *Roman de la Rose*,—the part added by Jean de Meung. Chaucer can still be delicate and pathetic, but there is no false note in his sentiment. His work is no longer merely imitative and conventional, but creative and realistic: it is an early account of the taming of a shrew.

¹ The *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* is also a confession—the only one of the *Tales* proper that falls into this form.

II.

The women of Chaucer's earlier poems, with the single exception of Criseyde, are such as meet us in the French romances, in saints' lives, in stained glass windows. They are pale, bloodless shadows when put beside the Wife of Bath. They have too often that flawless perfection which is only too seldom attained in this earthly life. Chaucer certainly never saw one of them. The Wife of Bath brought him back to earth, for she was of the earth earthy, and she was proud of it.

Of all Chaucer's characters she is one of the freshest and breeziest, and she has all the brazen assurance of an untamed shrew. In fact, there is no better portrait of a woman who finds fault for the mere fun of it. She is the Mrs. Caudle of the fourteenth century, or, as some one suggests, she is a Falstaff in petticoats. Perhaps even truer would it be to say that she is Mrs. Caudle and Falstaff in one. She is not excessively prudish: no more was Falstaff. She nags her husbands till she becomes their purgatory; and so does Mrs. Caudle. But the Wife of Bath has at once the rollicking humor of Falstaff and the persistent spite of Mrs. Caudle. The Wife of Bath belongs to that noisy group of pilgrims which includes the Summoner, the Reeve, the Miller, and the host Harry Bailly, and she can out-talk them all.

"She was som-del deaf, and that was scathe" (*Prol.* 446),

says Chaucer, perhaps hinting that if she could have heard her own tongue she might have been less free of it. Her talk is very loose and coarse, but her gross wit is really an essential part of her character. Take that away, and she would be only a pushing, noisy woman, much like any commonplace shrew. She presents in her *Prologue* a new *Ars Amandi* from her point of view, and in it she recognizes frankly, much too frankly indeed for modern taste, that men and women are human beings and not sublimated shadows

such as we find in the hagiologies. Despite her coarseness she is satisfied with herself and does not care to be apologized for. There are those, she says :

"That wolde live parfitly ;
And lordinges, by your leve, that am not I." (Ll. 111-112.)

She would hardly have understood anything so delicate as the sentiment of the first part of the *Roman de la Rose* ; and in this, I suspect, she is a type of the lower class English woman of her day. But it is to be noted that she glories not merely in the grosser aspects of the married relation, but in the fact that for the majority of her husbands her word was law.¹

III.

Such, then, in briefest outline, are some of the salient characteristics of the Wife of Bath, which I have noted for comparison with material which I am about to introduce. So peculiarly alive is she that she almost seems to be fashioned after a living model, and this may be to some extent true. Yet closer study shows that in this, as in other cases, Chaucer borrowed all the hints he could get, and that, as usual, he turned to the *Roman de la Rose*. In this particular instance his indebtedness to the French poem is, I think, somewhat larger than has been generally recognized. From this work, as everyone knows, he was constantly taking hints for complete poems, for motives and situations, and, without acknowledgment, was transferring, in the good old mediæval fashion, the best lines to his own pages. This fact in general terms is mentioned by all writers on Chaucer, and by Koeppel,² Skeat,³ and Lounsbury,⁴ with specific indication of some passages thus appropriated. Considerable resemblance, then, between the portrait of the Wife of Bath and some portrait

¹ Cf. ll. 219-223.

² *Anglia*, xiv, 238-267.

³ *Works of Chaucer*, Notes, etc, *passim*.

⁴ *Studies in Chaucer*. See Index.

in the *Roman de la Rose* we are not unprepared to find. We are commonly told that the model for this portrait is found in the figure of La Vielle; and in general terms this is true. But along with many resemblances there are many points of difference; and these it may not be superfluous to note, since there is, so far as I am aware, no connected account of them. Chaucer's portrait is by no means a copy, but rather a composite of many elements.

In the first place, we see that the entire setting is different. Just before the fragment of the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris ends, we find the first mention of La Vielle, a morose old woman who is set by Jalousie to guard the door of the prison where Bel-Acueil is confined. As the Middle English version puts it:

"[Ther] hath ordeyned Ielousye
 An olde vekke, for to espye
 The maner of his governaunce;
 The whiche devel, in hir enfaunce,
 Had lerned [much] of Loves art,
 And of his pleyes took hir part;
 She was [expert] in his servyse.
 She knew ech wrenche and every gyse
 Of love, and every [lovers] wyle,
 It was [the] harder her to gyle.
 Of Bialacoil she took ay hede,
 That ever he liveth in wo and drede.
 He kepte him coy and eek privee,
 Lest in him she hadde see
 Any folly countenaunce,
 For she knew al the olde daunce."¹

A little more than a hundred lines further on the work of Guillaume de Lorris ends and that of Jean de Meung begins. But the essential outlines of the portrait are already sketched, and will in due time be filled in by the later poet in great detail. For thousands of lines, however, Jean de Meung (except for a passing reference, l. 4718) runs on as though he

¹ *Romaunt of the Rose*, 4285-4300 (Skeat).

Roman de la Rose, 4529-4545 (Michel).

did not know of her existence. In fact, in the rather loose frame-work of the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*, she could remain indefinitely with nothing to do while the dissertations on every imaginable topic drag their slow length along. On one occasion, indeed, when there is a possible danger that Bel-Acueil may be freed, she makes a great outcry (*Rom. de la R.*, 8026, Michel). A little later (8150) the Friend warns the Lover that he must watch her, for she is against him :

“ La vielle qui Bel-Acuel garde
Servés ausinc : que mal feu larde ! ”

But for several thousand lines more she is not mentioned again, and then only in a word (11,492) when the barons of the host are proposing to storm the castle and free Bel-Acueil. At length, however, Male-Bouche, the ever-active enemy of women, has his tongue cut out by Faulx-Semblant (13,300), who with a few companions enters the castle where La Vielle is. They flatter her outrageously and ask her to let Bel-Acueil descend from the tower for a chat with them. When her natural fears are quieted she releases Bel-Acueil and bestows upon him the garland that the Lover has sent. After some hesitation he accepts it, and she then relates to him the story of her life (13,681 seq.).

She is a worn-out old woman,¹ she says,

“ Mon tens jolis est tous alés. (13,683.)

¹A similar sentiment is expressed in Béranger's poem, *Ma Grand' Mère*, to which Mr. S. Friedewald has kindly called my attention :

“ Ma grand' mère, un soir à sa fête,
De vin pur ayant bu deux doigts,
Nous disait en branlant la tête :
Que d'amoureux j'eus autrefois !
Combien je regrette
Mon bras si dodu
Ma jambe bien faite,
Et le temps perdu ! ”

(bis.)

She will soon need a staff or crutch. Her lost beauty she regrets, and yet she recalls how her lovers used to flock about her, and how they would fight with each other outside her doors. But in those days she was only a young fool and knew nothing of love. Since then she has grown wise through experience (13,745), and this she is ready to share with Bel-Acueil. She would even yet like to get even with some men who treated her ill; but in spite of all she is thrilled when she recalls the gay life she used to lead (13,877), and the thought of it makes her young once more. She wanders on with her tale, tells of Love's laws, of his bow and arrows, and of worthy and unworthy women—Dido, Phillis, Helen, Medea. She shows how women should beautify themselves, how they should dress so as to cover defects, how they should have tears ready for instant use, how they should behave at table,¹ what arts they should employ to catch men. All men are false, and women should therefore be free to bestow themselves whenever and wherever they please. All this and more La Vielle expounds at great length. She might now be rich, she says, but she finally lost her heart to a ribald who cared nothing for her and who beat her (15,423), as the Wife of Bath's fifth husband beat her. The old woman's story ends at l. 15,492. What little she has to do and say after this point is of no importance for our inquiry.

Evidently, then, although Chaucer did not attempt to copy the portrait of La Vielle as a whole, he took from her the general suggestion for the outlines of the Wife of Bath. But he modified the figure of La Vielle by making her younger and more vigorous, by giving her as keen an interest in life as she had ever had, by representing her as still ready for

¹Some of the best touches in Chaucer's portrait of the Prioress are taken from this passage. Cf. *Rom. de la R.* (Michel), 14325-14373, and *Prol.* 127-135. Tyrwhitt noted the resemblance between these two passages.

matrimony whenever opportunity should offer.¹ Furthermore, Chaucer transformed the somewhat morose and broken-spirited old woman, entirely out of sympathy with life, into a witty and frisky shrew—good-natured in a way, but still a shrew. Where did Chaucer pick up the hint for that? Or, rather, could he have got any hint for the special part he makes her play?

The shrew is no novelty in life or literature, as even Solomon and Socrates can testify; and some people, who read Chaucer's poetry as if it were a series of legal documents, think that he could have got abundant suggestion at home. They can cite, too, from his poems a few passages of a suspicious color. The further fact remains that in Chaucer's verse we find one of the earliest attempts in an English poem to utilize the shrew for literary purposes—other early references to shrews are merely incidental—and certainly the very earliest attempt to depict such a type as the Wife of Bath.

A partial explanation of the presence of a shrew among the Canterbury pilgrims, with her exposition of how wedlock may be made unendurable, is perhaps found in the fact that Chaucer may have felt in a sense compelled by the laws of artistic balance to introduce something as a foil to the long-suffering wives in the other stories on matrimony,² and hence to represent some woman as a scold. The Man of Law has told his tale of the woes of Constance. Chaucer himself has told of the patience of Prudence, the wife of Melibeus. Harry Baily wishes that his wife were of the same meek type. The Clerk of Oxford is shortly to tell of the patient

¹ "Blessed be god that I have wedded fyve!
Welcome the sixte, whan that ever he shal."

(*Prol.* 44-45.)

This sentiment is apparently not in perfect accord with that of lines 474, 475, but there is no real contradiction.

² The glaring contrast between the asceticism advocated in the *Person's Tale* and the license of this Prologue is sufficiently evident.

Grisildis. Bearing all this misery in mind we find new significance in the Wife of Bath's opening words:

Experience
 were right ynough to me
 To speke of wo that is in mariage. (Prol. 1-3.)

She knew well what that woe meant, for she had helped make it.

The evils of matrimony were, of course, a favorite theme in the Middle Ages from patristic times down. Most of the clerical diatribes against women were seriously meant and were ill-natured in the last degree.¹ The celibate clergy still had a score to settle with Eve for her indiscretion in the Garden, and they tried to balance the account by abusing her daughters.² The unfortunate fact that some women were not invulnerable to attack gave point to satire that nevertheless gradually became, for the most part, conventional.

Now no one, I think, can feel that Chaucer was paying off a malicious grudge? He was a humorist, and in this Prologue he took the course natural to a humorist who undertakes to handle the theme there discussed. A serious account of the miseries of wedlock yields us Constance and Grisildis, and depths of woe.

In the Middle Ages women were in theory legally inferior to men, and they were expected to know their place and keep

¹ Even in works not ill-disposed the clerical bias appears in such passing remarks as the following:

"Because she (Eve) sinned in pride, he meeked her, saying: Thou shalt be under the power of man, and he shall have lordship over thee, and he shall put thee to affliction. Now is she subject to a man by condition and dread, which before was but subject by love."—Caxton's *Golden Legend* (*Hist. of Adam*) (Ellis), I, p. 175. Cf. also *Ancient Ræle* (ed. Morton), pp. 51-54.

² The Wife of Bath herself calls attention to this fact:

"For trusteth wel, it is an impossible
 That any clerk wol speke good of wyves,
 But-if it be of holy seyntes lyves." (688-690.)

it. But nature is now and then too strong for theory; and a great bluff fellow like Harry Baily, who is afraid of nobody else, visibly pales before his partner, who too evidently leads the strenuous life. Chaucer could readily see the artistic opportunity afforded by reversing the normal order and making the woman the ruler at a time when her inferiority was taken for granted. To this day, though the motive has been employed times without number, one can still raise a laugh with a modern instance.

The general considerations already adduced are perhaps sufficient to acquit Chaucer of any very savage purpose in his occasional thrusts at women and the difficulty of getting on with them. But his well-known apology in the *Prologue of the Legend of Good Women*, l. 340 seq., makes the whole matter plain. In his earlier writings, he had followed the current hostile criticism made popular by the *Roman de la Rose*, but in so doing he had been merely practicing an academic exercise, just as a modern college student might debate against the side he really believed in. Time-honored custom has sanctioned in our own day a host of somewhat inane jests against one's mother-in-law; and the conventional fourteenth century satire against women seems in many cases to have meant little more.

So much, then, for mediæval shrews in general: now for the particular shrew of this Prologue. Have we any clue as to her origin? I incline to think we have. No one doubts that Chaucer was able to invent such a character without help, yet when we remember that he had the entire *Roman de la Rose* at his finger-tips, when we see how often and how unexpectedly he turned to it even for single phrases that he was perfectly capable of inventing for himself,¹ we

¹ I venture to call attention to a passage hitherto, I think, unnoticed.

One can hardly doubt that in writing the passage beginning at l. 534, where he tells of the eagerness of the Wife of Bath to share with her friends her husband's secret confidences, Chaucer had in mind the long

may, I think, hold that likeness of situation is a strong presumption in favor of the hypothesis of borrowing, and we may, at least, raise the question whether Chaucer might not have taken from the French poem the hint for the type of scolding that the Wife of Bath so delights in.

Now, in the *Roman de la Rose*, beginning at l. 9204 (Michel), is a long passage paralleling in a rather remarkable way the scolding in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*. In this passage we find an account of a jealous husband, who, like the Wife of Bath, has much to say of the woes of matrimony, and who, like her, speaks from experience. He takes much the same attitude toward his wife that the Wife of Bath adopts toward her husbands, though his temper is more savage than hers. There is the same suspicious questioning, the same unreasonable refusal to listen to an explanation.¹

passage in the *Roman de la Rose*, where the process of wheedling secrets out of the husband is described in detail:

“ Et quiconques dit à sa fame
 Ses secrez, il en fait sa dame.
 Nus homs qui soit de mère nés,
 S'il n'est yvres ou forsenés,
 Ne doit à fame révéler
 Nule riens qui face à céler,
 Se d'autrui ne le vuet oïr.
 Miex vaudroit du païs foïr,
 Que dire à fame chose à taire,
 Tant soit loial ne débonaire;
 Ne jà nul fait secré ne face,
 S'il voit fame venir en place:
 Car s'il i a péril de cors,
 El le dira, bien le recors,
 Combien que longement atende;
 Et se nus riens ne l'en demande,
 Le dira-ele vraiment,
 Sens estrange amonestement.” (17,284-17,301.)

The theme is continued, with illustrations, to l. 17,643.

Other cases are cited by Koeppl and Skeat.

¹For convenience in making comparisons I cite some of the more important passages from the *Roman de la Rose* (Michel), but these should be studied in their original setting:

Most important to note is that in this long tirade Jean de Meung makes use (ll. 9310 seq.) of the fragment of the *Aureolus*

9276. "Comment le Jaloux si reprunt
Sa femme, et dit que trop mesprent
De démener ou joie ou feste,
Et que de ce trop le mole te.

D'autre part n'el puis plus celer,
Entre vous et ce bacheler
Robichonet au vert chapel,
Qui si tost vient a vostre apel,
Avés-vous terres à partir ?
Vous ne poés de li partir.

9310. Ha ! se Theophrates créusse,
Jà fame espousée n'éusse ;
Il ne tient pas hom por sage
Qui fame prent par mariage,
Soit bele, ou lede, ou povre, ou riche :
Car il dit, et por voir l'afiche,
En son noble livre Auréole,
Qui bien fait à lire en escole,
Qu'il i a vie trop grevaine,
Plaine de travail et de paine,
Et de contens et de riotes,
Par les orguelz des fames sotes,
Et de dangiers et de reprouches
Que font et dient par lor bouches,
Et de requestes et de plaintes
Que truevent par ochoisons maintes :
Si r'a grant paine en eus garder,
Por lor fox voloirs retarder.
Et qui vuet povre fame prendre,
A norrir la l'estuet entendre,
E à vestir et a chaucier ;
Et se tant se cuide essaucier
Qu'il la prengne riche forment,
A soffrir la a grant torment ;
Tant la trueve orgueilleuse et fiere,
Et sorcuidée et bobancière,
Que sôn mari ne prisera
Riens, et par tout desprisera
Ses parens et tout son lignage,
Par son outrecuidé langage.

Liber De Nuptiis of Theophrastus, which is preserved in the first book of St. Jerome's *Epistola Adversus Iovinianum*.

S'ele est bele, tuit i aqueurent,
 Tuit la porsivent, tout l'eneurent,
 Tuit i hurtent, tuit i travaillent,
 Tuit i luitent, tuit i bataillent,
 Tuit à li servir s'estudient,
 Tuit li vont entor, tuit la prient,
 Tuit i musent, tuit la convoient,
 Si l'ont en la fin, tant exploitent :
 Car tor de toutes pars assise
 Envis eschape d'estre prise.

S'el r'est lede, el vuet à tous plaire ;
 Et comment, porroit nus ce faire
 Qu'il gart chose que tuit guerroient,
 Ou qui vuet tous ceus qui la voient ?
 S'il prent à tout le monde guerre,
 Il n'a pooir de vivre en terre ;
 Nus n'es garderoit d'estre prises
 Por tant qu'el fussent bien requises.

9416. Et cil qui font les mariages,
 Si ont trop merveilleus usages,
 Et coustume si despareille,
 Qu'il me vient à trop grant merveille.
 Ne sai dont vient ceste folie,
 Fors de rage et de desverie.
 Je voi que qui cheval achete,
 N'iert jà si fox que riens i mete,
 Comment que l'en l'ait bien couvert,
 Se tout n'el voit à descouvert.
 Par tout le regarde et descuevre ;
 Mès la fame si bien se cuevre,
 Ne jà n'i sera decouverte,
 Ne por gaaigne, ne por perte,
 Ne por solas, ne por mésèse,
 Por ce, sans plus, qu'el ne desplèse
 Devant qu'ele soit espousée ;
 Et quant el voit la chose outrée,
 Lors primes monstre sa malice,
 Lors pert s'ele a en li nul vice ;
 Lors fait au fol ses meurs sentir,
 Que riens n'i vaut le repentir.
 Si sai-ge bien certainement,

Chaucer, as has been shown in detail by Woollcombe,¹ though without mention of the *Roman de la Rose*, used Jerome's Epistle and this fragment of Theophrastus, translating the Latin almost literally. Jerome's treatise Chaucer had read rather early, for he mentions it in the *Prologue of the Legend of Good Women*, l. 281, and he uses it in several of his poems. But I suspect that Chaucer's first acquaintance with the railing accusations that Theophrastus brings against women he got from the book on which he modeled so much of his earliest work—the *Roman de la Rose*. At all events, we find that though Chaucer almost literally translates Jerome, he had the *Roman de la Rose* under his hand at the same time, for he now and then enlarges upon the original in precisely the same way that Jean de Meung does in handling the same material.² Koepfel points out³ two striking instances, but

Combien qu'el se maint sagement,
N'est nus qui marié se sente,
S'il n'est fox, qui ne s'en repente."

There are of course other passages of the *Roman de la Rose* (duly cited by Skeat and Koepfel) that were used by Chaucer in this Prologue, but for my present purpose they need not be specified.

¹ *Essays on Chaucer*, pp. 295–306 (Chaucer Society).

² The original passage from *Theophrastus*, though it is packed with bitter charges against women, contains no such *scolding* as fills the greater part of ll. 245–378 in the Prologue, and is the burden of the tirade in the *Roman de la Rose*, but contains only the following complaints which reappear in part in the Prologue, 235 seq.:—

"Deinde per noctes totas garrulae conquestiones: Illa ornatio procedit in publicum: haec honoratur ab omnibus, ego in conuentu foeminarum misella despicio. Cur aspiciebas uicinam? Quid cum ancillula loquebaris? De foro ueniens quid attulisti? Non amicum habere possumus, non sodalem. Alterius amorem suum odium suspicatur. Si doctissimus praeceptor in qualibet urbium fuerit, nec uxorem relinquere, nec cum sarcina ire possumus. Pauperem alere difficile est, diuitem ferre tormentum."—*S. Hieron. Opera Omnia*, II, 37 (Frankfort, 1684).

Here we have suggestions for curtain-lectures, but not precisely of the type that the Wife of Bath affects. She throws back at her husband the things that he has said to her—if she may be believed.

³ *Anglia*, XIV, 254–255.

without any comment whatever upon the situation in which they are used, and hence without drawing the conclusion which I think naturally follows from a comparison of the scolding in the *Prologue*¹ with the long passage that tells of the Jealous Husband. Of course the resemblance does not apply to details beyond a certain point, for the Jealous Husband wanders off to discuss a variety of matters of which Chaucer can make no use. The general situation is what seems to have attracted Chaucer; and when he has once grasped the suggestion he enlarges upon it in characteristic fashion. Hence we may freely admit that he largely translates Jerome (or Theophrastus) in this passage, and yet hold that he borrowed the hint for the setting from the *Roman de la Rose*.²

Chaucer transfers some of the material in this tirade to his own verse with little modification, and he can hardly have avoided seeing how much more effective for his purpose the practical exemplification of the disagreeable sides of matrimony would be if the original setting were changed. To do this he needed only to reverse the conditions, to turn the scolding husband into the scolding wife, and to make the Wife of Bath quote the angry words of the Jealous Husband to his wife as words that her husband said to her. The difference is that the shoe is on the other foot: the wife is her husband's purgatory.³ Such a reversal of the situation

¹ Particularly lines 235-378.

² Note in particular the spiteful repetition of "Thou seist" (entirely lacking in *Theophrastus*), by which she makes out her husband to be a male shrew, as the husband really is in the *Roman de la Rose*. This is a very neat device of Chaucer's; for she dextrously puts her husband in the wrong, and pretends that he is (or has been) scolding her.

³ Cf. l. 489. The conception of wedlock as a purgatorial state was not invented by Chaucer, as the following lines show:

"Quid dicam breuiter esse coniugium?
certe uel tartara, uel purgatorium.
Non est in tartara quies aut otium
nec dolor coniugis habet remedium."

Goliath de Coniuge non Ducenda, 197-200.

would strongly appeal to Chaucer's peculiar type of humor and be in entire keeping with his practice on other occasions. As is well known, he turns the illustrations borrowed from holy Jerome's impassioned plea for virginity to a use the saint could never have dreamed of. Other instances will occur to every student of Chaucer.¹

It is worth noting, too, that Chaucer makes the Wife of Bath glory in doing the very things that the Jealous Husband charges upon his wife. The French poet merely represents the husband as saying outrageous things to his innocent wife. Chaucer represents the Wife of Bath as saying things equally outrageous and baseless to her husbands, while she gleefully admits to the listening pilgrims that she put no restrictions upon herself. With an air of triumph she confesses that some of the coarsest of the current mediæval charges against women—such for instance as we find in the Latin poem *Goliath de Coniuge non Ducenda*, 149–164, the lines are not quotable—are a part of her creed and practice.² Chaucer makes her more than bear out the truth of the spiteful lines in the same poem :

“ Est lingua gladius in ore feminæ,
qua vir percutitur tanquam a fulmine.
per hanc hilaritas fugit ab homine,
domus subvertitur australi turbine.” (165–168.)

Says she,

“ They were ful glad whan I spak to hem fayre,
For god it wot, I chidde hem spitously.”
(*Prol.* 222–223.)

“ Stiborn I was as is a leonesse,
And of my tonge a verray Iangleresse.” (637–638.)

Chaucer is apparently more good-natured in his general attitude toward women than Jean de Meung, and with

¹ Cf. *Gen. Prol.*, 179–181, and Skeat's note showing that Chaucer has reversed the meaning of the original; also, *Nonne Preestes Tale*, B. 4353–4356, etc.

² Note especially *Prol.*, 615–626.

characteristic skill he avoids saying anything directly against them. Yet he really hits a much harder indirect blow by letting a typical shrew expose by a process of minute self-revelation all the weakness of her sex.

In this portrait and in this *Prologue* Chaucer attained the perfection of his art, and he immeasurably improved the materials that he borrowed. Whether his work is altogether to be commended on other grounds is a question upon which I do not now enter.

WILLIAM E. MEAD.

XII.—CHAUCER'S FRANKLIN'S TALE.

I.

The Canterbury pilgrims, more fortunate than we, had heard to the end the *Squire's Tale*, and were busy exchanging with one another looks of approval and satisfaction. Now was the Franklin's opportunity. He determined to be the one to break the significant silence and become the spokesman of the praise of his companions, not only by reason of his very genuine enjoyment of the narrative just concluded, but also because of the chance he thus secured to bring himself into honorable association with the gentles on the pilgrimage.

'In feith, Squier, thou hast thee wel y-quit,
And gentilly I preise wel thy wit,'
Quod the Frankeleyn.

And, indeed, the Franklin was right: the Squire had acquitted himself uncommonly well and deserved the praise the "worthy vavasour" so freely bestowed upon him. This young chevalier, strong but graceful, high in station but "lowly" of demeanor, though passionate in love still "servisable" to his father, filled the ambitious householder with unqualified admiration. If only his son were like that of the Knight. If only he, instead of being a common gambler, associating by preference with servants and ordinary folk, would take pattern after this courteous youth, and "lerne gentillesse aright." Yes, the Franklin certainly had aspirations above the common. He plainly respected the qualities of manner and disposition that the Squire exhibited, and longed for the distinction of superior bearing and inherited dignity. When, then, the host exclaims, "Straw for your gentillesse," and abruptly calls on him to fulfil his behest by telling a tale, he responds gladly. Though he is careful

to explain in advance, with a deferential bow to his betters, that he is only a "burel" man and his speech rude, he is nevertheless eager to show his acquaintance with stories of gentle folk, in which he would gladly have his son also take delight.

That his tale was happily chosen from this point of view will appear later. Let us first strive to get a clear idea of its source, nature, and mode of composition.

Chaucer says explicitly that the *Franklin's Tale* is based on a "Breton lay." But no lay dealing with this subject is extant, and although the poet's statement has usually been accepted by scholars as likely to be true, no evidence (except the vague remark that in general it resembles the lays of Marie de France) has as yet been offered in confirmation of this view. To be sure, it has been frequently noted that the story is localized in Brittany and that the names of the persons mentioned are Breton; but, on the other hand, so large a number of Oriental and other parallels to part of the tale have been pointed out, that the impression is almost inevitably left upon the student that if ever embodied in a lay called Breton, it was not by virtue of its origin, and that there could have been little that was Breton about it except the name and perhaps the style of presentation. Further study shows him that the poem is so obviously different in tone and spirit in different parts that it cannot all come originally from one source. If we can discover, then, the nature of its foundation, and the quarries from which the stones of the substructure have been obtained, we shall have solved a puzzling problem.

A careful analysis of the *Franklin's Tale* reveals the fact that at bottom it is a simple story of an unusually happy marriage between the British lord Arveragus and his beautiful wife Dorigen. She, we learn, was "oon the faireste under sonne," and of a very high kindred. With her husband she lived for a time after their marriage in great prosperity "a ful blisful lyf;" but he, being a "man of armes," soon felt

called upon to leave her, to carry on war in England. During his absence she pined constantly for him, as was indeed not unnatural, for Chaucer tells us that she loved her husband "as hir hertes lyf,"¹ and that he also on his side loved her "as his owene hertes lyf."

The difficulty of her lonely position was, however, increased by the fact that while Arveragus was away she had to resist the importunate wooing of a passionate lover, whom she could only dismiss, without unnecessary offence, by promising to grant him her love, on condition that he performed a seemingly impossible task. But this matter affected her, in reality, so little that she did not think it worth while to tell her husband.

Nothing list him to been imaginatyf
If any wight had spoke, whyl he was owte,
To hire of love; he hadde of it no doute,
He noght entendeth to no swich matere,
But daunceth, justeth, maketh hir good chere. (366 ff.)

Nothing mars their exceedingly happy life together until one day the wife learns from her sometime lover that he has performed the task she thought impossible, and that he awaits the fulfillment of her promise. When she in great anxiety tells Arveragus of her sad predicament, instead of reproaching her, "this housbond with glad chere, in frendly wyse," gave her comfort and counsel. He will not let his personal feelings interfere with the performance of what she thinks her duty.

'Ye shul your trouthe holden, by my fay!
For god so wisly have mercy on me,
I hadde wel lever y-stiked for to be,
For verray love which that I to yow have,
But if ye sholde your trouthe kepe and save,
Trouthe is the hyeste thing that man may kepe.' (746 ff.)

¹A not uncommon phrase in Middle English poems:—see, e. g., *Sir Orfeo*, ll. 121, 175; *Erl of Tolous* (ed. Lüdke), 481–82; *Ywain and Gawaine*, 4011; *Seven Sages*, 270, 2566; *Sir Degarre* (Abbotsford Club), 21; also Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, 36, and *Manciple's Tale*, 36; cf. Zielke, *Sir Orfeo*, Breslau, 1880, p. 16.

II.

It has not, I believe, been hitherto observed that we have evidence in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, finished in 1136, that this charming story was current among the Celts at an early period, before the time of Marie de France and the period of production of the so-called Breton lays in their metrical French form. In Bk. iv, ch. 13-16, Geoffrey gives us a very interesting account of the life of the ancient British chieftain Arviragus, the son of Cymbeline, who after his elder brother's death, is said to have ruled in Britain. Geoffrey informs us that "in war none was more fierce than he, in peace none more mild, none more pleasing, or in his presents more magnificent." After warring successfully against the Roman general Claudius, he made peace with him and was given Claudius's daughter in marriage. The historian's chief solicitude is to exalt the happiness of this supposed marriage. He writes as follows: "The damsel's name was Genuissa, and so great was her beauty that it raised the admiration of all that saw her. After her marriage with the king, she gained so great an ascendant over his affections, that he in a manner valued nothing but her alone: insomuch that he was desirous to have the place honoured where the nuptials were solemnized, and moved Claudius to build a city [namely, Gloucester] upon it, for a monument to posterity of so great and happy a marriage."¹

No one will question the statement that Geoffrey's narrative of the reign of Arviragus is not authentic history. Bede and Nennius make no mention of such a person, though they both deal with the expedition of Claudius to Britain and his subduing of the Orkneys. In fact, it is practically certain that Geoffrey here only elaborated a hint he got from a

¹ Giles's translation, *Six O. E. Chronicles*, p. 151; cf. San Marte's edition, p. 56.

passage in the fourth satire of Juvenal, which he quotes. This satire is directed against Domitian. A big fish having been sent the Emperor, all the courtiers take the opportunity to flatter him when they offer suggestions as to what it foretells. One of them says:

Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
Decidet Arviragus.

which indicated that there was some British chieftain called by the Romans Arviragus, who had made himself troublesome to Domitian—quite sufficient justification for Geoffrey to introduce him into his line of British kings, though he may have been assisted in so doing by the scholium in a Juvenal manuscript: "Arviragus Britannorum rex."¹ But a misunderstanding of Juvenal's words led him to put Arviragus in the wrong place. The satirist, instead of naming Domitian by name, designated him as "a bald-headed Nero."² Geoffrey took this literally,³ and so represented Arviragus as living in the time of Nero, a generation too

¹See Mayor, *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal*, 4th ed., 1886, I, 238, who remarks: "It was in the year 84, the fourth of Domitian, that Agricola was recalled from Britain, where the work of subjugation remained unfinished." For references in classical writers to the use of chariots (*essedæ*) by the Celtic warriors see Ludwig Friedlaender, *D. Junii Juvenalis Satirarum Libri V*, Leipzig, 1895, I, 253, note.

²*Calvo Neroni*, IV, 38; cf. Mayor's note, I, 223 f.

³I am indebted to my friend, Dr. R. H. Fletcher, for this suggestion. It is interesting to observe how Geoffrey's reference to Juvenal was misunderstood by Robert of Brunne:

Gode kyng he was, we find in boke;
A boke men calle it Juuenal;
Of stories it spekes alle;
At Gloucester it sais he lies,
And the quene, dame Genuys.

Thus the whole of the developed fictitious narrative of Arviragus's life is definitely attributed to the "stories" in the book called Juvenal. Fable certainly ever clothes itself anew. Citation of authorities evidently does not prove acquaintance with them.

soon. Thus it was natural to bring him into connection with Claudius, whose expedition to Britain had taken place just before (A. D. 43). It was natural also to make him the son of Cymbeline, who held sway in Britain at that time. It was natural further, in the light of Juvenal's reference, to say that "his fame spread over all Europe, and he was both loved and feared by the Romans, and became the subject of their discourse more than any king in his time."

But what about Geoffrey's account of the marriage of Arviragus with the daughter of Claudius? This, of course, is not historical. Even Holinshed went out of his way to warn his readers from belief in such a fabrication, writing thus prudently:

"But Suetonius maie seeme to reprove this part of the British historie, which in the life of Claudius witnesseth, that he had by three wives only three daughters, that is to say, Claudia, Antonia, and Octavia: and further, that reputing Claudia not to be his, caused her to be cast downe at the dore of his wife Herculaniilla, whom he had forsaken by waie of diuorcement: and that he bestowed his daughter Antonia first on C. Pompeius Magnus, and after on Faustus Silla, verie noble yong gentlemen; and Octavia he matched with Nero his wiues son. Whereby it should appeere, that this supposed marriage betwixt Aruiragus and the daughter of Claudius is but a feined tale."¹

¹ Holinshed adds these interesting remarks (Bk. iv, ch. 3):

"And heere to speeke my fansie also what I thinke of this Aruiragus, and other kings (whome Galfrid and such as have followed him do register in order, to succeed one after another). I will not denie but such persons there were, and the same happilie bearing verie great rule in the land, but that they reigned as absolute kings over the whole, or that they succeeded one after another in manner as it is auouched by the same writers, it seemeth most unlike to be true: for rather it maie be gessed by that, which as well Gyldas as the old approved Romane writers haue written that diuerse of these kings liued about one time, or in times greatlie differing from those times which in our writers we find noted. As for example, Juuenal maketh this Aruiragus of whom we now intreat, to reign about Domitians time. For my part, therefore, sith this order

"A feined tale" it certainly is, if by that is meant that Geoffrey had no historical foundation for his assertions, but not if it is further implied that he had no foundation of any kind for what he says, the account being not simply a new combination but a wholly original fabric of his imagination. On the contrary, Geoffrey would not, I feel confident, have singled out this particular chieftain as the only one whose happy marriage deserved special mention, had he not had in mind some traditional story of a hero with the same name in which this fact was made especially prominent.¹

That in this place Geoffrey should work current tradition into his narrative, is not in the least surprising to any one familiar with his methods. He was, we know, a shrewd fabricator, who, in his effort to enliven the dull pages of chronicle history, drew material boldly from current fables, and pictured historical characters in colors too dazzlingly vivid to be true, though all the while protesting that what he wrote was an authentic record of actual events. By the splendor of his rhetoric, however, he dulled the vision of most of his

of the British kinglie succession in this place is more easie to be flatlie denied and utterlie reprovéd, than either wiselie defended or trulie amended, I will referre the reforming therof unto those that haue perhaps seene more than I have, or more deepelie considered the thing, to trie out an undoubted truth: in the meane time I have thought good, both to shew what I find in our histories, and likewise in forren writers, to the which we think (namelie in this behalfe, whilst the Romans gouerned there) we maie safelie giue most credit, do we otherwise neuer so much content ourselves with other vaine and fond conceits."

¹ It was a regular thing for Latin writers to utilize popular songs and stories in their accounts of historical personages. Compare, for example, the way in which Geoffrey's contemporary, William of Malmesbury, wrote (ca. 1142) of Gunhild, daughter of Cnut the Great, who married King Henry, afterwards the Emperor Henry III, in 1036. The particular ballad used by William is moreover of especial interest to us in this connection because it is closely allied to the "Breton lay" of *The Erl of Tolous* (only preserved in English) which is strikingly like the *Franklin's Tale* in fundamental theme (see below, p. 437). On the Gunhild story in romantic literature see Child, *Eng. and Scottish Pop. Ballads*, II, 37 ff., "Sir Aldingar." This story was also attached to Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England.

contemporaries, and by his calm assurance confounded their incredulity. Both British and Normans wished to believe his statements and they therefore found it easy to lull their suspicions to rest. His "history," bewildering though it was, was accepted as trustworthy, and his stupendous fabrications were read with delight. Had I space I could point out that much of the Arthurian saga in Geoffrey was concocted, even as his life of Arviragus, by the bold transformation of simple popular tales, which, when dignified by his high-sounding phrases, were credited as real historical events. In his chapters on Arthur he carried his unblushing effrontery farthest, and with infinite *sang-froid* decked out our ancient British hero, the *dux bellorum* of a rude epoch, in the gorgeous habiliments of an Anglo-Norman king. No one nowadays feels inclined to reproach him on this account. We have gained too much by the impulse he gave Arthurian fiction. But our gratitude to him for his work need not blind us to his methods. In the problem before us an understanding of his regular mode of procedure is necessary if we are to arrive at the truth.

The truth then is, I believe, that Geoffrey knew a story of Arviragus and his wife Dorigen, which portrayed them as exceedingly happy in marriage. Their union was one of perfect accord, and though their love was put to the test, it suffered no break, but was rather increased by the strain. Thus, Chaucer's tale, in helping us to an explanation of Geoffrey's account, receives an external confirmation of its own claim to antiquity. Inasmuch as in Geoffrey's time there was clearly current in Britain, or Armorica, a story which exalted the happy marriage of Arviragus, it is most probable that it was that very Celtic story which formed the ultimate basis of the *Franklin's Tale*.¹

¹ With Chaucer's lines quoted above (p. 408), it is not without interest to compare the following from Lagamon:

þis lond heold Arviragus
& Genuis his queene,

It may be wise to say here that the situation cannot well be the reverse of what I have said: Geoffrey's brief statements about Arviragus and his wife cannot reasonably be regarded as the source or foundation of this Breton tale. In the first place, they are too summary and general to form the basis of any narrative such as the one before us; and, in the second, none of Geoffrey's peculiar combinations (such as his connecting Arviragus with Claudius and the founding of Gloucester) are even vaguely alluded to in the poem, nor is there in it a single detail that points particularly to his history. The Breton tale of Arviragus was, it appears, quite independent of Geoffrey. It was, I repeat, almost certainly from some version of it that the historical romancer got the suggestions for the life of his British king of the same name.

In this Celtic tale, there is no reason to doubt that the wife's name, if she had any, was Dorigen, in older form Dorguen, or Droguen (the name, it may be observed, of the wife of Alain I), though of course there is no certainty to be attained in such a case. *Genuissa*, the name given her by Geoffrey, is clearly a free Latinization of the Celtic name she originally bore, or a fanciful appellation. Roberts says¹ that the name is "the Welsh reading" of *Venusia*, and I suppose one might think that the rhetorical Geoffrey fashioned it from some form with *Gen*, or *Gwen*, as one element because of the suggestion it contained of the beautiful goddess of love.²

be wifmon wel idone.
 þa isæh þisses ledes king
 þat him ne derede naðing.
 þus he wunede here
 mid blisse twenti ȝere.

(9653 ff.)

'Arviragus and his queen Genuis, the very fair woman, held this land. Then the king of this people saw that nothing troubled him. Thus he dwelt here with bliss twenty years.'

In the life of Arviragus the English historian, as usual, greatly expands Wace, his original, (chaps. XII-XVI occupy about 800 lines, 9186 ff.) but here without adding anything really significant.

¹ *Chron. of the Kings of Britain*, London, 1811, p. 86, n. 2.

² Dorigen's lover is called in Chaucer a "servant of Venus."

But I would hazard what seems to me a much more likely guess. Geoffrey tells us that the city of Gloucester¹ was founded "for a monument to posterity of so great and happy a marriage," and thus definitely associates Arviragus and his wife with the people of the old kingdom of Gwent, in which he himself lived. Now the Welsh name of an inhabitant of Gwent was *G(w)enhwyss*. May not Geoffrey have simply given this word the Latin feminine ending *-a* and coined his *Genuissa*,² thereby making that beautiful and virtuous woman not only the leading but the representative lady of the kingdom? Such a procedure, it should be said, was quite characteristic of Geoffrey, for anyone who has read his book must have seen how systematically he accounts by eponym for the names of the cities, rivers, and districts that he has

¹Geoffrey says that the city Claudius founded was called after him Kaerglou, that is, Gloucester. In the following sentence, however, he adds another explanation of the name: "But some say that it derived its name from Duke Gloius, a son that was born to Claudius there, and to whom, after the death of Arviragus, fell the kingdom of Dimetia." He doubtless felt forced to offer this alternative eponymous founder, because of the statement in the *Historia Britonum* (§ 49), at the end of the genealogy of Vortigern. Guitolion of Gloui is there said to have been one of four brothers "who built Gloinda, a great city upon the banks of the river Severn, and in British is called Cair Gloui, in Saxon Gloucester."

It should be noted that Geoffrey had no more foundation for his statement that this Gloui was a son of Claudius, than for his statements about the marriage of that emperor's daughter to Arviragus. He would have asserted dogmatically that Gloucester got its name from Claudius, whom he chose to represent as his founder, with the assurance that his assertion could not be disproved (for was he not simply translating Archdeacon Walter's British book?), had he not been well aware that his contemporaries knew of the totally different and much more probable explanation in Nennius. So he decided to give both, albeit they were inconsistent; and, to bring them into some sort of harmony, he remarked that if the city was really called after a Gloui, this person was at any rate "a son that was born to Claudius there." Alas! for the genealogy of Vortigern, thus put to shame. Alas! for historic truth in the hands of a jesting prelate.

²The form *Juvenissa* (*Juvenissa*) in the abbreviation of Geoffrey by Ponticus Virunnus (p. 105) is of course a corruption. The *Brut Gruffud ap Arthur* has *Gennyllles*. The *Brut Tysilio* has no name. See San Marte's Geoffrey, p. 264.

occasion to mention. It is particularly interesting in this connection to compare his remark, near the end of his book (XII, 19), that the *Gualenses* (Welshmen) were so called "either from *Gualo* their leader, or *Guales* their queen." If he could make up a queen *Guales* to account for the *Gualenses* why not a queen *Genuissa* to account for the *Genhwysson*? Whatever be the case, it is clear that Geoffrey's form of the wife's name is either transformed or invented, and cannot be regarded as that of the wife in the original Breton story, though it may have been suggested by it—and, further, that it affords us another reason for rejecting the idea that the tale may have been a development of Geoffrey's meagre hint, else why should not the heroine bear the name he gave her.

We have found, then, good reasons for believing that there existed an early Celtic story about Arviragus and Dorigen, telling of their love-making, marriage, and happy life together. In order to show the devotion of each to the other, the complete confidence of the husband in his wife's fidelity and her unwavering loyalty to him, there was probably in this early story a severe test to which each was subjected, but in which each showed so high-minded a nature that their love was only made stronger by having been obliged to undergo an ordeal of fear. There is every reason to believe, moreover, that this, their trouble, was due to the wooing of the wife by an importunate suitor, whom she dismissed, as she thought finally, though because of her kind-heartedness without unnecessary offence, by requiring him to achieve a marvel before he could enjoy her love.

This theme, of establishing an apparently impossible condition as a barrier to a lover's success in winning a lady, it is important to observe, is paralleled in at least two extant Breton lays. In the lay of *Doon*,¹ a lady, in order to free herself from her suitors, established the condition that only he should win her who succeeded in travelling from Edin-

¹ *Romania*, VIII, 61 ff.

burgh to Southampton in one day. In the lay of *Dous Amanz*,¹ a king, in order to keep his daughter unmarried, issued an edict that no one should be permitted to marry her who had not previously carried her in his arms to the top of a very high mountain in the neighborhood of his castle. In both these cases, aid was given the lover by supernatural agencies. Doon succeeded in going as fast as the swan could fly because he had in his possession the marvellous horse Bayard.² In *Dous Amanz*, the lover travelled at the suggestion of his beloved to Salerno to her aged relative, who gave him a magic potion by which he might win his suit. In this latter case, we come near the situation in the *Franklin's Tale*, where the lover travels south to Orleans to an old comrade of his brother who has become wise in magic, and gets from him the aid he requires to remove the rocks from the Breton coast.

But not only is this general theme thus twice paralleled in Breton lays, it should further be noted that the particular condition imposed on the lover in our tale has also an interesting parallel in Celtic tradition. I refer to the story at the bottom of Geoffrey's rationalized account (Bk. x, chaps. 10-12) of how the magician Merlin transported the great rocks from Mt. Killaraus in Ireland to build the celebrated Giant's Dance at Stonehenge, an undertaking so seemingly impossible of execution that the British king, we read, "burst into laughter" at the mere suggestion of attempting it. When, however, he finally urged Merlin to bring it about, the magician set his agencies to work and soon achieved the wonder, giving thereby, as Geoffrey words it, "a manifest proof of the prevalence of art above strength." It is easy to see how Geoffrey could have rationalized a story of the

¹ Warnke, *Lais des Marie de France*, pp. 113 ff.

² In the oldest Danish version of "Sir Olaf and the Elf," the latter makes Olaf great offers if he will pledge his troth to her, among other things a horse that would go to Rome and back in an hour; see Child, *Ballads*, I, 375.

seeming removal of rocks by magic and used it to explain the origin of that remarkable monument whose construction antedates any of our historical records—an ancient landmark which our forefathers were quite as anxious as we to have explained, and much more ready to regard as the product of mysterious forces.

Let me add in this connection a remark which is perhaps not without significance. The British king I have referred to, who follows the counsel of his friends and sends a long distance for the magician to help him in his difficulty—a difficulty solved by the removal of enormous rocks by magic—is named Aurelius; and, as we remember, the Breton knight in our Tale, who accepts the counsel of his brother and goes a long distance to get the aid of the magician in removing the enormous rocks from the Breton coast, is also called Aurelius. There seems to be connection between these two situations. I do not think it necessary to postulate a borrowing from, or even the influence of Geoffrey in the case of Aurelius any more than in that of Arviragus. Geoffrey's stories of Merlin are neither historical nor wholly of his own invention, but rather adapted from popular tradition. In writing the lives of the two British kings mentioned in our poem, he manifestly drew material from popular sources—and the *Franklin's Tale* in a very unexpected but very interesting manner seems to establish this important fact.

It may be remarked that in our Tale the removal of the rocks is only an illusion, while Merlin is represented as actually transporting the Giant's Dance across the sea. This circumstance, far from militating against the parallel, rather serves to strengthen it. Illusion, as is well known, plays a very large part in Celtic stories. There we find countless illusory creations and illusory transformations—so that we may safely assert that this feature of the rock episode is truly primitive. Even in Geoffrey's rationalized account, Merlin effects what he does by magic.

If, moreover, we push the comparison of Merlin's exploits with those of the Breton magician still further, we observe that all the marvels performed by the latter are closely paralleled by achievements ascribed to the more celebrated enchanter of Arthurian romance. With the exhibition he gives Aurelius of his magic art (461 ff.), we may, for example, compare that of Merlin to Vivian (Ninian) in the forest of Briosque.¹ At Merlin's bidding, a beautiful castle appears before them, filled with knights now carolling and dancing with their ladies hand in hand, now jousting with one another on a lovely green. At the mage's command, they all disappear as mysteriously as they come. It was, indeed, no unusual thing for a magician in a Celtic story to reveal to others splendid scenes where everything was superlative in excellence ("the gretteste that ever were seyn with yë," 464), "Marvellous sights" of hunters and jousters in their revel by a fair river or on a pleasant plain, knights and ladies in merry dance, or at the festive board, where "hem lakked no vitaille that mighte hem plese" (458). The Celtic fancy delighted in such visions of an otherworld of perpetual joy. Castles which appear in all their mysterious glory at the will of a fairy or magician, and vanish again in the twinkling of an eye, are a commonplace of Breton romance. Apart, then, from its value in helping us to establish Chaucer's statement that his tale was originally told by the Bretons, the evident

¹ *Roman de Merlin*, ed. Sommer, pp. 222 ff.; *English Prose Merlin*, ed. Wheatley (E. E. T. S.), I, 361 ff. (cf. Mead's Introduction, pp. ccxxvi f.); *Merlin*, Paris, 1528, I, folio 145; P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, II, 174-180.—With Merlin's exhibition of magic, compare that by Guynebans. See *Merlin*, ed. Sommer, pp. 261 ff.; *English Merlin* (E. E. T. S.), I, 361 ff.; *Merlin*, Paris, 1528, I, folio 168; P. Paris, *R. T. R.*, II, 196; *Livre d'Artus*, P (*Zt. f. franz. Sp. u. Lit.*, XVII, § 24). Also the illusions produced by Auberon before Huon, viz. a river created by enchantment (*Huon de Bordeaux*, ed. Guessard, Paris, 1860, vv. 3275-3284), a tower with battlements (*id.*, vv. 3295-3299), a palace with viands prepared therein (*id.*, vv. 3525-3529; 3592-3605). Cf. further the magic house built by Merlin (*Huth Merlin*, I, 149).—See also *Tristan*, ed. Michel, I, 222; II, 102. I am indebted to Miss Lucy A. Paton for these references.

likeness between Merlin and his fellow magician may perhaps be thought to throw additional light on Geoffrey's methods. It suggests that the Merlin legend is a composite picture, and that to Merlin have been simply transferred feats previously performed by other magicians less known to fame. If this be true, we have an obvious explanation of the fact that genuine early Welsh tradition nowhere connects with the historical bard Myrddhin any such performances as those ascribed to the romantic enchanter Merlin by that arch-combiner Geoffrey of Monmouth.

It is, of course, well known that Eastern magicians are famous for similar achievements. No one would argue that stories of illusion are confined to any one country. It is important to recognize, however, that they were popularly current among the Celts, and that there is therefore no need of seeking their immediate source in foreign lands.

In a consideration of the immediate provenience of any tale the proper names are matters of great importance; for they very frequently indicate the district in which the material, whatever its ultimate origin may be, took the shape it assumed in the particular version under discussion. Fortunately, the names in the *Franklin's Tale* corroborate entirely the conclusions we have already reached with regard to the Celtic foundation of the story it embodies. Arviragus is known nowhere outside of the Tale except as an ancient British chieftain.¹ The name Aurelius was borne by at

¹In the ballad of *William the Conqueror*, "written by Deloney, the ballading silk-weaver," who died in or before 1600 (*Percy Folio MS.*, ed. Hales and Furnivall, I, 151 ff.), we read:

To Dover then he tooke the way,
the castle downe for to flinge
which Aueragus had builded there,
the noble Brittainne kinge. (ll. 17 ff.)

The building of Dover was usually attributed to Julius Caesar (cf. Shakspeare, *Richard II*, v, 1, 2); but Camden speaks of a chart formerly hung up there which stated that Arviragus afterwards fortified it and shut up the harbor. Arviragus plays a part in *Cymbeline*.

least two British kings. And Dorigen is plainly Celtic. The localization is without exception in Great Britain or Armorica. We read that "nat fer fro Penmark" was the dwelling of him "that of Kayrud was cleped Arveragus" (73, 80), and these places are said to have been "in Armorik, that called is Britayne" (1). Thence the hero travels to "Engelond that cleped was eek Briteyne" (82). The magician, finally, is required to remove all the rocks on the Breton coast from the Gironde to the Seine. Clearly the scene of the tale is laid in Brittany, where the name Penmarch is well known as that of a headland near Quimper in the Department of Finisterre, a little to the south of Brest. There can then be no doubt that the Breton lay which Chaucer says he utilized—and it would require a great deal of negative proof to make us disbelieve his statement on this point, for he nowhere else refers a tale to such a source—took shape in Brittany, like many other poems of the same kind.

It is likely, however, that the story Geoffrey made use of (not the French lay) was current in South Wales where the historian lived. The name Arveragus¹ seems to be but another form of Arverus (Arverius), even as Aureliacus of Aurelius, Auriacus of Aurius, Aquiniacus of Aquinius, etc. Now, this name Arverus (Arverius)² is fortunately preserved in a Latin inscription. It occurs only once, but then, it is important to observe, in the ruins of a building in Gloucester-

¹*Arviragus* seems to be composed of a prefix *Ar-*, a root *-vir-*, and a suffix *-agus*. The suffix appears also as *-agos*, *-acus*, *-akos*. Holder identifies the name (*Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 243; cf. pp. 59, 423, 1007) with *Biracos*, *Biragos*, *Pirakos*. According to D'Arbois de Jubainville, the form *Biracos* is a derivative of *Birus*, *Birrus* (see *Revue de la numismatique française*, 1860, p. 173, pl. 8, 11; 1861, p. 62; 1868, p. 414; cf. *Revue Celtique*, xi, 156 ff.). Likewise, *Arviragus* is a derivative of *Arviris* (*Arvirius*).

²In the genitive, *Arveri*; see Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae*, 1873, nos. 1236, 1237 (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vii) = *Ephemeris epigraphica*, 7, p. 343, n. 1130 (cited Holder, p. 231).

shire (Lestercome Bottom, near Chedworth). It is therefore likely that tradition connected an Arverus (Arverius) for some reason with that locality. There existed in earliest times, as now, in South Wales (Glamorgan), near the mouth of the Severn, a town Penmarch; and we have also indications of a place "not far from Penmark" with which Kayrud may be identified. I refer to the mythical place Kaeroedd (Caeroeth) in which various people, including Gweir, son of Gweiroedd, were imprisoned, and which was located at Gloucester.¹ The localization in Brittany may not, then, have been original. Traditions of "Arveragus of Kayrud" apparently lingered about Gloucester. There was the place from which came the name of his dwelling (a name that is not to be found in Armorica). Near by has been discovered the Latin inscription bearing his name. It was Geoffrey from the neighboring town of Monmouth who is the first witness to the tradition, and he makes the heroine receive her name from that of the ancient kingdom of Gwent in which that place was. It is hard therefore to resist the natural conclusion that some story of the romantic Arveragus (Arverius) was current in Geoffrey's time in South Wales, and that it was the traditional association of the hero with the region of Gloucester that made Geoffrey bring the King Arviragus of Juvenal into special connection with that city. The love-story of Arveragus (Arverius) had evidently been carried over sometime earlier to Armorica, where it was again localized, the existence of Penmarch, the headland in Brittany, serving particularly well to establish it in its new abode.

The form of the story in Brittany was doubtless considerably different from that in South Wales. It was combined with foreign elements and permeated with a new chivalrous spirit. It was lengthened and elaborated. But nevertheless it remained at bottom a tale of the happy marriage of

¹ See Rhÿs, *Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, p. 365, note 1; cf. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I, 197, note; II, 293, 294, note 1.

Arveragus and his devoted wife, in which was exalted the principle of inviolable truth.

It may not be out of place here to call attention to the fact that we have other instances of the double development of one and the same story. The Breton lay of *Lanval* is localized at Kardoil (Carlisle), while its pendant *Graelent* is localized in Brittany. *Graelent* contains new incidents and discussions of courtly sentiment not in *Lanval*, which is on the whole the more primitive form of the story. Moreover, *Graelent* also presents the significant situation of a romantic love-story attached to an ancient king. Gradlon Mor (Graelen-Mor) appears to have usurped the place of Lanval because he was traditionally famous in the land where the story circulated. Even so Arviragus may have had attracted to himself the only extant story about him, simply because of his traditional renown.¹ So far, then, my chief object has

¹ Who was the original hero of the story, we cannot say. The Welsh *Bruts*, when translating Geoffrey, substitute for *Arviragus* the name *Gweirydd*. This is clearly not a phonetic equivalent of the name it supplanted; but it may well be the late Welsh form of an earlier *Gwerid(th)*, which would correspond to all but the prefix of *Arverius*. There may then have been a person of this or similar name of whom the story was originally told, and it was Geoffrey who perhaps first identified him (*Arverius*, *Gwerydd*) with the chieftain whom Juvenal mentions as *Arviragus*. On Geoffrey's authority this became the established form of the chieftain's name, and it was used afterwards whenever stories were told of that prince.

Prof. Rhys, as the result of an ingenious series of conjectures (*Arthurian Legend*, pp. 365 ff.), suggested that Geoffrey's story of the marriage of Arviragus with Genuissa is "only another version of the story of Pryderi marrying a grand-daughter of Gloyw Wallt-lydan," as told in the mabinogi of Pwyll. *Gloyw* is evidently what suggested the combination to Prof. Rhys. But he is wrong in asserting that "Geoffrey of Monmouth has identified a Gloyw with Claudius Caesar." Geoffrey knew from Nennius (see above, p. 415, n.) that the foundation of Gloucester was attributed to a *Gloui* (*Gloyw*), but he discarded the notion, and identified this traditional founder of the place not with Claudius, but with a son of that emperor, a personage of the historian's own creation, whom he represents as born there—and all this obviously, not because he had any story of Gloyw in mind, but merely to avert criticism by providing for the conflicting hypo-

been to show that the *Franklin's Tale* is not only told of Celtic people, and localized in Celtic lands, but also closely connected with Celtic tradition. I have suggested also that it was first current in South Wales, where Geoffrey of Monmouth became familiar with it, that thence it was carried to Armorica, and that on the continent it got into the hands of a French poet who fashioned it in rhyme after the style of the extant Breton lays. Because in this elaborate form it contains elements that are not Celtic, does not, as we shall see, invalidate my contention with regard to its British origin.

thesis. Thus, even if we accept as sure Prof. Rhys's observations that Arviragus is correctly rendered in Welsh by Gweirydd, and that Gweirydd is "probably" another form of Gwri, and that Gwri is an occasional name of Pryderi, it is nevertheless unnecessary to combine this Pryderi with Arviragus simply because the former married a granddaughter of a certain Gloyw, while the latter married a sister (fictitious moreover) of another person of the same name, unless some similarity between the marriage of Arviragus and Genuissa on the one hand, and Pryderi and Kigva on the other can be shown to exist.

We should observe in this connection that nearly all of what is peculiar to Geoffrey in his account of the marriage of Arviragus, the emphasis he lays on its unusual felicity, the statement that Gloucester was founded as a monument of it, the explanation that the Gloui after whom Geoffrey admits it may have been called was a son of Claudius born there, the remark that Arviragus was feared by the Romans more than any king of the time, the quotation from Juvenal in support of all this, etc., is not only not in the most remote manner suggested by the tale of Pryderi, but is even not to be found in the Welsh *Brut* attributed to Tysilio (translated San Marte, in his edition of Geoffrey, 1854, p. 517 f.).

Prof. Rhys's remark, moreover,—“The mythic element still further betrays itself in his narrative, when it describes Gweirydd helping to bring Orkney and the other islands into subjection to Gloyw (Claudius)” —is of little consequence when we remember that Nennius, from whom Geoffrey borrowed, although he never mentions Arviragus, says of Claudius (§ 21): “He next sailed to the Orkneys, which he likewise conquered, and afterwards rendered tributary.”

The following triad (translated by Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, II, 283) evidently does not antedate Geoffrey: “122 (Myv. 403. 24). Trois principaux rois de combat de l'île de Prydein: Caswallawn, fils de Beli; Gweirydd, fils de Cynmelyn Wledig; Caradawc, fils de Bran ab Llyr Llediaith.”

Prof. Skeat is surely not justified in making¹ the unqualified assertion that "The ultimate source of the [*Franklin's*] *Tale* is certainly Eastern."

III.

We must now pass from this study of what seem to be the foundations of the *Franklin's Tale* in early Celtic tradition to a more minute examination of its phraseology, incidents and expressions of sentiment, in order, if possible, to discover what features in the English poem are likely to have belonged to the Breton lay of Arviragus, Aurelius, and Dorigen, which, according to Chaucer's explicit statement and inherent probability, formerly existed.

I have already spoken of the lay of the *Two Lovers* as presenting a situation very similar to that in our tale—the secret love of a knight for a beautiful lady, her willingness to marry him if one necessary condition be fulfilled, its impossibility recognized unless magic aid can be secured, the journey to a wise friend in a southern city, from whom the necessary assistance is readily obtained—all of which justifies us in asserting that the two lays embody themes of the same general class. Let me now bring into comparison the passage in each case in which the young knight is first introduced to us.

El païs ot un damisel,
fiz a un conte, gent e bel.
De bien faire pur avoir pris

In Armorik, that called is Britayne,*
Ther was a knight that loved and dide
his payne

¹ *Works of Chaucer*, III, 481.

² Note that the French lay begins in like manner:

Veritez est qu'en Neüstrie,
Que nus apelum Normendie (7-8.)

It was the regular way to begin a Breton lay, after the conventional short prologue, which is also in Chaucer; cf. "En Bretaigne jadis maneit" (*Le Fraïse*, 3; *Yonec*, 11); "En Bretaigne maneit uns ber" (*Bisclavret*, 15); "En Seint Mallo en la cuntree" (*Laustic*, 7); "En Bretaigne a Nantes maneit" (*Chaitivel*, 9); "En Bretaigne ot un chevalier" (*Eliduc*, 5).

sur tuz altres s'est entremis.
 En la curt le rei conversot,
 asez sovent i surjurnot;
 e la fille le rei ama,
 e meintes feiz l'araisuna
 qu'ele s'amur li otriast
 e par druerie l'amast.
 Pur ceo que pruz fu e curteis
 e que mult le preisot li reis,
 li otria sa druërie,
 e cil humblement l'en mercie.

(57 ff.)

To serve a lady in his beste wyse;
 And many a labour, many a greet empyrse
 He for his lady wroghte, er she were wonne.
 For she was oon, the faireste under sonne.
 And eek therto come of so heigh kinrede,
 That wel unnethes dorste this knight, for
 drede,

Telle her his wo, his peyne, and his dis-
 tresse.

But atte laste, she, for his worthinesse,

. . . . prively . . . fil of his accord

To take him for hir housbonde and her
 lord. (1-14)

She thanked him and with ful greet
 humblesse. (25.)

The general likeness between these passages surely indicates that Chaucer had a definite Breton lay before him and not simply a floating story, or a sophisticated tale like Boccaccio's on the same subject—and that it was furthermore very similar in style to the lays of Marie. This is, however, but one of many parallel passages which go to demonstrate this fact.

In the *Franklin's Tale* are two lovers, Arviragus and Aurelius. It is the innocent love of the former which we have found paralleled in the lay just mentioned. In the lay of *Equitan*, on the other hand, we have an instance of the love of a Breton lord for a married woman, who had long known him as a friend of the household and little suspected his passion. Like Aurelius, *Equitan*, who also dwelt in Brittany, suffered for a long period because of his love-longing, before he finally revealed his affection to his friend's wife.

This lay shows interesting parallels to our tale, not only in situations, but also in sentiment and general phraseology. As an instance of the last, I would cite first the opening lines of this lay to show that Chaucer's words in the prologue to his tale are simply imitated, if not translated, from the French, every lay having a prologue of this kind.

Mult unt esté noble barun
 cil de Bretagne, li Bretun.
 Jadis suleient par pruëce
 par curteisie e par noblesce
 des aventures que oeient,
 ki a plusurs genz aveneient,
 faire les lais pur remembrance,
 qu'um nes meist en ubliance.
 Un en firent g'oï cunter,
 ki ne fet mie a ubliër.

Thise olde gentil Britons in hir dayes
 Of diverse adventures maden layes,
 Rymeyed in hir firste Briton tonge;
 Which layes with hir instruments they
 songe,
 Or elles redder him for hir plesaunce;
 And oon of hem have I in remembraunce
 Which I shal seyn with good wil as I can.

But what is chiefly interesting to us now in the lay of *Equitan*, is the remarkable similarity it shows to the well-known discussion of love and the condition of its happy continuance, at the opening of Chaucer's poem. Observe, for example, the likeness between the following passages. In the French, the king is pleading for the love of his seneschal's wife; in the English, Arveragus for Dorigen's.

'Ma chiere dame, a vus m'otrei!
 Ne me tenez mie pur rei,
 mes pur vostre hume e vostre ami!
 Seürement vus jur e di
 que ieo ferai vostre plaisir.
 Ne me laissez pur vus murir!
 Vus seiez dame e ieo servanz,
 vus orguilluse e ieo preianz.'

(Eq., 173 ff.)

And for to lede more in blisse hir
 lyves,
 Of his free wil he swoor hir as a
 knight,
 That never in al his lyf, he, day ne
 night,
 Ne sholde upon him take no maistrye
 Agayn hir wil, ne kythe hir Ialousye,
 But hir obeye, and folwe hir in al
 As any love to his lady shal.

(F. T., 17 ff.)

If now we examine the French passage carefully and consider that if such sentiments are expressed in the lay of *Equitan* by Marie de France, they might very well have been in the lay of *Arviragus*, whether written by her or by another poet in the same style, we see at once that there is no necessity of going, as scholars now do,¹ to the *Roman de la*

¹ See Skeat, *Works of Chaucer*, v, 388; cf. Koeppel, "Chauceriana," *Anglia*, xiv, 258.

Rose for the foundation of the sentiment that Chaucer expresses in the following lines:

Heer may men seen an humble wys accord.
 Thus hath she take hir servant and hir lord,
 Servant in love, and lord in mariage;
 Than was he bothe in lordshipe and servage;
 Servage? nay, but in lordshipe above,
 Sith he hath bothe his lady and his love;
 His lady, certes, and his wyf also,
 The which that lawe of love acordeth to. (63 ff.)

Chaucer doubtless had the discussions of the *Roman de la Rose* in mind when he was telling his tale; but it is not necessary to believe that his discussions of love and mastery¹ were foisted in by him without any hint in his original. Surely, if any Breton lay should have arguments of this nature it was one that was specially intended to exalt a marriage where husband and wife dwelt together in perfect sympathy and love.

Aurelius and Equitan resemble each other and act similarly under like conditions. Of the former, we read that he was "wel biloved, and holden in gret prys (206);" of the latter, that he was "mult de grant pris e mult amez (13-14)." Each falls deeply in love with the wife of another, and suffers agonies before he dares reveal his passion. The wife is completely unconscious of the love she has awakened, and her husband unsuspecting of his friend's attachment to her. The lover pleads with the beautiful wife to grant him her love, else he shall surely die.

Further, in the lay of *Lanval*, we find an excellent parallel to the scene in the garden, where the avowal of love takes place—with the difference, however, that the rôles are reversed: it is the lady who seeks the love of the knight. In

¹ In *Eq.*, 141 ff., is an interesting passage beginning "*Amurz n'est pruz, se n'est egals*," in which is shown the unwisdom of him who "*Vuelt amer par seignurie*,"—with which should be compared the passage in Chaucer beginning "Love wol nat be constreyned by maistrye" (36 ff.).

one case, Dorigen is in sorrow because of the absence of her lord; in the other, Lanval because he is not with his *amie*. In both cases, they are the object of the solicitude of their friends, who are eager to bring back to them their previous good cheer. Dorigen is induced to join a large gathering of merry-makers in a garden beside "hir castel faste by the sea" (119); but she holds aloof from the rest.

At-after diner gonne they to daunce,
And singe also, save Dorigen allone,
Which made alwey hir compleint and hir mone;
For she ne saugh him on the daunce go,
That was hir housbonde and hir love also. (191 ff.)

Aurelius seizes this opportunity to make a confession of his love; but Dorigen refuses to accept it, declaring earnestly:

Ne shal I never been untrewē wyf
in word ne werk, as far as I have wyt;
I wol ben his to whom that I am knit. (256 ff.)

Likewise in *Lanval*, we read that on a certain day a large gathering of knights

s'erent alé esbaneier
en un vergier desuz la tur
u la reïne ert a surjur. (224-6.)

They urge Lanval specially to join them ("Lanval ameinent par preiere," 238). When, however, the dance begins:

Lanval s'en vait de l'autre part
luin des altres. Mult li est tart
que s'amie puisse tenir,
baisier, acoler e sentir;
l'altrui joie prise petit,
si il nen a le suen delit. (255 ff.)

While the revelry is going on, the queen confesses her love to him; but he too refuses to accept it, because, he declares, she has already a husband to whom she should be faithful.

Ja pur vus ne pur vostre amur
ne mesferai a mun seignur! (275-6.)

When Lanval, after this interview, realizes that he has lost his *amie*, he bitterly laments his fate. ("A sun ostel fu revenuz," 335.)

En une chambre fu tuz suls,
pensis esteit e anguissus.
S'amie apele mult sovent
mes ceo ne li valut niënt.
Il se plaigneit e suspirot,
d'ures en altres se pasmot
c'est merveille qu'il ne s'ocit.
Il ne set tant criër ne braire
ne debate ne sei detraire,
qu'ele en voille merci avoir,
sul tant qu'il la puisse veoir.
A las, cument se cuntendra !

(339-353.)

Aurelius, likewise, after his interview with Dorigen, realizes the hopelessness of his case. ("Aurelius ful ofte sore syketh" 278). All the company go home

in Joye and in solas,
Save only wrecche Aurelius, alas !
He to his hous is goon with sorweful herte.
He seeth he may nat fro his deeth asterte.
Him semed that he felte his herte colde;
Up to the hevene his handes he gan holde,
And on his knowes bare he sette him down,
And in his raving seyde his orisoun
For verray wo out of his wit he brayde.
He niste what he spak, but thus he seyde;
With pitous herte his pleynt hath he bigonne.

And with that word in swowne he fil adoun
And longe tyme he lay forth in a trauce.

(291 ff.)

The brother of Aurelius looks after him "despeyred in this torment and this thought" (356), and cares for him while he lies in bed "in languor and in torment furious."

In like manner, when Lanval returns with sorrowful heart to his dwelling ("En sun lit malade culcha," 309), his friends care for him.

Li chevalier l'unt conveié;
 mult l'unt blasmé e chasteié
 qu'il ne face si grant dolur,
 e maldiënt si fole amur.
 Chescun jur l'aloënt veeir,
 pur ceo qu'il voleient saveir
 u il beüst, u il manjast;
 mult dotouent qu'il s'afolast. (409 ff.)

With this may also be compared the attitude of Dorigen's friends, who try to comfort her in her husband's absence.

She moorneth, waketh, wayleth, fasteth, pleyneth;
 Desyr of his presence hir so distreyneth,
 That al this wyde world she sette at noght.
 Hir frendes, whiche that knewe hir hevye thoght,
 Conforten hir in al that ever they may;
 They prechen hir, they telle hir night and day,
 That causelees she sleeth herself, alas!
 And every confort possible in this cas
 They doon to hir with al hir businesse,
 Al for to make hir leve hir hevinesse. (91 ff.)

In the lay of Arviragus and Dorigen the necessity in a happy marriage of mutual loyalty on the part of husband and wife was, it seems, especially emphasized. Strangely enough, we have in an extant Breton lay *Guldehuec and Guilliadun* (commonly called *Eliduc*) a curious counterpart to this poem—an example of the unhappiness that results when loyalty in marriage is shattered by guilty love. In this the longest and most carefully written of all Marie's lays, we have striking parallels in phraseology to parts of our tale; but I wish here only to dwell on the similarity in the general situation. In both stories a handsome and distinguished knight of Brittany is very happily married to a beautiful woman of high rank. After a while he goes to England to take service there and carry on warfare. His faithful wife in both cases

Forment demeine grant dolur
 al departir de sun seignur
 mes il l'aseūra de sei
 qu'il li portera bone fei. (81 ff.)

In one case, during their separation, the wife is tempted by a handsome knight, but is loyal to her husband—and so the two live the rest of their lives in sovereign bliss. In the other, the husband is tempted by a beautiful lady, and yields to her seductions, with the result that his wife's happiness is destroyed and she has to betake herself to an abbey and become a nun.

We surely need no more evidence from the poems of Marie de France, which have already served our purpose sufficiently well. It must now be clear that the *Franklin's Tale*, not only in fundamental theme, but also in the accretions of sentiment, not only in general features, but also in minute detail, shows so great similarity to the extant Breton lays that there can be no doubt that Chaucer's assertion regarding the source of his narrative is to be unhesitatingly accepted.¹ Even as Marie says of the three characters of the last lay I have mentioned, Eliduc, Guildeluec, and Guiliadun, so we may safely say of the three characters of the *Franklin's Tale*, Arveragus, Aurelius, and Dorigen :

De l'aventure de cez treis
li anciën Bretun curteis
firent le lai pur remembrer
qu'um nel dëust pas obliër.

¹ Some one, indeed, after observing its great similarity in particular passages to parts of several of Marie's lays, might possibly suggest that this only evinced Chaucer's familiarity with Marie, and that he deliberately put together a new story of which the various parts are simple echoes of her poems, and for this reason termed a "Breton lay" what was really his own invention. But such an hypothesis is manifestly untenable. It not only runs counter to all that we know of Chaucer's methods, but violates every probability based on other studies in literary history. Inasmuch, however, as the Breton lay of Arveragus and Dorigen does show such striking likeness to Marie's lays, it is not impossible that she was the author of the poem Chaucer had before him; but on this point we have no evidence, and such purely conjectural matters are perhaps hardly worth consideration.

IV.

A serious problem of another kind now demands consideration—a problem of interest and importance because it concerns the vexed question of the composition of popular tales in general, and of the lays and “matter of Britain” in particular. If it is true, one naturally inquires, that Chaucer actually followed a Breton lay in all the essentials of his narrative, a Breton lay, moreover, which in large part was closely connected with Celtic tradition, how does it happen that there are so many Oriental parallels to part of the story?

Clouston¹ has shown that a tale of the same general nature as Chaucer's is found in numerous Eastern versions, the oldest in Sanskrit, but others in Burmese, Persian, Indo-Persian, Hebrew, Germano-Jewish, Siberian, and Turkish—as well as in two Italian versions by the great writers Boccaccio and Bojardo, and one in modern Gaelic, in a form which shows close kinship with these above mentioned, but not with that in English. The existence of so many versions of the same story may seem to argue against my contention that Chaucer followed a particular Breton lay, which was very similar to the Breton lays now extant. But in reality it is not so. The *Franklin's Tale* stands in a group alone, quite apart from all the other stories given by Clouston by reason particularly of the Celtic elements that I have pointed out, which are found in it and in no other version. And the existence in combination with them of features which can lay no claim to such origin need not disturb us; for Breton lays were, as scholars are now beginning to recognize, a very mixed product. There is, indeed, a good deal of misconception with regard to this so-called “matter of Britain.” Students unaware of the universality of popular tales and beliefs, unacquainted with the fact that the majority of popular themes have been shown to be world wide in their

¹ *Originals and Analogues of some of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, No. 16, pp. 289 ff.

distribution, unfamiliar, in a word, with the results of the modern comparative study of folklore, are apt to make the mistake of demanding of any tale that is claimed as Breton its exclusive production among the Celts. This is, however, quite unreasonable. A lay is a Breton lay if it embodies a tale told in the Breton language in the form such tales usually had before they were turned into the particular sort of French poem we know by that name. All our so-called Breton lays, as is well known, are preserved to us in French, and have undergone very grave alterations in passing through the hands of people of unlike temperament, training, and tradition. There are, it should be observed, French poems (e. g. *Pyramus and Thisbe*, *Narcissus*) that have absolutely nothing Breton about them, but still were called lays and included in collections of "*Lais de Bretagne*" simply to ensure popularity at a time when the lays were in supreme vogue. There are others (e. g. *Orfeo*) based on narratives clearly taken from foreign sources, which yet appear to have been current among Celtic peoples and, having been stamped by their peculiar impress, may therefore justly, though to a limited degree, be called Breton. There are others (e. g. *Fraïse*) that embody stories which are genuinely Breton, although they are used in their fundamental features in all parts of the world, for they were localized in Celtic lands, and, what is most important, were regarded by the Bretons themselves as native. And, finally, there is still another class preserving stories, like *Lanval* and *Guingamor*, which record traditions or conceptions generally acknowledged by scholars as particularly Breton, inasmuch as they are the product of conditions that appear to have existed only on Celtic soil. But, I repeat, a lay is a "Breton" lay, whether it embodies foreign or native material, so long as that material was popularly current among the Celts and not regarded by them as essentially different from their other traditions. Now, we may be confident that the Breton peasants, or warriors for that matter, did not trouble any more about the origin of the

stories that appealed to them and that they were wont to narrate than does the ordinary English speaking person to-day, albeit this is an infinitely more reflective age, about the origin of the common words which he uses to express his ideas. Any story was readily accepted if it was to the popular liking, and it thereupon became an unquestioned Breton possession. If such a story, thus adopted by them, and popularly current in their language, was put into lay form, it was justly called a "Breton lay;" and it was also entitled to that name after it was re-written in French verse.

Granted, then, that Chaucer's Tale is in part paralleled in the Orient and elsewhere, his original may still have been an Old French "lay." Are not the Old French poems *L'Oiselet*, *Aristote*, *L'Espervier*, all called "lays," though the stories they embody are of pure Oriental origin? Inasmuch as they have little or no intermixture of Celtic elements, they hardly deserve the epithet "Breton," though it has sometimes been applied to them; but there is certainly no reason for withholding it from the Lay of Arviragus, which, as I have endeavored to show, is evidently based on Celtic tradition.

The combination of Celtic and foreign material in our story may possibly have been brought about by the Bretons themselves. Yet, much more probably we may regard it as the work of the French redactor of the old Celtic story. From what source, it may now be asked, did he get the wherewithal to embellish his tale, and what was his motive in its transformation?

In order to answer these questions, however, we must first decide what relation, if any, the Breton Lay of Arviragus, Aurelius, and Dorigen bore to the parallel tale which Boccaccio has embodied in his novel of Gilberto, Ansaldo, and Dianora, in the *Decameron* (x, 5).¹ Formerly, most annotators of Chaucer asserted that this was the direct source of

¹ Previously told by him in his youthful work *Filocolo* (Bk. v).

the *Franklin's Tale*; but the best critics no longer hold that view.¹ Professor Skeat doubtless expresses the opinion of most scholars nowadays when he writes: "We may be sure that Boccaccio and Chaucer drew their versions from very similar sources, as shown by the introduction of the magician. At the same time we not only notice how Boccaccio has given Italian names to his characters, but has even altered the chief circumstance on which the story depends, by substituting a flower-garden in January for the removal of the rocks." Professor Skeat is thus clearly of opinion that Boccaccio had some version of Chaucer's original before him, which he deliberately altered in very important features, "in order," as he says, "to render the story more congruous to an Italian location and scenery."²

These remarks indicate, I believe, a mistaken idea of the relation of the Breton lay to the Italian novel. There seems to me to be no evidence that Boccaccio altered the material at his disposal in any fundamental feature. That he based his narrative on a story current in Italy is made probable by the fact that Bojardo independently records a parallel tale. Neither of them, apparently, knew even of the existence of a form of the story in which Arviragus, Aurelius, and Dorigen were the chief figures, where the events were localized in Brittany, where the removal of the rocks from the Breton coast was the condition of the lady's love, and where the tempted wife was earnestly devoted to a loving husband who tenderly reciprocated her affection. On the contrary, Boccaccio's novel must be regarded as quite independent of the Breton lay. The very obvious agreement between them is easily explained if we suppose that the French author of that lay, when he was fashioning the old Celtic story of Arviragus to accord with the taste of the time, made use of some accessible version of the Oriental tale, current in the

¹ Yet Landau says (*Quellen des Dekameron*, 1884, p. 94): "Chaucer hat wahrscheinlich auch Boccaccio's Novelle benutzt."

² Op. cit., III, 480-81, 484.

West, on which Boccaccio based his novel. In this tale it was not the devotion to each other of a happily married pair, that was the chief theme, but rather the discussion of comparative generosity on the part of a husband who found that his wife had made a foolish promise to an ardent suitor, a lover who renounced his claim to his lady's love when it was freely accorded him, and a magician who refused all reward for his services to the lover when he saw that no advantage had accrued therefrom to his disappointed but magnanimous associate.

It is therefore in the highest degree probable that in the French lay for the first time the *débat*-motive, and all that it entails, was connected with the Arviragus story. Now for the first time, it was asked concerning Arviragus, Aurelius, and the magician: "Whiche was the moste fre, as thynketh you?" In the hands of a French courtly poet the primitive Celtic tale was thus transformed, that it might appeal more effectively to readers under the sway of chivalrous convention, fond of finespun discussions of the theory and practise of love.

It may seem idle to speculate regarding the original ending of this tale; for, of course, no positive results can be obtained. But the inquiry is nevertheless instructive, inasmuch as it seems to throw light on the chief conceptions the story embodies.

If the *Franklin's Tale* has any definite moral, it is summed up in the words of Arviragus: "Trouthe is the hyeste thing that man may kepe" (751).¹ Apparently, however, it was not Chaucer who introduced this idea. The virtue of keeping one's plighted troth was no doubt already emphasized in the Breton lay he had before him. It is interesting to observe that it appears prominently in another Middle English poem which also claims to be based on a lay of Britain. In *The Erl of Tolous* is portrayed a beautiful lady resembling

¹ See the last quotation, p. 407, above, and the second, p. 408.

Dorigen in nature and spirit. Of her husband, the Emperor of Almayn, we read :

Thys emperour had a wyfe,
The fayrest oon, that evyr bare lyfe,
Of hyr body sche was trew,
As evyr was lady, that men knew. (37 ff.)

The handsome Earl of Tolouse, though the emperor's enemy, falls desperately in love with her and at last gets one of her followers to plight his troth to bring him safely to her presence. This knight, however, divulges the plan to the empress and traitorously suggests that they seize the favorable opportunity to rid themselves of a dreaded foe. But the empress is too highminded to entertain such a thought. She insists that he "fulfill his covenant" and even does what she can to make his task easy.

The lady seyð: 'So mot y goo,
Thy soul ys lost, yf thou do so,
Thy trouth þou schalt fullfyll.'

Y red, þou hold thy trouth!
Certys, yf thou hym begyle,
Thy soule ys in gret paryl,
Syn thou hast made hym oth. (280 ff.)

Her faithfulness to her "troth" once plighted¹ is also shown in the fact that she does not betray two knights who in her husband's absence confess their love (having first obtained her promise not to disclose their interview) although under the greatest provocation. Fearing betrayal, they accuse her of infidelity, and connive so evilly that she is condemned to die unless some one is able successfully to champion her cause. The Earl of Tolouse, respecting her purity, comes

¹ "True" and "troth" echo throughout the poem. The phrase "To plight one's troth," occurs in ll. 210, 219, 276, 504, 550, 583; "troth," with another verb, in 282, 294, 635; "true" in 43, 53, 216, 226, 236, 313, 506, 568, 592, 917, 928, 935, 985, 1023, 1037, 1056.—(Ed. Lüdtké, Berlin, 1881).

to her rescue. His generous act dispels the Emperor's previous hostility towards him, and the two warriors become good friends. After the Emperor's death, the Earl marries the beautiful lady he has loved so truly, and rules over the land.

Fidelity to one's plighted word as an underlying motive is, indeed, very frequently met with in the early tales of the Celts. Their heroes made promises rashly and got themselves into sore trouble on this account; but they never denied their word. A knight's promise once given was regarded as sacred and must be fulfilled, even though it meant the handing over of his loving wife to another's embrace.

In the genuine old Mabinogi of Pwyll,¹ for example, a petitioner was rashly promised by the hero whatever boon he should ask. He thereupon asked for Pwyll's beloved, the beautiful fay Rhiannon. The petitioner turned out to be her unsuccessful suitor Gwawl, who by magic had shifted his shape and thus obtained the promise by deceit. Nevertheless, Pwyll felt himself bound by his word and yielded Rhiannon to the man she had refused for his sake. Here also, however, the affair ended happily. A respite was secured, at the end of which Gwawl was so placed that he voluntarily released Pwyll from his covenant, and the hero remained undisturbed in his love.

In the beautiful Irish story of the Wooing of Etain, at the latest from the eleventh century, we have a similar situation. The fairy King Mider, one fine summer's day, appeared at the court of Eochaid Airem, overlord of Ireland, saying he had come to play chess with him. First he let the king win in order to give him confidence. Then the two made a covenant that the victor in the next game should name his own prize. Mider won, and at once claimed the right to embrace and kiss Etain, the king's wife. The king,

¹ Lady Guest's translation, 1849, vol. III; Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, 1889, I.

though sorely troubled, did not think of refusing. He only asked for a postponement. Mider at the time appointed carried the lady off; but later the king won her back.

We may have an echo of this story in the English lay of Orfeo,¹ of which a French original unquestionably existed. The harper in disguise made his way to fairyland whither his wife had been borne. There he pleased the king so much by his music that the latter bade him make any request he liked and it should be granted. When he asked for Eurydice, the king began to object, but was silenced by Orfeo's words:

"O Sir," he seyð, "gentil king,
 ȝete were it a wele fouler þing
 To here a lesing of þi mouþe,
 So, Sir, as ȝe seyð nouþe,
 What i wold aski, have y schold,
 And nedes þou most þi word hold."
 þe king seyð: "Seþþen it is so,
 Take hir bi þe hond and go.
 Of hir ichil þatow be bliþe."²

In Arthurian romance the statement that "a king must not lie" is of frequent occurrence, and is regularly used to force him to keep a promise rashly made and unexpectedly embarrassing in its fulfillment. So, for example, the young Libeaus Desconus³ declares that Arthur will let him undertake the freeing of the lady of Sinadoun or else prove that he is not "trewe of word;" and Arthur must needs consent, despite the indignant protests of the messenger who will none of the lad. As Renaud de Beaujeu puts it:⁴

"Par le covent que tu m'en as,
 Te quier le don que m'as promis.
 Raison feras, ce m'est avis;

¹ This lay presents the classical story of Orpheus completely transformed. All the changes made are in the direction of Celtic tradition. See Kittredge, "Sir Orfeo," *Amer. Journal of Philology*, vol. VII.

² Ed. Zielke, 461 ff.

³ *Libeaus Desconus*, ed. Kaluza, 171 ff.

⁴ *Le Bel Inconnu*, ed. Hippeau, 214 ff.

Rois es, si ne dois pas mentir
 Ne covent a nului faillir."
 Ce dit li rois: "Dont i ales,
 Puisqu' estes si entalentes."

This idea is phrased forcibly in the late Scottish metrical romance, *Lancelot of the Laik*:¹

O kingis word shuld be a kingis bonde,
 And said It is, a kingis wurd shuld stond;
 O kingis word, among our faderis old,
 Al-out more precious and more sur was hold
 Than was the oth or seel of any wight;
 O king of trouth suld be the werray lyght,
 So treuth and Iustice to o king accordyth.

In Gottfried's *Tristan*² we have a very interesting parallel to the situation in our Tale. Gandin, a noble Irish knight, who has long loved Ysolde in Ireland, journeys to Cornwall in the hope of winning her from King Mark. He comes as a minstrel to the court, but will not play until the king promises him whatever boon he may ask. After finishing his lay, he demands the queen and will take nothing else instead. Rather than be forsworn, Mark finally abandons his wife, and Gandin leads her, weeping bitterly, to the sea-shore, where his boat lies ready to conduct her away. By a skilful ruse, however, Tristan manages to outwit Gandin and restores Ysolde to her lord. Gandin, sorrowful and ashamed, makes no further effort to regain her.

Gottfried's account, as is well known, is based on that of the Anglo Norman poet Thomas, who wrote not far from the middle of the twelfth century. The episode was doubtless earlier a separate Breton lay. The story was re-told in the English *Sir Tristrem*,³ also based on Thomas's work. The king let Ysolde go, rather than be called "false." There was no

¹ Ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S., 1865, ll. 1673 ff.

² Ed. Bechstein, 1869, vv. 13108 ff.; cf. Miss Weston's translation, II, 33 ff.

³ Ed. Kölbing, 1882, ll. 1805 ff.

question of losing what he regarded as his "manhood" even to keep his wife.¹

Malory preserves an echo of the same story² in which the similarity to the *Franklin's Tale* is even more striking, for now the queen makes the rash promise without Mark's knowledge. Sir Palamides meets Isoud alone in the forest making great moan because of the absence of Brangwaine who has been carried off. He promises to recover her if she will grant whatever boon he asks. He does as he agrees and later appears before the king and demands the fulfillment of the lady's promise. "Sir, said Palamides, I promised your queen Isoud to bring again dame Brangwaine that she had lost, upon this covenant, that she should grant me a boon that I would ask, and without grudging other advisement she granted me. What say ye, my lady? said the king. It is truly as he saith, said the queen, to say the sooth I promised him his asking for love and joy that I had to see her. Well madam, said the king, and if ye were hasty to grant him what boon he would ask, I will well that ye perform your promise. Then said Sir Palamides, I will that ye wit that I will have your queen to lead her and govern her where as me list." The king does not refuse and Palamides puts Ysoud on his horse behind him and rides away. Later Tristrem comes up with Palamides and recovers the queen after a hard battle, "for both they fought for love of one

¹ The abduction of Guinevere is but another variant of this theme. The version of the story recorded by Hartmann von Aue in his *Ywein* is the nearest like the episode in which Tristan figures. Arthur, having promised an unknown knight (Milianz, Meleagant) an indefinite boon, felt obliged to give up Guinevere when she was demanded of him. She was, however, rescued by one of the king's followers specially devoted to her, here possibly Gawain.—Other more or less divergent accounts of the adventure are given by Chrétien, Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, the author of *Die Krône*, Malory, etc.; see G. Paris, *Rom.*, XII; Wend. Foerster, *Introd. to Der Karrenritter*; Weston, *Legend of Sir Gawain*, pp. 67 ff.; *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*, 46 ff. Naturally, the king should never be the rescuer.

² Bk. VIII, ch. 29 ff. Cf. Löseth, *Roman en Prose de Tristan*, § 43.

lady." Sir Palamides must renounce his claim to Ysoud and leave the country.

Thus it appears that the idea of faithfulness in keeping a promise, no matter what sorrow it occasions, which is fundamental in the *Franklin's Tale*, is also prominent in early Celtic stories, in Breton lays, and in romances based on the "matter of Britain."¹ The precise form of the story at the basis of the Lay of Arviragus, we shall probably never discover. But one thing is, as we have seen, almost certain: it had a different ending. The account of Pwyll, Gwawl and Rhiannon suggests what may possibly have been the general features of the original conclusion. Dorigen's troth once plighted, both she and her husband recognized when the condition she had established was unexpectedly fulfilled that the result was inevitable. Arviragus handed his wife over to Aurelius. But in some way a respite was secured and before it was ended the lover found himself in such a position that he voluntarily released Dorigen from her unhappy promise.

It is probable that the magician is an importation from the foreign tale. The lovers Gwawl and Gandin relied on their own arts to win the lady of whom they were enamoured. Doubtless it was so in the beginning with Aurelius. The magician, however, was a very prominent figure in the Oriental tale, and when its ending was adopted the magician appears to have been taken along with the rest. The lover was made over in the likeness of conventional mediaeval characters of the same sort and the illusions he brought

¹ It is even as Sir Walter Scott long since remarked in his edition of *Sir Tristrem* (p. 322):

"Good faith was the very corner-stone of chivalry. Whenever a knight's word was pledged, it mattered not how rashly, it was to be redeemed at any price. Hence the sacred obligation of the *don octroyée*, or *boon granted* by a knight to his suppliant. Instances without number occur in romance, in which a knight, by rashly granting an indefinite boon, was obliged to do, or suffer, something extremely to his prejudice."

about were explained as the achievements of another person, a professional magician, to whom he applied for aid.

V.

There remains but one other matter that invites discussion in the present study. How has Chaucer altered the Breton lay he had before him? This question admits of a fairly satisfactory answer. Although the poet in general seems to have followed his original closely, there are still certain parts of the *Franklin's Tale* which we can affirm with some confidence first became connected with the story in his hands.¹ Of these the following may be mentioned: 1, the discussion of the cause of evil in the world, *à propos* of the existence of the dangerous rocks on the Breton coast; 2, the abundant references to astrology;² 3, the "pleynt" of Aurelius to Apollo, "Lord Phebus" (303-351); and 4, Dorigen's "compleynt" to Fortune, in which she cites "examples" of ladies who slew themselves rather than be polluted—an unnecessarily long digression, of about one hundred lines (627-728) taken from the treatise of Jerome against Jovinian.

These passages, which comprise about one-fourth of the whole poem, are clearly additions made by the English author. The first is interesting to us as perhaps throwing a sidelight on the poet's personal attitude towards religion and life. As to the second, we know how fond Chaucer was of astrological lore, and are not surprised at its insertion here. Moreover, the passage beginning, "Phebus wex old and hewed lyk latoun" (517 ff.) is so good that we cannot but feel grateful for that digression at least, whatever our attitude may be towards the particulars of the magician's methods. With regard to the two "complaints," I would only say that they belong to a very distinct style of lyric love poetry

¹ Skeat points out also (v, 387 ff.) slight borrowings from Persius, Dionysius Cato, Ovid, Boethius, and the *Roman de la Rose*.

² 329-30, 401-406, 426-7, 517-527; 542-565.

prevalent in Chaucer's day, and that their introduction in this poem is conventional. Chaucer could hardly have helped making his lovers "complain" in this manner, unless he deliberately avoided the literary customs of his contemporaries, with which, on the contrary, he elsewhere shows much sympathy.

It was thus under the influence of contemporary French works that he makes Aurelius turn poet and unburden his distressed soul in verse.

He was dispeyred, nothing dorste he seye,
 Save in his songes somewhat wolde he wreye
 His wo, as in a general compleyning;
 He seyde he lovede, and was biloved nothing.
 Of swich matere made he many layes,
 Songes, compleintes, roundels, virelayes. (215 ff.)

Chaucer allows him "two yeer and more" for such amusement, in which he surely had a decent chance to do himself justice and analyze all his emotions. Now, if we turn to Guillaume de Machaut's *Livre du Voir-Dit*,¹ itself a "general compleyning," we find a person similarly occupied when in a like condition, though not for quite so long.

On li a dit and raconté
 Qu'un yver and près d'un esté
 Avez esté griefment malades:
 Et que, toudis, faisiés balades,
 Rondeaus, motés et virelais
 Complaintes et amourens lais. (ll. 113 ff.)

Chaucer himself, as is well known, though never, we hope, in such a pitiable plight as Aurelius, yet tried his hand at the same sort of composition:

Many an ympne for your halydayes,
 That highten Balades, Roundels, Virelayes.²

Indeed, it is perhaps possible to trace the direct influence

¹ Ed. Paulin Paris, Paris, 1875, p. 5.

² *Legend of Good Women*, ll. 422-23.

of Machaut in the description of the garden, so like is it to part of the *Dit du Vergier*,¹ with which there can be hardly any doubt that the poet was familiar. The situation in both cases is very much the same. A lover, afflicted by the absence of his or her loved-one, enters a beautiful garden one spring morning in the hope of dismissing sorrow by watching the revelry of others—but without success; for thoughts of the loved-one prevent any real participation in the general happiness. That neither of the gardens was to blame, is evident from the following similar descriptions:

De fleurs et de feuilles si bel
Si bel, si gent, si agréable
Si très plaisant, si délitable
Et plein de si très bonne odour
Que nulz n'en auroit la savour
Tout fust ses cuers déconfortez
Qu'il ne fust tout réconfortez
Et tant estoit de joie plainz

.
Je ne scay que ce pooit estre
Fors que le paradis terrestre.

(p. 12.)

This garden ful of leves and of floures
And craft of mannes hand so curiously,
Arrayed hadde this gardin, trewely,
That never was ther gardin of swich
prys,

Bot if it were the verray paradys.

The odour of floures and the fresshe
sighte

Wolde han maad any herte for to
lighte

That ever was born, bot if to gret
siknesse

Or to gret sorwe held it in distresse;
So ful it was of beautee with plesaunce.

(180 ff.) •

The *Franklin's Tale* is not, it is evident, an entirely harmonious whole. When reading it, we do not really breathe the pure atmosphere of Breton romance. Sometimes we find ourselves letting our imagination wander along delightful paths of illusion; but the treat does not last long. A shrewd practical remark of Chaucer's calls us suddenly back to this world of common sense. The bubbles of conventional eloquence, which we half believed were sound, are pricked by a sly parenthesis, and we then smile at a lover's rhetoric when we were before quite disposed to let it engage us as it did a reader in mediaeval times. Courtly sentiments, it is hinted,

¹ G. de Machaut, *Oeuvres* [ed. Tarbé], 1849, pp. 11 ff.

struggle with bourgeois experience. Romantic lovemaking, we are disconcertingly reminded, has a practical aftermath. Illusions about one's love are apt to disappear.

Who coude telle, but he had wedded be,
The joye, the ese, and the prosperitee
That is bitwixe an housbonde and his wyf?

Alas! nobody, Chaucer implies, can tell beforehand, or without personal experience. Men have lordship over their wives *such as it is* (15). These "noble wyves" make much ado about their husbands "when hem lyketh" (90). In a word, Chaucer's advice to the married is:

Lerneth to suffre, or elles, so most I goon,
Ye shul it lerne, wher-so ye wole or noon. (49-50.)

These sly remarks, most humorous and entertaining though they are, nevertheless are out of harmony with the spirit of a Breton lay, where much of the charm consists in the remoteness of the scene and situation. We are not accustomed, moreover, to have lay-writers become personal and laugh at their own rhetoric, as Chaucer does about the fall of night:

the brighte sonne loste his hewe;
For thorisonte hath reft the sonne his light;
This is as muche to seye as it was night. (288 ff.)

His humor throughout is delightful, yet would be judged sometimes out of place by the critic who simply viewed the tale as an independent artistic narrative.

But this, I would urge, no one is justified in doing. The tale before us is but part of a great whole. It is a Franklin, "Epicurus owne sone," we must remember, who is telling this Breton lay, and telling it to people very different from those for whom it was originally intended, as well as under very remarkable conditions. The Franklin is a dramatic figure whom Chaucer is eager to bring clearly before us, even if the illusion of the particular story assigned him be somewhat interfered with by the way in which he could only tell

it and be himself. And although it may justly be said that, even so, Chaucer is not entirely above reproach, for he puts too much learned disquisition into the mouth of this "burel" man, we cannot but recognize that most of the inconsistencies in his narrative are the result of his effort to make the situation dramatic and to keep the reader always conscious of the circumstances under which the story is being told.

This story, transmitted from the feudal past, the Franklin knew when he made his choice would interest the young man beside him, whom he had just been praising and whose praise he in his turn hoped to gain. In truth, one cannot fail to observe that the description of the Squire in the Prologue, "a lovyere and a lusty bachelere," is strikingly similar to that of the

lusty Squyer, servant to Venus,
Which that ycleped was Aurelius.

Of Chaucer's Squire, we read :

Embrouded was he, as it were a mede
Al ful of fresshe floures, whyte and rede,
Singing he was, or floytinge al the day.
He was as fresh as is the month of May.

And of the squire who sang and danced before Dorigen :

fressher [he] was and jolyer of array
As to my doom, than is the monthe of May.

It might be said of Aurelius as of him :

He coude songes make and wel endyte
Juste and eek daunce, and wel portreye and write.

He too was "wonderly delivre and greet of strengthe;" and that he "loved hot," certainly Dorigen would attest. Nor was the obvious similarity between the Squire and the generous lover in our Tale, due to accident, but rather to the poet's happy design. To have the Franklin recount this Breton lay of Arviragus and Dorigen immediately after the

Squire had finished his romantic narrative of Canacee, was the most effective compliment that he had yet paid the noble youth he so much admired. Nowhere has Chaucer shown more skill in making a transition from one story to another, or more wisdom in choosing the teller for a tale. We can only regret that he found no occasion to record how the Squire, the worthy Knight, or some other of the Franklin's happy company, received this charming lay, which, fortunately for us, he has rescued from the greedy sea of oblivion.

WILLIAM HENRY SCHOFIELD.

Additional note to page 443.

Attention may be called to the fact that in the legend of Mongan, the Irish hero and enchanter, there is a close parallel to the story of Pwyll. Mongan has rashly made an indefinite promise to the king of Leinster in order to obtain some splendid kine. He and his wife Dubh-Lacha of the White Hand are one day together when the king and his hosts approach. "What hast thou come to seek?" said Mongan. "For, by my word, if what thou seekest be in the province of Ulster, thou shalt have it." "It is, then," said the king of Leinster. "To seek Dubh-Lacha have I come." Silence fell upon Mongan. And he said: "I have never heard of anyone giving away his wife." "Though thou hast not heard of it," said Dubh-Lacha, "give her, for honour is more lasting than life." Anger seized Mongan, and he allowed the king of Leinster to take her with him." Here also the captor is a suitor of the lady, and she pretends to reciprocate his affection. By establishing a condition to her love, she secures a year's respite before she shall grant it. In the meantime, she is won back from the king's power by craft. See Meyer-Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 77 ff.; also I, 49-52. See, further, Nutt's discussion of the age of the material (I, 136 ff.), and of the relation of the Mongan to the Arthur legend (II, ch. xiii). I am indebted to Miss Lucy A. Paton for reminding me of this important parallel.

W. H. S.

XIII.—A FRIEND OF CHAUCER'S.

In the *Hous of Fame*, Chaucer mentions amongst harpers "the Bret Glascurion" (v. 1208). This personage was long ago identified¹ with Glasgerion, the hero of a famous ballad; and a further identification of Glascurion with the Welsh bard Geraint (*Y Bardd Glas Keraint*) was made in 1845 by the Rev. Thomas Price.² Professor Child was inclined to accept these identifications, though he expressed himself cautiously.

It requires no argument to show that there is nothing impossible in Chaucer's having heard from a dozen sources the name of so distinguished a person as this Welsh poet. One feels, however, a certain interest in finding a particular Welshman from whom he may perfectly well have got his information. Such a person was Lewis Johan. And even if it be held that Lewis Johan has not this importance as a literary intermediary, he is in any case interesting as a member of Chaucer's circle of city acquaintance. Much light may yet be thrown on the poet's life and environment by the study of just such obscure persons.

Lewis Johan is already known to literary history in a humble way as the person at whose house the sons of Henry IV were taking supper when Henry Scogan read them his moral and poetical address.³ We might infer from this that

¹ By Percy, in the 2d ed. of his *Reliques*, I, lvii (1767).

² See his essay on the *Remains of Ancient Literature in the Welsh, etc.*, published in the *Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price*, 1854, I, 152. The identification of Glasgerion with the Welsh bard was afterwards made by Mr. Edward Williams in *The Cambrian Journal*, Sept., 1858, pp. 192-194 (see Child, *Ballads*, Part III, p. 137; Part IV, p. 571).

³ Our information is based on the title given to the poem by Shirley, which tells us that the balade in question was addressed to the prince and his brothers, Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, at a supper in the vintry in London at the house of Lewys Johan. See with regard to this poem and its author *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, I, 109 ff.

Johan was a vintner, like Chaucer's father, and that he kept a restaurant, a fourteenth-century Sherry's, at which young men of the highest rank were accustomed to dine. The inference is in part established as a fact by the records of Parliament. In the Parliament of 1414, Thomas Chaucer, Esq., king's butler, Lewis Johan, and Johan Snypston presented a joint petition for payment of the sum of £868, 14 s., 3½d., for wine furnished to the late king, Henry IV. Of this sum 40 marks was due to Lewis Johan.¹

Thomas Chaucer, as is well known, was made chief butler of England for life by letters patent of Henry IV, dated Nov. 5, in the fourth year of that king's reign.²

We know further that Lewis Johan was a Freeman of the city of London in the second year of Henry IV, and that he was born of a Welsh father and mother. These facts are ascertained from a petition which he presented to Parliament in 1414, reciting them, and asking that the provisions of the statute of 2 Henry IV, providing that no Welshman be allowed to acquire lands or tenements in England or the English cities of Wales and that no Welshman be received as a burgess, etc., may not apply to him. The petition was granted, which seems to be sufficient evidence of the truth of the statements made therein.³

In 1414, Henry V granted to Lewis Johan the exclusive privilege for three years of issuing bills of exchange for persons wishing to send money to the Roman Curia, the republic of Venice, or other places where the Pope might be, or other parts beyond the sea. Lewis was to pay at each year's end 200 marks and was to be protected in his monopoly.⁴ In 1417 Lewis Johan was one of three sureties for the first payment of the ransom of the Count of Vendôme.⁵

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, IV, 37.

² The grant was confirmed in 1422 by Henry VI (*Rot. Parl.*, IV, 178).

³ *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 129. Passed in Jan., 1401.

⁴ *Patent Rolls*, 2 Henry V, p. 2, m. 23, Rymer, ed. Holmes, IX, 130.

⁵ *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, ed. Nicolas, II, 342. The other sureties were Johan Vycor and Gerarde Davy, evidently persons in the same rank of life as Lewis Johan.

In 1422 Lewis Johan appeared before the Lords of the King's Council at Westminster and asked to be relieved of the office of Master of the Coinage in the tower of London.¹

From all these facts we can easily see what was the life and the station of Lewis Johan. He was a vintner, apparently well-known at court (like Chaucer's father), and he acquired sufficient wealth to engage in the business of banking. That he was personally known to Chaucer it seems impossible to doubt. It is not likely that any successful Londoner in Johan's business, and associated as he was with Scogan, Thomas Chaucer, and the court, should have been unknown to Geoffrey Chaucer. It would, of course, be an absurd *saltus* to jump to the conclusion that the poet must have heard of "the Bret Glascurion" from this Welsh acquaintance. We may believe as we list. In any case Lewis Johan remains an interesting figure, as one of the burgher and business circle to which Geoffrey Chaucer belonged as much as to the court, and with which he had such a minute and sympathetic acquaintance.

G. L. KITTREDGE.

December, 1900.

¹ *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, II, 318.

XIV.—ENGLISH INFLUENCE UPON SPANISH LITERATURE IN THE EARLY PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

An interesting chapter might be written on the interrelations of Spanish and English literatures in the early part of the nineteenth century, and it might aid materially in dispelling the prevalent delusions as to Spanish 'aloofness' in matters of general culture. The present paper, which is not offered as by any means exhaustive of the subject, is intended to present in brief outline an account of English influence upon Spanish literature during the period indicated, that is, the first forty years of the century.

We may begin the consideration of our subject with the mention of the important Spanish dramatist who links the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. This is Leandro Fernández de Moratín, the author of *El Café* and *El Sí de las Niñas*. About the middle of the last decade of the eighteenth century, Moratín spent a year in London, whither he had gone as a pensioner of the Spanish government to study the English stage. The fruits of his studies appeared in his prose translation of *Hamlet*, published in 1798. The translation is mediocre enough, and is marked by the errors of judgment natural in a writer who could deem Shakspeare distinctly inferior to Racine, for such is the conclusion at which Moratín arrived in his critical estimate of the work with which he dealt.

Though he links the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, Moratín is, in the main, a figure of the eighteenth century, and Spanish literature of the nineteenth century begins properly with the Tyrtæan poet, Manuel José Quintana. A fervent patriot, Quintana was most successful in the lyrics with which he roused his countrymen against the Napoleonic invader. In these his manner, strange to say, is entirely

that brought into vogue by the French precept-makers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; he fought the French with their own weapons. But Quintana was also susceptible to English influence; for, in his tragedy *El duque de Visco*, he imitated the *Castle Spectre* of Mathew Lewis. Quintana's play is not a masterpiece. The author's temperament was in no wise dramatic, and then, too, strength could hardly be expected in an imitation of so feeble a prototype as Lewis's drama. At all events, the *Duque de Visco* affords a point of contact between English literature and the coterie of poets in Madrid of whom Quintana was the acknowledged chief during the first twenty or thirty years of the century.

Similar points of contact are clear in Lista and Blanco, two members of the school of Seville, that is, of that band of poets at Seville who, following the lead of Luzán and Meléndez Valdés, joined in the attempt to reform the depraved literary taste of Spain by subordinating her literary production to the aesthetic canons established in France by Boileau. Recognizing in Pope purposes resembling those of the French lawgiver Boileau, Lista made a free poetical translation of the *Dunciad*, in which for the names of the English authors attacked by Pope he substituted those of Castilian writers whom he deemed deserving of censure. But the work was published posthumously and must have failed to produce any effect during the lifetime of Lista. Blanco,—or, as we know him in English literature, Blanco White,—is even more an English writer than a Spanish one. The melancholy story of his life has been told by Mr. Gladstone, who has also indicated Blanco's lack of mental balance. Beginning as one of the most enthusiastic and forceful of the young ecclesiastical poets of Seville, he had already gained a reputation in his native land, when, assailed by religious doubts, he abandoned Spain and went to England. There he associated himself in turn with nearly all the religious communions, finding rest in none. In Blanco, the Spanish and the English strains seem independent of

each other, belonging the one to his earlier, the other to his later life. Famous among his English compositions is the exquisite sonnet *Mysterious light*. He did not wholly cease, however, to write in Spanish after his expatriation. Only shortly before his death he indited the Spanish poem *El deseo resignado* (*Resigned Desire*), one of the best and most pathetic of his lyrics.

To Shakspeare, Pope, and Lewis, already introduced into the domain of Spanish letters by Moratín, Lista, and Quintana, we may add Gray, whose famous elegy was imitated by José Fernández Guerra in his *Cementerio de Aldea*.

The relations between the Spanish and English literatures indicated up to the present had no far-reaching consequences. They merely evince individual interest in English literature on the part of prominent Spanish authors. But, with the coming of the Romantic movement, English influence became more generally significant in the development of Spanish letters.

In Spain, the Romantic movement—or, in her case, we should rather say, the Romantic revival—came somewhat belated, following in the wake of the related movements in England, Germany, and France. The constituent elements of Spanish romanticism were, in general, identical with those that existed in the other lands just mentioned. There was the same insistence upon the principle of freedom in art, the same stressing of the importance of the individual fancy, and the same predilection for Christian arguments and for all matters appertaining to the chivalrous ideals of the Middle Ages. But Spain of the nineteenth century had to be aroused to the adoption of the romantic doctrines by (1) the influence of foreign example, and by (2) the awakening, through foreign scholarly impulse, of an interest in her own literature of the Golden Period (the *Sigle de oro*), one of the most eminently romantic periods in the history of European literature. In affording the necessary example and in exciting in the Spaniard an interest in his own older romantic

literature, England played a part equally with France and Germany; for the works of Scott and of Byron and the *Ossian* of Macpherson found no less favor in Spain than the works of Hugo, Dumas the elder, and Goethe, and the Englishman Hookham Frere, like the Germans Schlegel, Jakob Grimm, Depping, and Böhl von Faber, indicated to the Spaniard the wealth of inspiration in the older romantic literature of Castile.

When the despot Ferdinand VII was restored to the throne of Spain in 1814, he signalized his return to power by exiling the young liberals, some of whom sought a temporary refuge in England. Among them were such future leaders of the Romantic movement as Rivas and Espronceda, who, now on British soil, could come into direct relations with English romanticism and could feel the full force of the spell of Byron and Scott.

But even Spanish authors who had not taken part in the exodus to England underwent the weird romantic influence of Scott's chivalrous tales, and derived from him no slight degree of inspiration. Thus, the statesman and poet Martínez de la Rosa remarked, while in exile at Paris, the great vogue of Scott's works and resolved to imitate them. The result was his luckless historical novel, *Doña Isabel de Solís*. Somewhat more felicitous was the novel *El Doncel de Don Enrique el Doliente* of Larra, that ill-starred genius generally known by his pseudonym of *Figaro*. In his archaeologizing, in his endeavor to master the details of mediaeval habits and costumes, Larra has clearly modelled himself upon Scott.

The efforts of these writers who had not visited England were not rewarded with the success which was gained by the poetical novel *El Moro Expósito* of the Duke of Rivas (Ángel de Saavedra). Rivas found in the *Lady of the Lake*, *Marmion*, and the kindred poems of Scott, just the machinery that he needed for his own legendary tale. And, moreover, was not Scott, the author of *The Vision of Don Roderick*,

precisely the writer to attract the attention of the Spanish patriot Rivas?

The direct incentive to the composition of the *Moro Expósito*, one of the most important of the earlier Spanish romantic productions of the century, reviving as it does the old Spanish legend of the *Infantes de Lara*, was given to Rivas by John Hookham Frere, who had been envoy and minister of England to Spain. In the dedication of his poem, written in English and addressed to Frere, Rivas expresses himself thus:—"I hope that I am not guilty of presumption when I beg to dedicate the following pages to you. . . . I cannot help thinking that—poor as the tribute is which I here pay to you—it will be kindly accepted; not only because of your constant partiality to the author, but likewise *because you have pointed out and led me into the path in which I have entered with more boldness than success.* [That is, the path of reviving the Spanish heroic legend.] To judge of my labors, no one is better qualified than you are. With your well known classical erudition and acquaintance with the principles and beauties of general poetry you combine a very remarkable and intimate knowledge of the language and literature of Spain—such, indeed, as few Spaniards can boast," etc.

If Frere knew Spanish literature as well as Rivas here intimates and as Frere's translations from the Castilian prove, Rivas was no less versed in English literature. Witness this passage which I translate from the prologue of the *Moro Expósito*:—"From Cowper to the present day, British literature is perhaps the richest of the modern literatures both in the abundance and in the worth of its productions, precisely because abandoning erroneous rules and having no care as to whether they were classic or romantic writers, the authors have become what the ancient classics were in their days and what poets should be in all times. Scott, chivalrous; Byron, metaphysical and descriptive; Campbell, pathetic, and at the

same time polished; Southey, gentle (*tierno*) and erudite; Wordsworth, simple and loving, uniting to a very impressionable soul a close and constant study of nature; Crabbe, a painter of the social man of the lowest classes, describing in his style, as vigorous and rough as it is lively and brilliant, the customs that portray natural and energetic passions, vices, and crimes . . . ; Burns, a spirited and faithful interpreter of fervent love; and Moore, gallant, keen, witty, and of a lively fancy, although he has his mannerisms, is also wont at the thought of his country to assume a loftier and more ringing tone, and to imitate with his own inspiration the style and tone of Tyrtæus," etc.

Dilating no further upon the influence of Scott, we may merely mention among his other Spanish followers, Zorrilla, López Soler, and Escosura.

The influence of the *Ossian* matter has already been cited as an important factor in the development of Spanish romanticism. This was not an English influence exerted directly to any great degree; for Montengón's Spanish translation of the *Ossian* legends, made toward the end of the eighteenth century, was based upon Cesarotti's Italian version, and, moreover, Gallego's Ossianic play, *Oscar, hijo de Ossian*, was a translation of the French drama of Arnaut. An immediate influence of Macpherson's legends is clear, however, in the lyric *Oscar y Malvina* of that true poet Espronceda, in whose *Himno al Sol* there is also visible an imitation of the descriptive methods of the pseudo-*Ossian*; and, in truth, it was the profound melancholy, the tragic background and the generally misty landscapes of the *Ossian* songs that most recommended them to the pessimistic and lyric temperaments of the young Romantic poets of Spain. Furthermore, not only the Romantic writers, but even a spirit so entirely unromantic as Cabanyes seems to have yielded to their subtle spell, which spread also across the ocean and affected the sweet Cuban singer, José María Heredia.

A no less potent force than the influence of Scott and the *Ossian* matter was that of Byron, whose unconventional strains found responsive echoes in the poetic bosoms of Rivas and Larra, and whose style and poetic mannerisms have been happily imitated by Espronceda, the greatest Spanish lyric poet of the century. Espronceda, who came into contact with the Byronic influence while an exile in England, is no servile follower. His doctrines, identical though they be with those of Byron, are his own and are not merely borrowed from the English poet. The story goes that the diplomatist and historian, the Conde de Torreno, being asked one day whether he had read Espronceda, replied: "No, but I have read Byron." The remark, which soon became famous, excited the ire of Espronceda, and rightly so in so far as it implied a lack of originality in his works. Affinity of character and purposes attracted him to Byron, to whom for form and method—or the intentional lack of them—he is greatly indebted; but it cannot be denied that Espronceda's loudest note, the note of pessimistic disgust which reverberates through the *Diablo Mundo*, the *Estudiante de Salamanca*, and shorter lyrics like the poem to *Jarifa*, is struck from the chord of bitter personal experience and is no mere echo of the Byronic note.

Space here forbids an ampler treatment of this subject, of which, moreover, I meant to indicate only the interesting possibilities. It is to be hoped that we shall soon have a thorough investigation of the interrelations of Modern English and Spanish literatures. Undoubtedly, the subject deserves much more serious treatment than that accorded to it in the *Periods of European Literature*, now being produced under the supervision of an English scholar.

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XV.—TWO NOTES ON THE *HISTORIA REGUM
BRITANNIAE* OF GEOFFREY OF
MONMOUTH.

I.

THE VERSIONS OF THE *HISTORIA*.

Despite Mr. Ward's thoroughness in his discussion of Geoffrey's *Historia*,¹ further consideration throws at least grave doubt on one of his fundamental theories, the theory,² namely, that Geoffrey published more than one distinct edition of the *Historia*.

Ward argued largely from the fact that the abstract³ of Geoffrey's book made and addressed to the otherwise unknown Warinus by Henry of Huntingdon, from the copy which he found in 1139 at the Abbey of Bec, differs in many

¹ *Cat. of Romances*, I, 207 ff. Ward's conclusions have been for the most part accepted without question; though Geoffrey's latest student, Professor W. L. Jones, differs on one or two points, in his article entitled *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, in *Trans. of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion* for 1899, pp. 1 ff.; also separately reprinted, London, 1900.

² See especially pp. 209 ff.

³ Published in the Rolls Series Edition (ed. Howlett) of the Chronicle of Robt. de Torigny in *Chron. of Stephen*, etc., IV, 65 ff.

respects from the *Historia* as it appears in existing mss. The variations, however, may all be satisfactorily explained without assuming more than one version.

Ward himself suggests that we can account for most of them on the supposition that Henry merely took notes at Bec, which he afterwards expanded when he had leisure. This certainly disposes of such peculiarities as Henry's calling Uter the son instead of the brother of Aurelius, and of many others of the minor differences; while most of the rest are only the natural result of condensation. Such changes as the addition of the statement that Brennus (Geoffrey, or his scribe, writes *Brennius*) conquered Greece and Asia, are doubtless due to Henry's knowledge of history, real or supposed; and his observation that Belinus won all the lands about Britain, and his allusion to the Britons' expectation of Arthur's return, are merely testimonies, parallel to one or two which can be found in his own *Historia Anglorum*,¹ to his knowledge of certain British traditions. The two principal additions—namely, the dramatic description of the opposition offered by the giants to the landing of Brutus and his people, and that of the last battle of Arthur—may easily be due to Henry's own imagination, as Ward says, and as anyone will be convinced who will compare the last part of the first and the beginning of the second book of Henry's *Historia Anglorum*² with Nennius, Bede, and the Saxon Chronicle, and observe how freely he has there treated his sources.

Ward lays chief stress on Henry's omission from his abstract of all mention of Merlin and the story of Vortiger's tower, an omission hardly explicable, Ward maintains, on the supposition that the work from which Henry copied assigned any such importance to Merlin as does the existing

¹ For example, his account of Helena, the mother of Constantine (bk. i, ch. 37). See Arnold's introduction in his edition of Henry's *Historia Anglorum* in the Rolls Ser., p. liv.

² Especially bk. ii, ch. 2 ff.

version of Geoffrey's *Historia*. This inference, however, can be shown to be erroneous. After the first three books, Geoffrey's *Historia* covers ground which Henry himself had previously treated in his *Historia Anglorum*, and Henry has the latter constantly in mind while making his abstract, and tries to be consistent with it. Several times in the abstract, when speaking of the events of the Roman period, he breaks off short with the observation, "Of this I have spoken in my *History of the Angles*" (or "elsewhere"), and he rejects Geoffrey's genealogy of the family of Cassibellaunus¹ for that which he had given in his history. Now, in compiling the latter, he had seen fit to reject Nennius' account of the boy Ambrosius and Vortiger's tower,² and there was no reason why he should adopt it from Geoffrey when Geoffrey had merely expanded it³ and identified Ambrosius with Merlin.⁴

After the explanation of these points, no one, certainly, will be inclined to attach any importance, as did Ward, to the fact that Henry quotes only a part of the Latin poetry which Geoffrey (i, 11) ascribes to Brutus and Diana.

Henry's letter, then, affords no evidence that Geoffrey's *Historia* ever existed in a form essentially different from that which we now possess. The only other very considerable argument to that effect has been based upon the Bern MS. of the *Historia*. At most, this MS. has never been held to represent an edition nearly so unlike the existing one as that which Ward postulated for the original of Henry's abstract, but the idea that it stands for a different edition at all must, I believe, be abandoned, at least for purposes of argument. Professor Jones writes me that he is inclined to modify his

¹ Geoffrey, iii, 20.

² Nennius, sec. 40 ff.

³ Though the expansion is very great.

⁴ By a similar exercise of judicious skepticism, Henry omitted from his history Nennius' story of the massacre of the Britons by the Saxons (the "Long Knives" affair, Nennius, sec. 46); and in his abstract he condenses into two lines the seven pages of Geoffrey's account of Maximus (Geoffrey writes *Maximianus*) and Conan (v, 9-16), and into not very much greater space the narrative of Arthur's reign after the defeat of the Saxons (ix, 5-xi, 1).

views about the MS. as expressed in his article; and its variations from the other MSS., which are said to occur largely in the case of proper names, seem, I judge, to be no greater than may be charged to the scribe, who may perhaps have been a Welshman. Certainly, whatever may be true of the dedication, if the MS. itself be supposed to represent a version different from the standard one, it must be earlier (since its Latinity is less polished¹); but Professor Jones tells me that it includes in the prophecies the "Vae tibi, Neustria" sentence,² which Ward³ showed to be a late interpolation.⁴

As to minor differences in the various MSS. (for instance, in the book and chapter divisions⁵), no one has ever shown that they cannot perfectly well be due to the scribes, or, in any case, that they are of enough consequence to indicate any regular revision of the text.⁶

The other arguments for more than one edition being out of the way, it should seem that no one can well continue to question the correctness of Ward's judgment⁷ in interpreting Geoffrey's statements (whose truth there is certainly no reason to doubt) in book vii, chapters 1 and 2, as meaning

¹ Jones, p. 19.

² Bk. vii, ch. 3 of the standard form, lines 73-75 of San Marte's ed.

³ Pp. 208-9.

⁴ It is doubtless theoretically possible that the scribe followed in the main an early copy and inserted this sentence from a later one; but that cannot be assumed without stronger reasons than any that have been shown.

⁵ See Hardy's account of the MSS. of the *Historia*, in his *Catalogue of Materials* (Rolls Ser.), vol. i, part 1, pp. 341 ff.

⁶ It may be noted that Ward, taking the hint from the erroneous argument of Wright (*Biog. Lit. Brit., Anglo-Norm. Period*, pp. 143-4) which he disproved (p. 213), argued that since Geoffrey speaks of Bishop Alexander in the past tense (vii, 1) the "final" edition of the *Historia* must have been prepared after the spring of 1148, when the bishop died. But so far as has ever been stated all the MSS. agree in using the past tense here (Professor Jones tells me that this is true of the Bern MS.), and it is evident that the fact may be explained on various theories other than that of a later edition.

⁷ G. Paris assumes without discussion the same opinion as Ward, in *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx, 4.

that he published in an independent form, before the rest of the *Historia*, the prophecies which in the MSS. represented by the printed editions make up the bulk of the seventh book. Geoffrey says directly:¹ "Nondum autem ad hunc locum historiae perveneram, cum de Merlino divulgato rumore, compellebant me undique contemporanei mei ipsius prophetias edere."

Indeed, Ward's view seems to me sufficiently demonstrated by the external evidence afforded by Ordericus Vitalis in his excerpt² (discussed by Ward) from Geoffrey's account of the scene introductory to the prophecies and from the prophecies themselves. That Ordericus was quoting not from Geoffrey's complete *Historia*, but from an independent edition of the prophecies such as Ward supposes appears because:

1. He says that he is drawing "de libello Merlini," and Geoffrey's decidedly extended *Historia* could not be called a "libellus," nor is Merlin one of its chief characters.

2. Not only, in order to give the connection, does Ordericus speak of Merlin as having been contemporary with St. Germanus, and summarize the doings of the latter evidently from Bede's account (i, 17-21); but he refers his readers for further information "de casibus Britonum" to "Gildas Brito" (evidently meaning Nennius, since he goes on to speak of Arthur's twelve battles) and Bede. If Ordericus had had Geoffrey's complete *Historia* at hand, even in an early and less expanded form, he certainly would not have mentioned these much briefer accounts, or at least he would have named Geoffrey also.

3. Moreover, in all probability, if Ordericus had known the complete *Historia*, he would not have refrained from making some further use of it.³

¹San Marte's ed., p. 92.

²Bk. xii, ch. 47; in Le Prévost's edition, vol. iv, p. 486.

³Though the fact that he brings in his reference out of chronological order (it really belongs in book i, vol. i, pp. 107-113) shows that he did not become acquainted with the prophecies until his work was approaching completion.

That the "Libellus Merlini" from which Ordericus copied was composed earlier than Geoffrey's *Historia* can at least be shown to be very probable, for other reasons. Geoffrey merely appropriated and made over from Nennius (sec. 42) the story of the dragon fight which he used in the *Historia*,¹ and evidently also in the "Libellus Merlini," as the introduction to Merlin's prophecies. Now, while Ordericus' quotation from the prophecies themselves corresponds verbatim with the form in Geoffrey's *Historia*, and while Ordericus' account of the dragon fight agrees in various details, verbal or other, with Geoffrey as against Nennius, yet in other details it agrees with Nennius as against Geoffrey. In the two most significant of the latter cases—viz.: (1) the substitution of "fundamentum" for "pavimentum," "duos concavos lapides" for "duo vasa," and the omission of the "tentorium complicatum,"² and (2) the modification of the statements which give or seem to give the final outcome of the battle—Geoffrey's version is either better than the others from an artistic point of view or else more politic.³

Thus there seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that Ordericus did what we should expect, namely, for the most part followed closely enough the text of Geoffrey's independent edition of the prophecies,⁴ which, again as we should expect, must have been more nearly like Nennius than is Geoffrey's later version; so that Geoffrey must have made

¹ Bk. vi, ch. 19, lines 8 ff., of San Marte's edition.

² Cf. Ward, p. 207.

³ To indicate the other agreements and differences between the respective accounts seems not worth while, since it would require the quotation of all three entire, and the further variations are not individually significant.

⁴ Merely adding to Nennius' allegorical explanations one as to the meaning of the "vasa" (which, however, may have been made by Geoffrey in his original version) and introducing the change stated below (note, p. 467).

alterations when he came to insert the prophecies in the *Historia*.¹

I am not aware that any one but Le Prévost has called attention to a sentence in this passage of Ordericus which sets the later limit for the publication of the independent

¹ Mention ought to be made of one somewhat puzzling point in Ordericus' account. At the end of his excerpt from the prophecies, he says that those will easily be able to interpret Merlin's words who are familiar with history and know what things happened to Hengist and Catigern, Pascent and Arthur, Adelbert and Edwin, etc. All these names, with those which follow, Ordericus might easily have taken from Bede and Nennius, except that of Pascent; but the latter is not noticed by Bede nor made sufficiently prominent either by Nennius (sec. 48) or by Geoffrey in his *Historia* (see index to San Marte's edition) to explain why he should be mentioned with Arthur; and Ordericus' choice of names seems to have no particular relation with the prophecies. It is just possible, though I think not probable, that the introduction which (as Ward suggests) Geoffrey must certainly have furnished to the independent edition of the prophecies, may have had more to say of Pascent than the *Historia* has.

Here I may add another to the explanations which Ward suggested for Ordericus' change (I assume that it was made by Ordericus) in the allegorical significance of the dragons, by which he inappropriately makes the red typify the Saxons and the white the Britons, instead of the reverse. Ordericus, unlike Nennius (who is not altogether clear, though he pretty certainly means the same as Ordericus), but very possibly following the original statement of Geoffrey (which may have been incautiously patriotic and perhaps intended to be still prophetic in the twelfth century), says categorically that the red dragon defeated the other; and of course that would seem to anyone but a Welshman to be historically true only if the red was equated with the Saxons. So Ordericus may have made the change for that reason. (Ordericus says: "Tandem rubeus vicit, et album usque ad marginem stagni fugavit." Nennius: "Tandem infirmior videbatur vermibus rufus, et postea fortior albo fuit et extra finem tentorii expulit; tunc alter alterum secutus trans stagnum est, et tentorium evanuit." Geoffrey in the *Historia*: "Praevalebat autem albus draco, rubeumque usque ad lacus extremitatem fugabat. At ille . . . impetum fecit in album, ipsumque retro ire coëgit. Ipsi ergo in hunc modum pugnantibus, praecepit rex"—and here Geoffrey passes to the prophecies.) Possibly also the idea of the fantastic ecclesiastical explanation which Ordericus gives immediately after for the meaning of the whiteness of the Britons, occurred to his mind before he made the change in colors.

edition of the prophecies.¹ The last of the princes whom Ordericus mentions as furnishing proof of the inspiration of Merlin's prophecies are Henry and Griffith (Henry I. of England and Gruffydd ab Cynan of Wales), "qui," Ordericus goes on, "dubia sub sorte adhuc imminetia praestolantur, quae sibi divinitus ineffabili dispositione ordinantur." Gruffydd lived until 1137,² but Henry died on December 1, 1135, so that Ordericus must have written the passage before the end of that year, and Geoffrey must have published the prophecies still earlier. If we could assume that the dedication to Stephen and Robert of Gloucester in the Bern ms., which dedication cannot have been written before April, 1136,³ is earlier than that addressed to Gloucester alone which is found in all the other mss., we should thus have another indication that the prophecies were published before the *Historia* as a whole; but there is no real proof that the usual dedication was not the earlier⁴ and that of the Bern ms. temporarily substituted for it sometime between April, 1136, and the spring of 1137 (or possibly May, 1138).

The most reasonable theory about the composition of Geoffrey's *Historia* seems to me, therefore, to be as follows: Somewhere about 1135 Geoffrey was engaged on the work when, as he says, Bishop Alexander and others persuaded him to stop and publish the prophecies of Merlin; which he did, evidently not much later than about the middle of 1135.⁵ He naturally provided the prophecies with a setting, which

¹ Le Prévost's general theory (see his edition of Ordericus, vol. iv, pp. 487, note 2, 491, note 3, and 493, note 4) of the relation of Ordericus' account of the prophecies with Geoffrey's was overthrown by Ward (pp. 208-9), and his discussion appears to have been neglected in consequence.

² Rhys and Jones, *Welsh People*, p. 307.

³ See Madden in *Archæological Journal*, xv, 299-312, followed by Ward, p. 213, and by Jones, p. 16.

⁴ Madden points out some reasons for supposing that the usual dedication was at least written earlier.

⁵ And perhaps not much earlier, since there is no reason to suppose that he long delayed putting forth the *Historia* after the appearance of the prophecies, and no proof that it was published before 1136.

treated at least of the story of the dragon fight at Vortiger's tower (adapted from Nennius). After this he went on and completed the *Historia*, into which he incorporated the prophecies with some changes in the setting. Unless the Stephen-Gloucestre dedication of the Bern MS. was the first to be used, he temporarily substituted it for the other sometime in 1136-8. At any rate, it cannot have been long in circulation before he permanently replaced it by the other. There is no proof that he ever made any regular revision of the *Historia*, and the variations in the MSS. may well be due to scribes.

II.

THE STORY OF BELINUS AND BRENNIUS.

For a long time¹ it has been well understood that Geoffrey's *Historia* is very largely a compilation,—that he put it together out of material furnished by various historians, traditions, and other sources; in fact, out of pretty much everything that he knew and could conveniently use.² It is evident also that Geoffrey exhibited great originality and brilliancy in the com-

¹ Especially since the publication of San Marte's edition of the *Historia*, in 1854. See also, for example: Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 118, etc., and *passim* in Hibbert *Lectures on Celtic Heathendom and Studies in the Arthurian Legend*; Madden in notes to his edition of Layamon; Bieling, *Zu den Sagen von Gog und Magog*, Berlin, 1882; Bugge, *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*, I, 185-8 (German trans. by Brenner, *Studien über die Entstehung der nord. Götter- u. Heldensagen*, pp. 192-6); Sayce in *Y Cymmrodor*, x, 207-221; F. Lot, *Rom.*, xxvii, 1-54; Schofield in an article on Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* in the current volume of *Publications of Mod. Lang. Assoc.* (I do not mean to imply that I accept all the theories set forth in these discussions).

² I expect to discuss rather fully Geoffrey's sources and method for a part of his work in a treatment of the "Arthurian Material in the English Chronicles." I may note here an oversight of Heeger in his monograph, *Die Trojanersage der Britten*, pp. 66 ff., where, in suggesting that Geoffrey took ideas for his account of Brutus' wars in Greece (bk. i) from the events of the struggle between Stephen and Matilda, he forgot that the events happened after the publication of the *Historia*.

bination and application of these materials. One of the best illustrations of these facts is afforded by his account of Belinus and Brennius (iii, 1-10).

The first glance shows the connection of these figures with the Belis and Brans of Aryan and Celtic mythology and tradition,¹ and the Brennus made known to us by the Roman historians. San Marte, moreover, suggested a plausible explanation for the procedure of Geoffrey (or of tradition before him) in representing Belinus and Brennius as brothers and associating them together in the conquest of Rome on the basis of a passage in Livy, while the fact of the division of their army into two parts and the subsequent course of Geoffrey's narrative naturally remind one of the much later campaign of the Cimbri and Teutones. All this, however, does not account for Geoffrey's story of the brothers' early wars against each other for the possession of Britain. Comparison makes it almost certain that for that story Geoffrey drew from the actual history of the relations between Harold and Tostig, the sons of the Saxon Earl Godwin.

The substance of what Geoffrey says is this: that on the death of the king their father, Belinus and Brennius fought for the island, but at last divided it, Brennius, the younger, receiving Northumbria, and Belinus the southern part, with the supremacy. Later, on the advice of his counsellors, Brennius determined to renew hostilities, went to Norway, and got the help of its king. After a love episode, he made his way to Britain with an army, was defeated by Belinus—who, hearing of Brennius' proceedings, had already seized his territory—and escaped to Gaul. Becoming king of the Allobroges, he engaged in another expedition against Britain, and here the parallel ceases.

The story of the historical Harold and Tostig is as follows: Their father was not king, but he was almost

¹ Cf. on this and the following points San Marte's edition of Geoffrey's *Historia*, pp. 232-242. Here cf. also Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 90, 238, 245, 274, 666.

more than a subject, and after his death Harold practically ruled England; Tostig, younger than Harold, was Earl of Northumbria. They were both turbulent characters enough, and according to a report which, though doubtless false,¹ was current in Geoffrey's time,² Tostig early committed hostile acts against Harold, which led to a feud between them. In consequence of Tostig's cruelties, his people rose against him; Harold, going to restore order, finally abetted their act in deposing him, and Tostig fled to Flanders. This was in 1065. The next year, after Harold had assumed the crown, Tostig resolved on war, and came with a fleet to the Humber. Driven away by Earl Edwin, he proceeded to Scotland, where he found King Harold of Norway. With him he made alliance, and together they invaded England, where, after defeating Edwin and Morcar, they were overthrown and slain by Harold at Stamford Bridge.

The resemblance of this series of events to Geoffrey's narrative is still closer, in some respects, if one follows the version of Ordericus Vitalis,³ which represents all the trouble between Harold and Tostig as occurring after the former had become king, and says that it was in consequence of a determination on Tostig's part to fight Harold that the latter deprived him of his earldom.

Of course, in any form, the history does not fit Geoffrey's tale with absolute exactness. Geoffrey, for instance, makes the flight of Brennius to the continent later than his union with the king of Norway. But the important features, though differently arranged, are for the most part the same in both cases—the quarrel between the brothers; the location of the younger, who was not king, in Northumbria; his alliance with the Norwegian monarch, invasions of England

¹ So Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, note gg, 2d edition, pp. 652 ff., also 379.

² Represented, for example, by Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia*, vi, 25, Rolls ed., Arnold, p. 197. For the history see also Wm. Malmes., ii, 200, and *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ann. 1065 and 1066.

³ Bk. iii, chaps. 11 and 14, written in 1123, according to Delisle's *Notice* in Le Prévost's edition of Ordericus, vol. v, pp. xlvi and xlviii.

(of which Tostig, like Geoffrey's Brennius, practically made two), and flight across the channel.¹ It is hardly possible that Geoffrey should have written his story only seventy years after the occurrence of a series of events so similar without having it in mind. As to the differences, Geoffrey, being a clever literary artist, was bound to make some changes, and he had, also, to connect this narrative with that of the brothers' continental campaign.

It looks also as if Geoffrey were influenced more indirectly by another detail of the history; for his account of the attack of Guichtlacus, King of Denmark, on Brennius, when the latter is going to fight Belinus, reminds one strongly, *mutatis personis*, of the attack of Tostig and the Norwegian Harold on Harold of England when the latter was in danger from William of Normandy. It is as if Geoffrey were economical of his materials and worked in all of the original that he could, in one way or another.²

¹ It ought to be noted that a few chapters earlier Geoffrey had already given a brief outline sketch of some of the main features of the story of Belinus and Brennius, applying it to Cunedagius and Marganus, who are represented as cousins (ii, 15, lines 13-25). Here we have the division of the kingdom, the stirring up of the younger (who again has Northumbria) by counsellors, his attack, flight, and, in this case, death. But this is only one of a considerable number of parallelisms which may be observed between various incidents in Geoffrey's history. Compare, for example, the stories of the two Leirs (bk. ii, chaps. 9 and 11); Belinus' gate (iii, 10) and Cadwallo's brazen equestrian statue (xii, 13) with the story (adopted from Nennius, 44) of the burial of Vortimer's bones; the mediation of Genuissa (iv, 16) with that of Conwenna (iii, 7); the descent of both Guanhumara (ix, 9, 11) and the mother of Ambrosius and Uther (vi, 5) "ex nobili Romanorum genere"; the disposal by assassination (books vi and viii) of Constantinus, Constans, Vortimer, Aurelius, and Uther, who are all successive, except that Vortiger's reign intervenes, while Geoffrey seldom employs assassination in other parts of his history.

² Very likely Geoffrey made use elsewhere of a part of the story of Harold and Tostig, as the suggestion for the invasion of Britain by King Humber (ii, 1 and 2), who landed and was defeated on the river which therefore, says Geoffrey, bears his name. This seems the more likely because Henry of Huntingdon emphasizes the fact that Tostig's army was driven across the Humber, while Geoffrey says that many of the Hunnish king's men were drowned in it.

It is quite possible that in assigning the cause of Brennius' renewal of hostilities against Belinus, Geoffrey was influenced by an historical fact of a few years after Harold's time; for the courtiers of Prince Robert of Normandy are said¹ to have stirred him up to rebel against his father on the same pretext which Geoffrey ascribes to those of Brennius, namely, that the subjection in which he was kept was unworthy of him.

But Geoffrey's narrative seems to be still more composite. For San Marte has pointed out² that in the love episode of Brennius it presents similarities with the stories of the *Wilkinasaga* and of Hilda and Gudrun, and that Guichtlacus is a figure from Northern history and tradition. Moreover, the remark that Brennius as ruler of the Allobroges arranged with the Gauls for unmolested passage in his expedition against Britain, reminds one of what Cæsar says³ of the Helvetii,—that they expected either to persuade or to compel the Allobroges to the same passive assistance.⁴

If the hypotheses above presented are well-founded, in Geoffrey's narrative of Belinus and Brennius he has brought together (though perhaps, to be sure, with some help from antecedent traditions) motives or suggestions from: two ancient figures of Celtic mythology, the accounts of two critical periods in Roman history, another well-known event as described by a Roman historian, a most dramatic story from English history of the century before his own, a minor event from English history of a few years later, and very likely two or three Teutonic sagas.

It is hardly necessary to add that one who admits the presence of all or many of these elements need not hold that

¹ So Ordericus Vitalis, v, 10, ed. Le Prévost, vol. II, p. 377. The date of this book is 1127, according to Delisle in *Notice*, vol. v, pp. xlvi, xlviii.

² Pp. 232-3.

³ B. G., i, 6.

⁴ Geoffrey's account, also, of the hanging of the Roman hostages in revenge for the faithlessness of their parents (chap. 9) was evidently suggested by actual events of the same kind, with many of which he must have been familiar.

Geoffrey selected (or even used) them all by a conscious process. Some of them had doubtless passed into his general stock of ideas, as is true of plots and situations in the case of every reader and writer, so that he drew upon them spontaneously without any very definite thought of their source.¹

ROBERT HUNTINGTON FLETCHER.

July, 1901.

¹I may add that this section on Belinus and Brennius contains an instance which San Marte overlooked of Geoffrey's borrowing from Gildas, viz.: iii, 10, 20, "quantam nec retro aetas nec subsequens consecuta fuisse perhibetur." Cf. Gildas, 21.

XVI.—THE BOOK OF THE COURTYER:

A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF BENEDICK AND BEATRICE.

"The best book that ever was written upon good breeding, *Il Cortegiano*, by Castiglione, grew up at the little Court of Urbino, and you should read it," says Dr. Johnson to Boswell, of all places in the world, in the Isle of Skye, "roving among the Hebrides at sixty." But when, in the Life of Addison, we find the *Courtyer* classed with *Galateo*, and compared with the social essays of the *Spectator* and the *Tatler*, it becomes clear that the Great Cham was so ignorant of the law he was laying down in this instance, that he took *Il Cortegiano* for a courtesy-book, a book of etiquette:—

"To teach the minuter decencies and inferior duties, to regulate the practice of daily conversation, to correct those depravities which are rather ridiculous than criminal, to remove those grievances which, if they produce no lasting calamities, impress hourly vexation, was first attempted by Casa in his book of manners, and Castiglione in the *Courtier*." (Works, VII, 428, *Addison*.)

William Michael Rossetti, writing of Italian Courtesy-Books for the Early English Text Society, enumerates ten or a dozen such books, ranging from the *Tesoretto* of Brunetto Latini, in 1265, the year of Dante's birth, to Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo*, of about 1550. He includes *Il Cortegiano*, but calls attention to the fact that it contains but one reference, and that an incidental one, to what Dr. Johnson calls "the minuter decencies" of life. It is among the facetiae, and recalls to some of those who had been present an incident that happened at the dinner-table of Federico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua. It is precisely because *Il Cortegiano* is not a mere courtesy-book that it has borne so well the judg-

ment of time, and become the best book on manners that ever was written.

For several years I have carefully kept account of all the editions and reprints of *Il Cortegiano* that I have met with, and so far I have noted¹ 142 impressions, in six languages. Appearing at Venice, in 1528, *Il Cortegiano* was first translated into French nine years later by Jacques Colin, secretary to Francis I, with a commendatory epistle to Mellin de Saint-Gelais. It was turned into Spanish, in 1534, by Juan Boscán Almogaver at the instance of his fellow-poet, Garcilaso de la Vega, and into German, by Lorenz Kratzer, in 1565-6. It 'became an Englishman,' in 1561, at the hands of Thomas Hoby, who, as Sir Thomas Hoby, died Elizabeth's ambassador to France. An Elizabethan Latin translation, by Bartholomew Clerke, ran to seven editions, while two different English translations appeared in the eighteenth century. Sir Thomas Hoby's version has been far and away the most enduring Elizabethan translation from the Italian; a reprint of it, appropriately edited by Walter Raleigh, is one of the *Tudor Translations* of last year. Hoby's English limps behind the courtly grace of the Italian, and it is at times inaccurate, but it is throughout sympathetic, and is on the whole an excellent piece of work. In my own case, I find I get the feeling of Castiglione best, if I quote from Hoby who lacked but a few years of being his contemporary, than if I try to put the sixteenth century Italian into my nineteenth century English.

Somewhat of the unique excellence of *Il Cortegiano* is due to the fact that it is the work of a life, practically the sole 'heir of the author's invention.' Whatever Baldassare Castiglione had known, and experienced, and thought, and felt, he set down, refined and philosophised, in his book. Indeed, a criticism of his own time was that he had fashioned

¹For the latest information on this point, Oct. 2, 1901, I am indebted to Mr. Leonard E. Opdycke, who will publish a complete bibliography of *Il Cortegiano*, in his new English translation, now going through the De Vinne Press, for Charles Scribner's Sons.

himself in his *Courtyer*, nor did he wholly deny the charge, replying with dignity,—

“Unto these men I will not cleane deny that I have attempted all that my mynde is the Courtier shoulde have knowleage in. And I thinke who so hath not the knowleage of the thinges intreated upon in this booke, how learned so ever he be, he can full il write them.” When Castiglione died, as Apostolic Nuncio of Pope Clement VII. to Charles V., the Emperor is reported to have said, “I tell you one of the finest gentlemen in the world is dead.” The biography of Castiglione has then a two-fold interest; it reveals *Il Cortegiano* in the making, and it shows the aesthetic temperament allowing the creature of its imagining to control the practical conduct of life.

Baldassare Castiglione was born at Casatico, in the Mantuan territory, in 1478. His father, Cristoforo, Count of Castiglione, was captain of a troop in the service of the Marquis of Mantua; his mother, Luigia Gonzaga, was cousin to the Marquis and to his sister, that Elizabetta Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino, whose praises are so devotedly chanted in *Il Cortegiano*. His early education was conducted by his mother, who was the intimate friend of Isabella d’Este, Marchioness of Mantua, one of the most learned and brilliant women of the Renaissance. Later he was sent to the Court of Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, called Il Moro, whose wife, the beautiful Beatrice d’Este, was Isabella’s sister, and it was here, with a diplomatic career in view, that he acquired his two-sided education. He became a learned soldier, and a cultivated man of the world. The Moro was a splendid patron of art, and we can fancy the clever boy, sensitive to the beauty of the arts, going of a morning to Santa Maria delle Grazie to talk with Leonardo while he was slowly painting the Last Supper, “for,” says Matteo Bandello, who was then a novice in the Dominican convent of Santa Maria, “this excellent painter always liked to hear people give their opinions freely on his pictures.” Doubtless the young

courtier was more interested in the artist's great equestrian statue of Duke Francesco Sforza, which he was modelling in the Corte Vecchia from drawings of the big jennet and Sicilian horse of Messer Galeazzo Sanseverino, mentioned in Book I. of the *Courtyer* as master of horse to the French king. Messer Galeazzo's brother, Gaspare, known by his sobriquet of Captain Fracassa, was as famous for his rough manners as Galeazzo was the model of chivalric graces. He is supposed to be the nameless warrior of Book I, who rudely repulsed Caterina Sforza's invitation to join in dance and song, because war was his profession. Caterina wittily replied, that since no war was stirring, nor the Milanese Court a proper field for war, she thought Messer Capitano might well be besmeared and set up with other implements of war in an armory, lest, she adds, "you waxe more rustier than you are." At Milan Castiglione also met Bramante, who was building the matchless cupola over the apse of Santa Maria at the same time that Leonardo was painting the *Cenacolo* in the Refectory. Cristoforo Romano, one of the best artists whom the Duke of Milan had in his employ, was then working on the *Certosa*, the great Carthusian church and monastery at Pavia, which Il Moro called the jewel of his crown. Cristoforo is that artist of the *Courtyer*, who in the First Book defends sculpture as superior to painting, not without a touch of human nature withal,—

"I beleave verelye," he says to the Count of Canossa, "you thynke not as ye speake, and all this do you for your Raphaelles sake."

With the entry of Louis XII. into Milan, in October, 1499, the bright youth of Baldassare Castiglione was over. The French king entered the city in a triumphal procession, the dukes of Ferrara and Savoy riding beside him, Cardinals della Rovere and d'Amboise in front, and a goodly array of princes, nobles, and ambassadors following in his train. Castiglione was one of these, in the suite of his kinsman, the Marquis of Mantua. When the pageant was all over, he sat

down and wrote a letter to his mother, describing with boyish enthusiasm the pomp and splendor of the scenes he had witnessed, and the coming man is felt in his regret for the change that had come to the Castello. Once those halls and courts had been the haunt of rare intellects and great artists; now they were occupied by the rude French soldiery who made a target of the great horse on which Leonardo had spent the best years of his life. In Book I. Castiglione tells us how the Frenchmen held learning in small esteem, in Hoby's racy Elizabethan, "all learned men they count verie rascalles, and they think it a great vilany whan any one of them is called a clarke."

The fall of Milan precipitated Castiglione into that turmoil of Italian politics, which, except for the brief respite of three and a half years at the Court of Urbino, he was to rise with and lie down with for the rest of his life. The Courtyer's academic education was ended; now he became an actor in a great and troubled drama, in which the Pope, the Emperor, the King of France, Venice, Florence, Naples, and the smaller Italian states in turn occupy the stage. Castiglione first entered the service of his kinsman, Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, and passed thence to the Court of Giudobaldo, Duke of Urbino, urged to the step in the first instance by the natural desire to be with his cousin and friend, Cesare Gonzaga, who is one of the young lords of the *Courtyer*. *Il Cortegiano* is the story of his calm and happy life at Urbino, which lasted from September, 1504, to the death of Duke Giudobaldo in April, 1508.

At Urbino Castiglione occupied himself partly with letters, partly with diplomacy. He wrote elegant verse in Latin elegiacs, and composed an eclogue, *Tirsi*, for the entertainment of the Court. He was frequently sent on diplomatic missions, once to King Louis XII., of France, at Milan, and once, in the autumn of 1506, to the English Court, whence he carried back from Henry VII. the Order of the Garter for his master, Duke Giudobaldo, and received for himself

"a carcanet of price." This visit to England is alluded to twice in the *Courtyer*: in Book I. he feigns that he was not present at the *conversazioni* he reports, for the reason that he was at the time absent in England; in Book IV. he represents himself as writing from England what seems rather extravagant praise of Henry VIII. as Prince of Wales, 'in this prince nature seemed trying to outdo herself,' "planting in one body alone so many excellent vertues, as were sufficient to decke out infinit."

Either at Urbino, or subsequently in Rome, representing the Duke at the papal Court of Leo X., Castiglione probably came to know intimately most of the personages of the *Courtyer*. In 1505, Pietro Bembo had brought out his book of dialogues on the miseries and joys of lovers, entitled *Gli Asolani*, and had dedicated it to Lucrezia Borgia. The third book of *Gli Asolani* sets forth Bembo's ideas on Platonic love, and suggested to Castiglione his magnificent praise of ideal love at the close of the Fourth Book of the *Courtyer*. Another ecclesiastic at Urbino was Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, whose gay comedy, *Calandra*, was, like *Tirsi*, written for the delectation of the Court. This play of mistaken identities is the Italian double of the *Comedy of Errors*, both tracing to the *Menaechmi* of Plautus. Very fittingly Bibbiena conducts the conversation of the second evening on wit and humor.

After the death of Giuliano de Medici, the Lord Julian of the *Courtyer*, who was a good friend to the house of Urbino, his brother, Pope Leo X., seized upon the duchy of Urbino for his nephew Lorenzo, and Castiglione's ministry in Rome came to an abrupt end. The Duke of Urbino fled to Mantua, whence Castiglione followed, to enter into the service of Federico Gonzaga, son and successor to his early master. The young Marquis sent him back to Rome to represent Mantua at the Courts of Adrian VI. and Clement VII. During the closing years of Castiglione's life Charles V. and Francis I. were playing their great game of chess for

the mastery of Europe. Pope Clement VII., as a mere bishop, found himself a less important piece than he liked, so he borrowed Castiglione from the Marquis of Mantua, and sent him on an embassy to the Emperor at Madrid, characteristically entrusting him with secret messages to the French king, at Pavia, on the way. At Pavia, in 1525, 'all was lost save honor,' and the sack of Rome followed in 1527. Castiglione fell between two stools; he was duped by the wily Emperor and discredited with the Pope. He survived his ill fortune a little more than a year, and died, at Toledo, on February 7, 1529. He was buried in the chapel of the Madonna delle Grazie at Mantua, where Giulio Romano built his monument and Bembo inscribed it. Raphael painted at least two portraits of Baldassare Castiglione: one of them is in the Louvre; the other, a full length portrait, appears in one of the frescoes in the Stanze of the Vatican. It is the picture of an Italian nobleman of distinguished bearing, who looks out upon the world with grave, clear eyes, and an open, tranquil countenance.

Il Cortegiano revolved in Castiglione's mind just twenty years. His own statement is that he made the first rough sketch of it, "in a few days," in 1508, "whyle the savour of the vertues of Duke Giudobaldo was fresh in my mynde, and the great delite I took in those yeeres in the loving companie of so excellent Personages as then were in the Court of Urbin." The book was published, at Venice, in 1528, coming to light at last in what its author considered an imperfect state, through a misunderstanding with Vittoria Colonna. What further perfections Castiglione might have added to *Il Cortegiano*, it is impossible to say; what he has left us is one of those books, not too numerous in any language, in which the style suits the subject. It is a large subject, a subject of infinite variety,—the education of a gentleman,—treated in a broad, philosophical, eminently human way, and written in the choicest Italian prose. Taking his literary form from the dialogues of Plato and the

De Oratore of Cicero, Castiglione added to it the aesthetic social setting of the Renaissance. The result is a running dialogue, in narrative form, dramatically interspersed with gay stories, delicate interruptions, combats of wit, repartee, and serious monologues, which at times, as in the passages on music and painting, rise to lyrical elevation of feeling. The author professes to give an account of certain *conversazioni*, rightly so called, which were held at the Court of Urbino during the month of March, 1507. The interlocutors were ladies and gentlemen who were then enjoying the hospitality of the Duke and Duchess. Among these personages the chief are Giuliano de' Medici, called the Magnifico, son of Lorenzo de' Medici, and brother to Pope Leo X.; Ottaviano Fregoso, afterwards the wise, but unfortunate, Doge of Genoa who died in prison at Ischia; his brother, Messer Federico Fregoso, later titular Archbishop of Salerno; Count Lodovico of Canossa, Bishop of Bayeux (1520); Pietro Bembo, secretary to Pope Leo X., and cardinal, and author of *Gli Asolani*; Bernardo da Bibbiena, cardinal, and author of *Calandra*; Aretino, called here l'Unico Aretino; and Giovan Cristoforo Romano, the sculptor. The ladies who take leading parts are the Duchess of Urbino, born Elizabetta Gonzaga, and the Lady Emilia Pia, Countess of Montefeltro. The conversations continue through four successive evenings, and are conducted with great decorum, under the personal oversight of the Duchess. She designates a different gentleman to conduct the debate each evening, and deposes her own authority in matters of detail to the Lady Emilia Pia. The device of a deputy mistress of ceremonies, so far as I know, is Castiglione's own, and it adds greatly to the success of his dialogue. The Lady Emilia is a charming woman, who possesses at once quick intelligence, good judgment, and a lively wit. If the talk becomes discursive, it is her duty to bring it back to the point; if personalities enter into it, her womanly instinct interposes to keep the peace; if it grows dull, a bright flash

of wit enlivens the situation. In short, the Lady Emilia keeps the conversation well in hand, and with that exquisite social tact which, it is said, only women acquire, she plays off one person against another, so as to bring out the best each has to offer.

The subject, "a good Courtyer, specifying all suche conditions and particuler qualities, as of necessitie must be in hym that deserveth this name," is that proposed by Messer Federico Fregoso. It is discussed under the general heads, the qualifications of a Courtyer and their use, the qualifications of a Court lady, and the end of a Courtyer, especially in his relations to his prince.

It is a mixed type of manners that Castiglione describes, in that the education of letters of the Renaissance is engrafted upon the military discipline of feudal times. "Armes," he says, is "the Courtyer's chiefe profession"; and again, "I hould opinioun that it is not so necessary for any man to be learned, as it is for a man of war." As to other matters, the Courtyer ought to be well born, for the philosophical reason that good birth is esteemed by all men, and is therefore, in a worldly sense, a natural vantage ground. Following the chivalric ideal, great stress is put upon the training of the body, and particularly on horsemanship; the Courtyer must be "a perfecte horseman for everye saddle." The pattern of knighthood in all athletic exercises whom Castiglione had before his eyes was Galeazzo Sanseverino, son-in-law to the Moro. As a rider and joustier Galeazzo was without rival. Strong, active, graceful, it is said that in complete armor he could mount a horse at full gallop, and wherever he entered the lists, at Milan, or Venice, or Ferrara, or Urbino, he invariably came off victor. He was captain of horse for the Duke of Milan, and for two French kings, and fell, gallantly leading his troop, at Pavia.

In the education of letters, the Courtyer should be able to speak and write well, imitating the diction of the best writers, of whom, in the vulgar tongue, Boccaccio and Petrarch are

praised as models, but are not to be slavishly followed. Further, the perfect Courtyer ought to be more than moderately instructed in polite letters, he should "have not only the understandinge of the Latin tunge, but also of the Greeke, because of the many and sundrye thinges that with greate excellencye are written in it." So in the other arts of expression, the Courtyer ought to know music, to be able to sing at sight and to play on various instruments; he ought also to have a practical knowledge of drawing and painting. Better even than singing at sight is singing solo to the lute, and most especially thus singing in recitative, "for it addeth to the wordes suche a grace and strength, that it is a great wonder." As to grace and force of expression, Castiglione speaks well of gesturing; he commends those story-tellers who 'relate and express so pleasantly something which may have happened to them, or which they have seen or heard, that with gestures and words they set it before your eyes, and make you almost lay your hand upon it.' Grace, Castiglione writes of, like a past master in the art. There is a grace beyond the reach of art in "that pure and amiable simplicity which is so agreeable to the minds of men." And again, "who so hath grace, findeth grace." It is a truism to say that courtesy is a matter of feeling; good manners express good thoughts. So, with Castiglione whose ethical idea is Aristotelian, grace passes into virtue, the most artistic expression of all sorts is that of freedom under the law. It is difficult to reconcile the lofty moral tone of *Il Cortegiano* with the era of pagan popes in which it first saw the light; it is, however, only fair to the penetration of those popes to say that they recognized the difference between it and themselves, and promptly put the book in the Index Expurgatorius. Castiglione was a distinguished diplomat of Machiavelli's own time, and he says,—“To purchase favour at great mens handes, there is no better waye then to deserve it.” The first interest of a prince, according to Machiavelli, is to find out the truth. The chief end of the Courtyer, says

Castiglione, is to tell it. "I woulde not lyke that oure Courtyer shulde at anye tyme use anye deceyte."

A brave man, a cultivated man, a good man, such is the portrait of the Courtyer, painted by the personal friend of Raphael, and Raphaelesque in manner. The outlines are bold and free, the filling in is done with all that clearness of vision, love of detail, and positiveness that differentiates the Italians of the Renaissance from the men of every other race and time. The skill with which the lights and shadows of the portrait, the literary perspective of the dialogue, is managed, is beyond praise; the longest digressions occur on different evenings, that on language on the first evening, on facetiae, on the second, while Bembo's rhapsody on Platonic love closes the book. As to the vexed question of the ancients or the moderns in speech, we find Castiglione writing his exquisite Italian on the sound principle that those words are the best which express the thought in the clearest way, the simplest language is the most passionate. In other words, style is personality; if you have anything worth saying, and if you yourself are of worth, you can say it to be understood, and remembered, of men.

Bibbiena's discourse on facetiae is a storehouse of good things—good stories, good epigrams, good criticism. This part of *Il Cortegiano* is modelled closely on the second book of Cicero's *De Oratore*. Some of the stories even are Cicero's, but most of them are of Castiglione's own time. The anecdotes savor more of wit than of humor, the trick of incongruity is rather intellectual than physical; indeed, it is expressly laid down that horseplay is unbecoming in a gentleman. Nor, barring the plainer speech of earlier times, are the facetiae indelicate. The Italian expurgated editions show that the Church very likely indexed *Il Cortegiano* on account of the stories told at the expense of ecclesiastics, most of them by that "fellow of infinite jest," Cardinal Bibbiena himself. Many jests deal with ninnies, as that of the simple citizen of Florence, who, when the exchequer

was empty, proposed to replenish it, either by doubling the number of gates at which toll could be charged, or by establishing two additional mints, and coining money day and night, and the last he thought the speedier means of growing rich. One of the best stories is told of a Lucchese merchant, who went into Poland to buy sables. Coming to the river Borysthenes (Dnieper), his Polish servants found themselves unable to understand the Muscovite fur-traders on the other side, because, it is alleged, the weather was so cold that their words froze in the air before they got across. So the Poles built a fire on the ice in the middle of the river, and in about an hour, the Muscovite words thawed out, and came down, "making a noise as doeth the snow from the mountaignes in May." Note with what apparent unconsciousness, but with what real art, the pretty phrase, 'making a noise as doeth the snow from the mountaignes in May' is set in this funny story. All Castiglione's figures are simple, some of them are exquisitely graceful. Speaking of cultivating grace, he says, "as the bee in the green meadow buzzes about choosing out flowers, so shall the Courtyer seek grace from every one that has it." So reason, overcome by desire, is finely described in the figure of a ship driven before the storm. Temperance followeth reason, "like a tender lambe that renneth, standeth and goith alwaies by the ewes side, and moveth only as he seeth her do." A picturesque turn of thought introduces the conversation on wit and humor. The Lady Emilia excuses Messer Federico Fregoso for a time from discussing the qualifications of the Courtyer, while the company listens to Bernardo da Bibbiena on jests,—

"Madam," says Messer Federico, "I knowe not what I have lefte beehinde anie more, but lyke a travailer on the waye now weerie of the peinefulnessse of my longe journey at noone tide, I will reeste me in Messer Bernardes communication at the sowne of hys woordes, as it were under some faire tree that casteth a goodlye shadowe at the sweete roaringe of a plentifull and livelye springe."

It is impossible to speak too highly of the artistic setting of the four evenings' conversation, sparkling with every variety of graceful interlude, from grave to gay; now a pleasing metaphor, now a jest, a drollery, a skirmish of wit, a dramatic episode. The dedication, to the Bishop of Viseo, chants a miserere for the Duchess of Urbino,—“But the thinge that should not be rehersed wythout teares, is, that the Dutchesse, she also is dead.” So the introduction to the Fourth Book bewails the death of three of the personages of the dialogue, all young men dying with the promise of life fresh upon them. Almost immediately the company assembles, and it is found that Ottoviano Fregoso, who is to lead the conversation, is a little late in arriving; to relieve the tedium of waiting two of the young men just spoken of engage two of the ladies in a dance.

Near the close of the First Book Cesare Gonzaga is talking of the beauty of women,—

“And then was hard a great scraping of feet in the floore with a cherme of loud speaking, and upon that every man tourninge him selfe about, saw at the Chambre doore appeare a light of torches, and by and by after entred the Lord Generall with a greate and noble traine, who was then retourned from accompaninge the Pope a peece of the waye.”

On the fourth evening Bembo's impassioned monologue on love and beauty held the company spellbound until dawn broke,—

“Whan the windowes then were opened on the side of the Palaice that hath his prospect toward the high top of Mount Catri, they saw alredie risen in the East a faire morninge like unto the coulour of roses, and all sterres voided, savinge onelye the sweete Governesse of the heaven, Venus, whiche keapeth the boundes of the ryght and the day, from whiche appeared to blowe a sweete blast, that filling the aer with a byting cold, begane to quicken the tunable notes of the prety birdes, emong the hushing woodes of the hilles at hande.

Wherupon they all, takinge their leave with reverence of the Dutchesse, departed toward their lodgings without torche, the light of day sufficing."

A striking excellence of Castiglione's style is its Dantesque quality of seeing clear and thinking straight. This enables him to pack his thought into those pithy sentences which abound throughout *Il Cortegiano*, and which translate with extraordinary precision into the plain Tudor prose of Hoby.

"Wisdom," says Castiglione, "consisteth in a certaine judgement to chouse well."

"But the seasoning of the whole muste bee discretion."

"He that can commaunde is alwayes obeyed."

"True pleasure is alwaies good, and true sorow, evell."

And above all, the admirable summing up of the duties of a Courtyer, "to speake and to do."

There is much evidence among the Elizabethans of the vogue of the Courtyer. Ascham, in the *Scholemaster*, advises young men to read Castiglione, instead of going to Italy to mar their manners. Marston (*Satires* and *The Malcontent*) refers to him ironically as "the absolute Castilio." Webster and Dekker quote him in *Westward Hoe*. Ben Jonson, speaking, in *Timber*, of style, observes that life is added to writing by resort to epigrams, witticisms, repartee, "such as are in the *Courtier*, and the second book of Cicero *De Oratore*." Just here we are confronted with the familiar crux, did Shakspeare know the Courtyer? Is it possible that the greatest of the Elizabethans, living through the time when translations from the Italian were "solde in every shop in London," was ignorant of one of the oldest and best and most popular of them?

One of the most familiar of Castiglione's stories, alluded to in one way or another by Peacham, Nash, Taylor the Water-Poet, Hall, and Ben Jonson, is that of the penurious farmer who made a corner in grain, and then hanged himself when the price of the commodity went down, instead of up. Prof. Walter Raleigh thinks the porter in *Macbeth* was thinking of this story when he said,—

“Here’s a farmer, that hanged himself on the expectation of plenty : come in time.”

He also suggests that Polonius’s advice to Laertes bears the ear-marks of the *Courtyer*, especially in the matter of dress.

George Wyndham (*Introduction to the Poems of Shakspeare*) considers Spenser’s *Hymne in Honour of Beautie* but a versifying of the Fourth Book of the *Courtyer*, and goes on to argue interestingly that Shakspeare must have taken, from this *Hymne*, and from the *Courtyer*, the Platonic philosophy of the *Sonnets*. Plato’s theory of Beauty, so eloquently expounded by Bembo, that the world and all that is in it, are but reflections of the Heavenly Beauty is expressed in a few lines in one of the poems of Michael Angelo :—

Lo, all the lovely things we find on earth,
 Resemble, for the soul that rightly sees,
 That source of bliss divine which gave us birth :
 Nor have we first-fruits or remembrances
 Of heaven elsewhere. Thus, loving loyally,
 I rise to God, and make death sweet, by thee.

Shakspeare, being Shakspeare, varies the Platonic theory. For him, the friend’s beauty is no longer the reflection of Heavenly Beauty, but, with overwhelming insistence, it displaces the Eternal Beauty, and becomes itself the substance of which all beautiful things are but shadows. He writes, in the Fifty-third Sonnet,

What is your substance, whereof are you made
 That millions of strange shadows on you tend ?

I agree with Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Raleigh that Shakspeare knew the *Courtyer*, and I would suggest as evidence of that fact that he found in it Benedick and Beatrice in the Lord Gaspare Pallavicino and the Lady Emilia Pia. Wherever Shakspeare lit upon the plot of *Much Ado About Nothing*, the remote source of it is Bandello’s twentieth *novella*,

How Signor Timbreo di Cardona became enamoured of Fenicia Lionata and of the various and unlooked for chances which befell before he took her to wife.

In this story there is no Benedick and no Beatrice, nor has any one as yet pointed out where in Italian literature Shakspeare found these two bright creatures, for they are plainly of Italian origin. Hero's story is sad enough, but it is not tragical, and it is rather commonplace; it does, however, furnish the shadows of a comedy as Shakspeare conceived comedy. Having decided upon his plot, meaning it for a main plot, I fancy the poet casting about for something bright to enliven it. And here at hand was a charming witty pair in a dramatic dialogue. All there was to do was to disguise the names of real persons, to make Beatrice Hero's cousin and give her Benedick for a lover. And with a fool or two, for Shakspeare dearly loved a fool, presto! a sparkling comedy fairly effervesces.

In the first place, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Shakspeare had read the *Courtyer*. It was a popular book, and popular precisely in that courtly set in which Shakspeare was fairly well established by 1600, the date of *Much Ado About Nothing*. Hoby's translation of *Il Cortegiano*, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio*, appeared first in 1561, and three subsequent editions came out during Shakspeare's life, two of them, the editions of 1577 and 1588, before *Much Ado*. The edition of 1588 was printed in three languages, in parallel columns, Italian, in Italics, French, in Roman, and English in black letter. Florio, in his *Second Frutes*, published in 1591, mentions "Castilion's Courtier and Guazzo his dialogues" as the two books most commonly read by those who wanted to know a little Italian. Sidney Lee, in his recent *Life of Shakspeare*, concludes that to Shakspeare's "small Latin and less Greek" must be added a little Italian. He must have been able to read the language at least well enough to follow the thread of a tale, for Portia's story as he tells it in the *Merchant of Venice* was accessible to him only in the Italian story-book, *Il Pecorone*, of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino. So that if he had John Wolfe's trilingual edition of *Il Cortegiano* among his books, I do not

believe he used it for the purpose of learning a little Italian. I am sure he was fascinated by the bright dialogue in the black letter English. Except in Lyly's plays and in what he had already done himself, there was no such dialogue in English. Leaving Lyly's artificial style out of account, it is no disparagement of Shakspeare and not overpraise of Castiglione, to say, that up to the time of *Much Ado* Shakspeare had done nothing in dialogue that can be compared to the freedom and ease and grace of the *conversazioni* of *Il Cortegiano*. The Italians, taking the dialogue as a literary form from the ancients, had cultivated it until they were masters of dramatic colloquy, not indeed in their plays; but precisely in such courtly conversations as "Castilion's Courtier and Guazzo his dialogues."

If Benedick and Beatrice are the Lord Gaspare Pallavicino and the Lady Emilia Pia, as I believe they are, there was absolutely nothing to do to the characters, for dramatic purposes, except to make them lovers, and there are indications even of that in the Courtier.

In the first scene of the first act of *Much Ado*, when Beatrice is quizzing the messenger about Benedick, Lionato says,

"You must not, sir, mistake my niece. There is a kind of merry war betwixt Signior Benedick and her: they never meet but there's a skirmish of wit between them."

The "merry war" between the Lady Emilia and the Lord Gaspare begins at once in the *Courtyer*:—

"So the daye after the Pope was departed, the companye beeing gathered to the accustomed place, after muche pleasant talke, the Dutchesse pleasure was that the Lady Emilia should beginne these pastimes: and she after a litle refusing of that charge, sayd in this maner: Syth it is your pleasure, Madam, I shall be she that must give the onsett in oure pastimes this night, bicause I ought not of reason disobey you, I thinke meete to propound 'a pastyme, whereof I suppose shall ensue little blame, and lesse travayle. And that shall be to have

every man, as nigh as he can, propounde a devyce not yet hearde of, then shall we chuse out such a one as shall be thought meete to be taken in hande in this compánye.

"And after she had thus spoken, she tourned her unto the Lord Gaspare Pallavicino, willynge him to propounde his: who immediatlye made answeare: "But first, Madam, you must beeginne to propound yours.

"Then saide the Lady Emilia: I have alreadye done. But your grace must commaunde him, Madam, to be obedient.

"Then the Dutchesse laughynge: To thintent, quoth she, every man shall obey you, I make you my deputy, and give unto you all mine authority.

"It is surely a great matter, aunswered the Lord Gaspar, that it is alwaies lawfull for women to have this privilege, to be exempt and free from paines taking, and truelye reason woulde we should in any wise knowe why"¹ (35).

Compare the Lady Emilia's turning first to the Lord Gaspare for his device, with Beatrice's opening speech, showing in what corner, for her, the wind sits,—

"I pray you, is Signior Montanto returned from the wars or no?" (i. 1).

So in the final skirmish of wit between them with which *Il Cortegiano* closes, the Lady Emilia, Beatrice-like, gets in the last word:—

"And as they were now passing out at the great chambre doore, the Lord Generall tourned hym to the Dutches, and said: Madam, to take up the variance beetweene the Lord Gaspar and the Lord Julian, (as to whether women could attain to the heavenly love or not,) we will assemble this night with the judge sooner than we did yesterdaye.

"The Lady Emilia answered: Upon condicion, that in case my Lord Gaspar wyll accuse women, and geve them, as his wont is, some false reporte, he wil also put us in

¹The quotations throughout refer to the pages of *The Book of The Courtier. With Introduction by Walter Raleigh.* London, 1900. (*The Tudor Translations.*)

suretye to stand to triall, for I reckon him a waveringe starter" (365).

When, in *Much Ado* (i. 1), Claudio questions Benedick about Hero, Benedick replies,—

"Do you question me, as an honest man should do, for my simple true judgment; or would you have me speak after my custom, as being a professed tyrant to their sex."

Let us consider the Lord Gaspare as 'a professed tyrant to the sex.'

"Nowe the Lord Gaspar Pallavicino answered here smilinge: You to confirme your judgement with reason, alleage unto me women's doinges, which for the most part are voide of al reason. . . .

. . . . "Here manie began and in maner all, to speake againste the Lord Gaspar, but the Dutchesse made them all to houlde their peace. Afterward she said smilinge: If the yll which you speake of women were not so farr wide from the truth, that in speakinge it, it hurteth and shameth rather the speaker then them, I would suffer you to be answered" (144).

When Bibbiena, at one of Lord Gaspar's taunts at women, refers to the Magnifico as 'in every place the protector of women,' the Lady Emilia says, smiling,

"Women neede no defendoure againste an accuser of so small authoritie. Therefore let the Lord Gaspar alone in this his froward opinion, risen more because he could never finde woman that was willynge to loke upon him, then for anye want that is in women" (179).

Compare this with Beatrice's (*Much Ado*, i. 1.)

Beat. "Is it possible disdain should die while she hath such meet food to feed on as Signior Benedick? Courtesy itself must convert to disdain, if you come in her presence.

Bene. "Then is courtesy a turncoat. But it is certain I am loved of all ladies, only you excepted: and I would I could find in my heart that I had not a hard heart; for, truly, I love none.

Beat. "A dear happiness to women : they would else have been troubled with a pernicious suitor."

Bernardo da Bibbiena observed that he did not know but that women endured patiently any sort of ill report, except that touching their honor.

"Then a greate parte of the women there, for that the Dutchesse had beckened to them so to doe, arrose upon their feete, and ran all laughyng toward the Lord Gaspar, as they wold have buffeted him and done as the wood women did to Orpheus, saing continually : Now shall we see whether we passe to be yll spoken of or no. . . .

"But the Lord Gaspar said : See I pray you where thei have not reason on their side, they will prevaile by plaine force, and so end the communication, gevinge us leave to depart with stripes" (204).

The scene suggests Benedick's (*Much Ado*, ii. 1.)

"She told me that I was the Prince's jester, and that I was duller than a great thaw ; huddling jest upon jest, with such impossible conveyance, upon me, that I stood like a man at a mark, with a whole army shooting at me."

At the close of the second book of the *Courtyer*, while they are choosing some one to lead the conversation on the Court lady, the Lady Emilia says,—

"Madam, I pray God it fall not to oure lott to give this enterprice to anye confederate with the Lord Gaspar, least he facion us for a gentilwoman of the Court, one that can do nought elles but looke to the kitchin and spinn" (206).

The Magnifico undertakes to fashion the Court lady, and does it so liberally, imagining such a bright, sweet, brave creature, possessing "the knowleage of all thinges in the world," together with "the vertues that so syldome times are seene in men," that the Lord Gaspar wonders why he will not have women to rule cities, to make laws, and to lead armies, while men stand spinning in the kitchen.

"The Lord Julian answered smiling : Perhaps this too were not amiss. Do you not know that Plato, which indeed

was not very friendly to women, giveth them the overseeing of cities?" (222).

The Lord Gaspar having asserted that women are a default of nature, the Magnifico argues that the *genus homo* includes both man and woman, and that therefore one sex alone cannot be an imperfection of nature, that Orpheus said that Jupiter was both male and female: "and it is read in Scripture that God facioned male and female to his likeness."

"I would not," said the Lord Gaspar, "we should entre into these subtill pointes, for these women will not understande us. . . . Yet sins we are entred into them, only this will I saye, that, as you know it is the opinion of most wise men, the man is likened to the Fourme, the woman to the Mattier: and therfore as the Fourme is perfecter than the Mattier, . . . so is the man much more perfect than the woman." . . .

Then the Lady Emilia, turning to the Lord Julian: "For love of God, quoth she, come once out of these your Mattiers and Fourmes and males and females, and speake so that you maye be understoode" (223).

To the Lord Julian's stories of noble women in ancient history, the Lord Gaspar cries: "Tushe, my Lord Julian, God woteth how these matters passed, for those times are so farr from us, that manye lyes may be toulde, and none there is that can reprove them" (244).

The "merry war" between Lady Emilia and Lord Gaspare is at its height in the Third Book, where the Magnifico is discussing the qualifications of the Court lady. But Gaspare, for all his chaff, is, like Benedick, eminently reasonable and practical, and so he is ready to admit that the Lord Julian "hath facioned this woman of the Palaice most excellent. And if perdee there be any suche to be found, I say she deserveth well to be esteamed equall with the Courtier" (271).

"The Lady Emilia answered: I will at all times be bounde to finde her, whan you finde the Courtier." The

repartee is of a piece with Beatrice's promise to eat all the enemy of Benedick's killing (i. 1).

The Lord Gaspar's whole attitude towards women, half in earnest, half banter, is quite in the vein of Benedick's gay, half serious mockery.

"That a woman was my mother, I thank her; that she brought me up, I likewise give her most humble thanks: but all women shall pardon me, because I will not do them the wrong to mistrust any, I will do myself the right to trust none" (i. 1).

That Lord Gaspare and Lady Emilia enjoy the sparring, and have a kindly feeling towards each other is evident.

In the Fourth Book when Lord Gaspare interrupts to fling an irrelevant jibe at women, the Lady Emilia checks him, smiling:

"It is not in the Covenaut that ye shoulde a freshe fall to speake yll of women" (321).

Compare the reproof with Beatrice's first direct speech to Benedick (*Much Ado*, i. 1).

"I wonder you will still be talking, Signior Benedick: nobody marks you."

At the close of Bembo's inspired lyric on Platonic love, the Lord Cesare Gonzaga, who is a simple, downright sort of person, says: (363).

"The way that leadeth to this happiness is so stiepe that I beleave it will be much a do to gete to it." (Note the little phrase 'much ado' here; did it, together with his poor plot, suggest to Shakspeare the title of his play?)

"The Lord Gaspar said: I beleave it be harde to gete up for men, but impossible for women.

"The Lady Emilia laughed and said: If ye fall so often to offende us, I promise you, ye shall be no more forgiven" (363).

So much for the play of the two characters, the one upon the other, which I think is strongly suggestive of Benedick and Beatrice.

It will be remembered that the scene of *Much Ado About Nothing* is laid in Messina, where Bandello puts it, and that Benedick is described as "a young Gentleman of Padua." The Lord Gaspare was of the noble and widely ramified family of the Pallavicini, who in the days of the republics shared with the Corregii the government of Parma. As a Lombard nobleman, Gaspare has a certain independence of character, a certain seriousness that gives weight and dignity to the conversations on the Courtyer. Probably the development of the dialogue depends more on him than on any one else, for he is not only always ready with inquiries, but he seems to pursue a subject furthest, as if he were bent on finding out all there was in it.

Speaking of love, in the Third Book, the Count of Canossa laughed, and said :

"But many times for overmuch love men committ great folies. . . .

"The Lord Cesar answered, smiling: Of good felowshippe let us not discoveroure owne oversightes.

"Yet we must discover them, answered the Lord Gaspar, that we maye knowe how to amende them" (283).

How like this is to Benedick's,

"Happy are they that hear their detractions, and can put them to mending" (*Much Ado*, ii. 3).

It is the seriousness underlying the character of Benedick that sets off his wit so finely. It is a more reflective kind of wit than Beatrice's, slower, more akin to wisdom. It is the young Lord Gaspare who says, "for knowlege commeth verye sylldome times beefore yeeres" (340).

Benedick's mind penetrates at once to the clue of the conspiracy against Hero,—

"The practice of it lives in John the Bastard,
Whose spirits toil in frame of villainies." (iv. 1.)

He is too sincere a gentleman to swerve from the truth for an instant,—

"Surely I do believe your fair cousin is wrong'd." (iv. 1.)

Among other parallelisms of thought, I would recall that the Lord Gaspare's subject for the dialogue is the ideal woman, what virtues she must have, and what faults may be overlooked in her. Benedick (ii. 3) actually enumerates the graces a woman must have to come into his grace.

"Rich she shall be, that's certain; wise, or I'll none; . . . fair, or I'll never look on her; mild, or come not near me; noble, or not I for an angel; of good discourse, an excellent musician, and her hair—shall be of what colour it please God."

Again, in Book Third, the Lord Gaspar tells a story of a husband who asked leave of the Roman Senate to commit suicide, because he could not "abide the continuall weerisomnes of his wife's chattynges." Benedick "cannot endure my Lady Tongue." "I would to God some scholar would conjure her; for, certainly, while she is here, a man may live as quiet in Hell as in a sanctuary; and people sin upon purpose, because they would go thither." (*Much Ado*, ii. 1).

It is easier to identify precisely the Lady Emilia Pia than the Lord Gaspare Pallavicino. She was sister of Margherita of Carpi, wife of Antonio Maria Sanseverino, one of the twelve Sanseverini brothers, "i gran Sanseverini," whom Castiglione had known at the Milanese court. Her father was Marco Pio, first cousin, once removed, of Alberto Pio, Lord of Carpi, who furnished Aldo Manuzio with the means to start his printing press. The pedigree of the brilliant Lady Emilia is most interesting, for Alberto Pio was the nephew of that paragon of learning and accomplishments, Giovanni Pico, Count of Mirandola, who was himself grand-nephew to Boiardo. The Lady Emilia came by her wit right nobly.

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Beatrice is said to be the niece of Leonato, and cousin to Hero, but she is not the daughter of Leonato's brother, Antonio; her parentage is not given. One of the gentlemen present at the conversa-

tions on the Courtyer is the Lord Lodovico Pio, but his relationship to the Lady Emilia is not stated, nor does he take any part in the dialogue. The Lady Emilia, like Beatrice, is a free lance.

In introducing her, it is said that she had such a lively wit and judgment that she "seemed the maistresse and ringe leader of all the compayne, and that everye manne at her receyed understandinge and courage. There was then to be hearde pleasaunte communication and merye conceytes, and in every mannes countenance a manne myght perceyve peyncted a lovyngre jocundenesse. So that thys house truelye myght well be called the verye mansion place of Myrth and Joye."

"And there will the Devil meet me, with horns on his head, and say: Get you to Heaven, Beatrice, get you to Heaven; here's no place for you maids: so deliver I up my apes, and away to Saint Peter; for the Heavens, he shows me where the bachelors sit, and there live we as merry as the day is long" (ii. 1).

Just the way in which the different gentlemen received "understandinge and courage" from the Lady Emilia is most skilfully managed. She chose the Count of Canossa to conduct the first evening's conversation, not, she says, because he has all that belongs to a good Courtyer at his fingers' ends, but because he will bring out all the pros and cons of the subject, and so give every one a chance to say something, whereas if a more skilful person were to undertake the theme, nothing would be said against him "for telling the truth." The Count makes them all laugh by the retort,

"We neede not feare, Madam, that we shal wante contraryng in wordes againste hym that telleth the truth, as longe as you bee here."

When the Count and Messer Federico are exchanging compliments as to which is the better wit, the Lady Emilia interrupts with,

"It is not the order that the disputation shoulde be con-

sumed upon your praise, it sufficeth ye are verie well knowen all."

For this speed of tongue, Bibbiena nicknames her, "Lady Emilia Impia."

One or two passages between her and Pietro Bembo are noteworthy. When Bembo demurs a little before speaking of Platonic love, the Lady Emilia says, "halfe in angre: There is never a one in al the company so disobedient as you be, Messer Peter, therfore shoulde the Dutchesse doe well to chastice you somewhat for it."

"Messer Peter said, smiling: For love of God, Madam, be not angrye with me, for I will say what ever you will have me."

"Goo to, saye on then," answered the Lady Emilia. And what a pretty picture of the two is this.

"When Bembo had hitherto spoken with such vehemencye, that a man woulde have thought him ravished and beeside himselfe, he stooode still without once mooving, houldinge his eyes towarde heaven as astonied, whan the Lady Emilia, whiche together with the rest gave most diligent eare to this talke, tooke him by the plaite of hys garment and pluckinge hym a litle, said:

"Take heede, Messer Peter, that these thoughtes make not your soule also to forsake the bodye."

"Madam," answered Messer Peter, "it shoulde not be the first miracle that love hath wrought in me."

In one case, *Much Ado*, quotes the thought of the *Courtyer* outright. The rather futile Claudio, having won Hero in a roundabout way, through the suit of Don Pedro to her father, has nothing to say for himself. Beatrice thinks something should be said, and breaks in,—

Beat. "Speak, Count, 't is your cue;" whereupon Claudio says, "Silence is the perfectest herald of joy: I were but little happy, if I could say how much" (ii. 1).

One of Castiglione's terse sentences is, "He that loveth much, speaketh little."

It may be objected to my theory of the origin of Benedick and Beatrice in the Lord Gaspare Pallavicino and the Lady Emilia Pia, that Shakspeare found the couple in the old play *Benedicte and Betteris*. We first hear of such a play in the Lord-Treasurer Stanhope's Account for 1613, thirteen years after *Much Ado About Nothing*. It is not at all unlikely that "*Benedicte and Betteris*" is a second title, as *Twelfth Night* has the variant, "*What You Will*." Halliwell says that Charles I. in his copy of the Second Folio, preserved in Windsor Castle, has added the name "*Benedick and Beatrice*" as a second title. Or, it may have been a popular title, from the best of the piece.

Leonard Digges says,—

let but Beatrice
And Benedicke be seene, loe in a trice
The Cockpit, Galleries, Boxes all are full.

But even if *Much Ado* is a refurbished older play, first heard of thirteen years after Shakspeare's comedy, there is nothing in that to hinder the older play's tracing to the *Courtyer*, though it would question Shakspeare's familiarity with Hoby's dialogue. I do not myself much believe in the older play, because *Much Ado* does not seem to me a remarkably well constructed drama, as it might have been if worked over by a good playwright, not to speak of a great one. It strikes me as loosely strung together, precisely as if it were made out of odds and ends, some very good material, as the wooing of Benedick and Beatrice, and Dogberry and the stupid watch, and the rest of it, Hero's story, mere stock in trade.

To sum up, I would submit,

First, that Benedick and Beatrice are plainly of Italian origin; in Italian literature the Lady Emilia is first seen in the Lady Pampinea of the *Decamerone*.

Second, that they do not belong to Hero's story in Bandello, and fit into it loosely in Shakspeare, precisely as if they did not belong to any story.

Third, that in *Much Ado* they are both detached persons, they have "just growed," precisely as the Lord Gaspare and the Lady Emilia appear in the *Courtyer*.

Fourth, that a comparison between the play and the dialogue shows remarkable coincidences in character, in action, in environment, in thought, and in language.

Fifth, that the very vividness of the representation is due to the fact that Benedick and Beatrice were originally real persons, the Lord Gaspare Pallavicino and the Lady Emilia Pia, of *Il Cortigiano*.

MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT.

XVII.—*DIALOGUS INTER CORPUS ET ANIMAM:*
A FRAGMENT AND A TRANSLATION.

1. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

"The fictitious quarrel," to borrow the thought of Heine, "which Christianity has cooked up between the body and the soul" formed in mediæval times a literary *motif* which attained to considerable popularity among both authors and readers. The single Latin poem, for example, with which we are here alone concerned, and the authorship of which has long been one of the debatable questions of literary history, has come down to us in at least fifteen manuscripts, and doubtless others will come to light. Of these MSS. Wright, in *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, 1841, p. 95, mentions ten, as follows: 1) Harl. 978 fol. 88 v°; 2) Harl. 2851 [fol. omitted]; 3) Cott. Titus A. xx. fol. 163 r°; 4) Cott. Calig. A xi. fol. 164 v°; 5) Roy. 8 B vi. fol. 18 v°; 6) Camb. Ee vi. 29 art. 1; 7) Corp. Chr. Coll. 481; 8) Bodl. 110 (Bern. 1963); 9) Douce 54 fol. 36 v°; 10) Univ. Coll. B 14. Wright also refers to the edition of Th. von Karajan (*Frühlingsgabe für Freunde älterer Literatur*, Wien, 1839, pp. 85–98) from ms. 3121 (formerly *Historia Profana* 279) in the Wiener Hofbibliothek.¹ Three MSS. are mentioned by Du Méril in his *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au douzième siècle*, p. 217: 1) Bibl. roy., fonds du Saint-Victor 472 fol. 289 r°; 2) Bibl. de Bruxelles 4363, unpagged; 3) Bibl. Mazarine 438, unpagged. Lastly, the

¹At the end of his Latin text von Karajan speaks of two other MSS. which Hoffmann von Fallersleben had mentioned to him too late to be of use in this edition, and says: "*Ich . . . will die Ausbeute seiner Nachweisungen, wenn mir erst Abschriften jener Aufzeichnungen werden zugekommen sein, bei nächster Gelegenheit veröffentlichen.*" I have been unable to find out whether these notes were ever published, and should be glad if anyone could tell me.

fifteenth MS., containing the fragment which is printed below, is now in the President White Library of Cornell University, and may conveniently be called the White MS.

This manuscript, from which nothing, so far as is known, has hitherto been published, is a parchment dating probably from the first half of the fourteenth century,¹ and consisting of two detached leaves or four pages, 24.5 x 18.5 centimeters in size, written throughout in one hand. The contents of these pages are as follows:

1. The first eleven lines of fol. 1 r^o belong in substance with four preceding pages from which the present four were separated before the MS. came to Cornell, and which contained, according to the description of a former owner, Dr. Gerhard Hennen, of Trier, from whom it passed into the possession of the President White Library, short chapters on medical and hygienic topics, as, for example, *utilitatis et nocumentum balnei*; *nocumentum frigidi balnei*; *quibus conveniat balneum ante cibum*; *de usu coitus*; *de gaudio et timore*; *de cibariis non competentibus multum*; *de febribus*; *de potu*; *laudes et bonitates vini*; *de horis comedendi*.

2. A discussion, filling twenty-five lines of fol. 1 r^o and eight lines of fol. 1 v^o, beginning: *Hæc sunt virtutes syrapi extracti de serpente*; and ending: *Explicit syrupus serpentinus*.

3. A description, in eight hexameter lines, of the four temperaments, beginning: *Largus amans hylaris ridens rubeique coloris*; and ending: *non expers fraudis timidus lutei que coloris*. Fol. 1 v^o.

4. A fragment of the poem *Dialogus inter Corpus et Animam*, including, according to the line-numbering of Wright, ll. 1-25, 155-288, and filling the remaining fourteen lines of fol. 1 v^o² and all of fol. 2. This is printed below.

¹ Dr. Hennen, of Trier, dates it about 1325-1340.

²Also, on the right margin of fol. 1 v^o, in a somewhat later hand, are the following words: *Benedictus rex glorie qui tue memorie dedisti nobis signaculum et cetera id est sacramentum* | *Sumunt boni sumunt mali sacra-*

Of printed editions of the *Dialogus*, there are at least four, as follows :

1. That of Christian von Stökken, Hamburg, 1669, now apparently a very rare book. Von Karajan could find no copy in Vienna in 1839.¹ Wright had not seen the book ; Du Méril refers to it,² but since he does not further allude to it, he probably copied the title from von Karajan. The British Museum Library did not possess a copy in 1882, although it did possess von Stökken's *Disputatio de virga Aaronis florida, ex Numer. cap. xvii*, Wittenberg, 1685. I have searched in vain through many printed and some manuscript catalogues of libraries, and am therefore inclined to believe that besides the copy in the President White Library at Cornell, which Professor Burr picked up in Cologne, there are not many in existence. The book is a small quarto, bearing on the title-page the following :

ANIMÆ DAMNATÆ | LAMENTA ET | TORMENTA, | Rhythmis non incon-
cinnis Ano- | nymo Authore ante seculum, & quod | excurrit, expressa, |
quibus | subjunguntur | RHYTHMI | de extremo Judicio, | & Trinitatis
mysterio, | quos | emendatos, & ad Orthodoxiam reformatos, | in Vernacul-
am eodem Rhythmi genere transtulit, & variis | variorum tam Veterum
quàm Recentiorum sententiis ad | marginem illustravit, | Christianus von
Stökken / Reverendissimi | Episcopi Lubecensis Pastor Aulicus & | Supe-
rintendens. | HAMBURGI, | Impensis CHRISTIANI Guht / Bibliop. | Literis
MICHAELIS PFEIFFERI, | Anno 1669.

An idea of the contents of the *Prolegomena* may be gained from the chapter headings :

mentum pariter signo quidem in equali et cetera Os tangis signi specie et
cetera | Fixum crucis patibulo pro redimendo populo nunc a nobis assumitur
corpus dum signum editur et cetera | Of the rest a part of the follow-
ing line can be seen, but so much has been cut away as to make it illegible.
It will be observed that the above is in part metrical. Its source I am as
yet unable to determine. On the use of the character Θ cp. Hagen, in his
facsimile of Cod. Bern. 363, Lugduni Batavorum, 1897, p. xxviii.; and the
modern use of the sign by astronomers to indicate the sun.

¹ *Frühlingsgabe*, p. 164.

² *Poésies pop. lat. ant. au XII^e siècle*, p. 219, bibl. note.

1. *Poeseos Rhythmicæ Origo ex Sixt. Sen. Bibl. Sacr. Lib. III.* 2. *Teutones non Latinis, sed hi illis Rhythmos debent.* 3. *Authores Mantissæ.* 4. *Argumentum Querelæ Dialogisticæ Ex Augustino Serm. XLVIII. ad Fratres in Eremo Tom. X.* 5. *Scopus Querelæ Dialogisticæ, Historiæ Fulconis divitis explicatus, ex Drexel. Consider. v. Æternit, Tom. I. Oper. p. 18.* 6. *Inhalt des kläglichen Seelen-Gesprächs | In einer Betrachtung über des Cresus Grabe vorgestellt | Aus des Herrn von Serre süßen Todes-Gedancken. | cap. VI, 104. folg.* 7. *Ursach Warum auch fremde Zeugnissen am Rande mit sind angeführet worden. Aus des Petr. Mol. B. vom Erkenntnis Gottes | fast am Ende.*

The Latin text is printed in six-syllable lines and is accompanied by a German metrical translation, as well as by many illustrative quotations—*annotationibus Theologicis, Philosophicis, & Philologicis*—from Latin and German literature. In addition to the *Dialogus* the book contains also, “*mantissæ loco*,” *Devota extremi judicii* *MEDITATIO* *Autore quidem vetusto, incerto tamen [Dies iræ]* and *Rhythmi Hilberti De Sacro-sanctâ Trinitate.*

In his *Præfatio* von Stökken says that he took the *Dialogus* from a programme printed at Hamburg in 1638 and bearing this title :

Querela Dialogistica Animæ & Corporis | damnati, | Pro peccatorum cordibus ad Pœnitentiam excitandis, | Anonymo quodam | Authore. | Nisi Pœnitentiam egeritis, omnes simul peribitis, &c. | Memorare novissima tua, & in æternum non | peccabis.

Whether the *Dialogus* MS. from which the text in this programme was printed is still in existence, is not known. There is no reason, however, to suppose that even von Stökken ever saw it. He did not follow even his printed original with fidelity, but made some eighteen or twenty changes, a list of which, however, he is careful to give. In order to facilitate further study of the subject, I have thought it desirable to describe von Stökken's text by giving a list of its variations from Wright's text, with which it would appear to have the greatest affinity (and at the end, from Du Ménil's). These follow :

2 somno spiritali; 5 Cum dormire 6 nuper qui egressus 8 Corporis cum gemitu planxerat 9 Anima stetit 10 Illud & cum gemitu hæc [*in original sic*] interrogavit: 11 Corpus ô miserrimum 12 Quod sat heri prosperè vana Sors 13 mundus pridè tibi 15 Ubi nunc familia, 16 tua florida tandem [*in original jam nunc*] 17 petris de 18 palatiis 19 Nunc delatum feretro 20 Jaces & in tumulto brevior 21 Tibi quid palatia prosunt, 22 tuos capit 23 Quenquàm falsò judicans postmodùm [*in original amodo*] 24 Per te data nobis est 25 Ego, inquam, Anima, nobilis 27 Caro tu miserrima mecum es damnata 28 Scires si supplicia nobis præparata, 29 Verè posses dicere; heu! cur fui nata? 30 Utinam ad tumultum essem mox translata! 31-33 *in part condensed above; the rest lacking* 35 benè facere 36 Sed *omitted*; Semper me ad 38 Pœnis in acerrimis 39 Nullæ linguæ seculi dicerent 40 Ullam pœnam 41 Sed quod magis doleo, veniam non 43 Celsa vel 45 quam tu plus 46 Ubi lecti strati sunt fulgidi 47 Vestis mutatoria 48 placidi saporis? 49 Vasa, mensæ, gausape 50 Ubi modò volucres, caro vel 51 Vel murenæ nobiles, vel electa vina? 52 Non agnorum gregibus redolet coquina: 53 *lacking* 56 Ejus nonnè 57 Jam clauduntur oculi, 58 Nihil tibi superest, quod jam 59 Quicquid dudum miserò 61 Varia per tempora magno cum 62 rapit mors, summò cum pudore. 63 Modò non 65 Rapitur cujuslibet 66 Cessat & tristitia tuæ jam 67 *lacking* 68 postmodùm non 69 Quoniam te mortuo manent Bacchus, Ceres, 70 Et thesauri copia, pro quâ pœnas feres, 71 Mortem tuam breviter tuus plangit hæres. 72 Dubito, an mulier 75 Pœnis his eximerent, 76 Jam scis Caro misera, quàm sit malè 77 Mundi nequam Gloria, 78 Plenior doloribus, vitiis 81 duo vix 83 nulla dant tributa. 84 *lacking* 85 Quamvis nondum sentias hîc 86 Scias, quòd supplicii non sis 88 Quòd tormenta postmodùm mecum sis 89 Rodunt te in tumultò vermes & putredo, 90 Qui non eras pauperum Pater, verùm prædo, 91 Tecum diu nequeo stare, sed 92 Nec te ad opposita responsurum 93 Anima talia 94 Sese corpus erigit, 96 Quærit, quis locutus hic talia 97 Tunè meus Spiritus ades, qui sic faris? 98 Vera non sunt omnia quæ tu loquebaris, [*a good guess, cp. l. 97 in W.; in original quæ causeris*] 100 Licet quædam vera sint, plurima 101 Mihi tribuis, quòd te vidimus peccantem, [*in original Feci te multoties in multis errare*] 102 Et virtutis semitam sæpe declinantem, 103 Carnis culpa minor est, (moneo errantem) [*in original Sed si caro faciat animum errare,*] 104 Major culpa spiritûs, audias probantem. 105 Dæmonium fœdus pepigere, 106 Carnem hi miserrimam secum conjungere, 107 Quam si rigor Animi cesset coercere, 108 In peccati foveam cadunt ambo verè. 109 *lacking* 110 Sed ut mihi dixeras, 111 Raram, bonam, nobilem, sensu te ditavit, 113 et *omitted* 114 condita fuisti, 115 Atque data ratio, 116 mihi cursavisti? 117 Rebus in 118 Estnè justum, carnem ut Animam 119 sinit ancillari? 120 Corpus hoc per 123 Ejus adminiculò 124 Caro (si per Spiritum hæc non sustentatur) [*in original Caro quæ per spiritum non suppeditatur,*] 125 Mundi per

127 Carni sine Spiritu nihil innotescit; 128 Si, quod jubes, exequor, culpa tibi crescit, 129 Cato [= Caro] sine Spiritu mortua quiescit. 130 Si ad opus Spiritus votum deducatur, 131 Carnem per pedissequam, caro quid culpatur? 132 per quam imperatur, 133 Id quod 134 Carne quidem gravius tu peccasti, crede, 136 mea viscera 138 Adhuc dixit Anima: tecum 139 Tua, quantum potero, dicta refrenare: 140 Quare [*in original* ut quid (ad quid)] mihi 142 Caro tu miserrima vivens quæ 143 Stulta, vana, frivola; 144 asperrima, quæ nunc 146 Istud enim consonum 147 Restitisse debui 148 Tua sed 149 Nugis mundi dedita 150 *lacking* 151 Nam te quando volui, 152 Verbere, vigiliis, fame te 153 cœpit effrenare, 154 Et cœgit sæpius frivolis vacare. 155 Ita tu dominium in me accepisti, 156 Perditrix domestica mihi [*in original* de me] sic 157 Mundi per blanditias prius me 158 In peccati puteum tandem me misisti. 159 Sed *omitted* 160 Te cum essem Dominae nunquam 161 Sed tu me 162 Unde culpâ digna es atque pœnâ 163 Mundi si delicias, dolos machinantis, 164 quia & incantantis 165 astutias, cœlo si tonantis 166 essem nunc in sanctis. 167 Verum, cum tripudiis 168 Tibi vitam prosperam 169 Quod non mori crederes: at mors hæc 170 Cum te de palatiô ad sepulchrum 172 Suaviter quos excipit, 173 Mortis per rigorem, 174 post divitias 175 Tibi qui dum vixeras, socii 176 Habitantem tumulo 177 cœpit statim [*in original* quasi] 178 Verbis & 181 Oppida construere, 182 Nunquam sanè credidi, tumbam hanc 183 Optimè nunc video, quod & satis 184 Nunquam auri 185 Honos, vis, scientia, virtus nec herbarum, 186 stimulum amarum. 187 Ambo quidem possumus cœlitus 188 Et culpamur, fateor, 191 Cujus sensus frigidus morbo non gravatur, [*in original* same as W.] 192 Novit, Jura clamitant, Ratio 193 Cui plus præ cæteris gratiæ 194 Magis hic de debito tandem postulatur. 195 quin & intellectum, 196 sensum & 197 Quibus cautè frangeres fervidum 198 Et amares perpetim id, quod erat 199 florida fuisti, 200 Et tu mihi fatua 201 Meis & blanditiis minùs 202 tu plus 203 Addo: (licet referam 204 Mihi tamen erit hoc argumento claro) [*in original* quod mihi jam potens est, argumento] 205 nunquid agit Caro? 206 Num se movet postea 207 Mortua nil loquitur: Illud ergo 208 quod *omitted* 209 Cœli Numen Animæ si fuisset charum, [*in original* Si haberet anima Deum suum charum, cp. W.] 211 Si amasses cœlicum Dominum 213 Nec pravorum hominum adhæsisses 214 Nec me 215 Quæ vivebam splendide, sericis amicta, 216 Ecce quæ de omnibus mihi sunt 217 Fœtor atque caries, Et hæc domus 218 Quibus post delicias mundi sum amicta! 219 Novi hæc prætereà, quod sim 220 Tempore novissimò tecum dein 221 Pœnas mortis perpetes: heu mors illa 222 Mors intolerabilis! 223 voce sub 224 Heu cur vixi misera 225 Heu! cur dixit Dominus? hæc sit 226 Nonnè Deus noverat, quòd sim 227 Felix est conditio 229 loca 231 deinde loquitur 233 Mihi, quæso, recita, ibi quæ 234 de favore [*in original* same as W.] 235 Ibi quid nobilibus redditur 236 Quas fortuna fulgidis coluit in 237 Non relicta illis est 238 Tantâ pro pecuniâ 239 tua quæstio 240 Cum

infernum subeunt inferûm 241 *omitted* 242 Redemtione 243 pro Eleemosynis, 244 Tota si fidelium pietas 245 Totam si pecuniam mundus omnis 246 Tota si jejuniis regio 247 nunquam 248 *omitted* 249 Nullam Dæmon solveret, 250 In inferno Animam suis ex 251 Pro centenis millibus 252 Nec momentum sineret, ut 253 Istud quæris etiam ibi quid agatur 254 Viris cum Nobilibus? audi, lex hic 255 quod *omitted* 257 fortè si damnatur, 258 Gravibus præ cæteris, pœnis implicatur, 258a Quantò quis deliciis magis delectatur, 258b Tantò pœna gravior illi deputatur. 259 promserat mœrores, 261 Nulli quas describere poterant Scriptores, 262 Omnium nec pingere climatam 263 Ferreos in manibus stimulos gerentes, 264 Ignem mixtum sulphure 266 Visi sunt ex narribus cadere 267 *omitted* 268 Aures erant patulæ, 269 Videram [*in original & erant*] in frontibus 270 cornuum toxicum 272 cum funiculis 273 Quam ad fauces Erebi querulam 274 Mox maligni spiritus passim occurrerunt, 275 Qui triumphum asperis dentibus striderunt. 276 Quidam vetò [*for vero*] horridis votis 277 Quidam cum corrigiis ipsam perstrinxerunt, 278 Quidam uncis ferreis ipsam discerpserunt, 279 Quidam plumbum ferreum desuper fuderunt. 280 Quidam fimum stercorum in os 281 Quidam ejus faciem totam perminxerunt, 282 Quidam suis dentibus ipsam corroserunt, 283 Demum & à corpore pellem detraxerunt. 284-286 *partly omitted, partly condensed above* 287 Adhæc dicunt Dæmones quasi 289 Passis modò dicere 290 Debes verò centuplùm 291 Iassa tandem Anima 292 Atque voce tremulâ 293 barathri limen subintravit, 294 *omitted* 295 Ejulans insonuit: Jesu! Fili David! 296 Conclamantes Dæmones responderunt 298 Parùm prodest dicere [*in original amodo*]: 299 nec requiei. 300 Non videbis postea radios [*in original Non tamen de cætero videbis*] diei. 301 Decor jam mutabitur 302 dehinc aciei, 303 Erit apud inferos hoc solamen ei. 304 *omitted* 306 Atque raptus extra me mox [*in original & extra me positus mox evigilavi.*] 307 Et expansus manibus Deum acclamavi, 308 eximat istâ pœnâ gravi. 309 Suis mox cum frivolis Mundum condemnavi, 310 nihil reputavi,

[With *Et me Christi manibus totum commendavi* conclude both Wright's and von Karajan's texts. From this point on, therefore, are given von Stökken's variations from Du Méril's text. In the latter the line beginning *Ecce mundus moritur* I mark no. 309*.]

310* fit stultus, 311* Christi cultus, 312* Est in mundo 313* pergit his diebus 314* Facti Dî sunt iterum 316* Sceptris, aciebus 317* Theologicè charitas vocantur, 320* Istis, jam in seculo 321* vultu sis serenus, 322* Sis benignus, humilis, 323* Hæc nil tibi proderunt, 324* Sola nam pecunia 326* Variâ familiâ undique stipatus, 327* & morigenatus,¹ 328* meus tu cognatus² 329* defecerint 330* morte refrigescit,

¹The reading of Du Méril, *morigenatus*, is probably inferior, although *morigenatus* is found; cp. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s. v. *moriginatus*.

²Obviously better than *et tuus cognatus*.

331* Cessat & notitia, Ille me tum nescit, 334* virus ô amarum! 336* Id, quod transit citiùs flamma quàm 337* Mundus si divitibus tria posset 338* Thesaurorum cumulum, tumulum vitare, 340* vellent, credo, terram hanc cœlo commutare, 341* ista Mors compescit, 342* qui non morti 343* Hic, si vivit hodie, fortè cras 344* Cuique prorsus hominum parcere jam 345* Quando genus hominum Morti deputatur, 346* Tunc ad certum terminum homo deportatur; 347* Contremisce jugiter, dum mens meditatur: 348* Quid es, & quò properas, quid tibi paratur? 349* Dum de morte cogito, tristor atque ploro, 350* Certum est, quod moriar, tempus at ignoro, 351* Mens prophana dubitat, quorum adsit choro, 352* Ego, jungar ut suis, Deum supplex oro!

[Here ends von Stökken's text, with: *Finis scripti: sed ubi es, O supplicii FINIS.*]

2. The next printed edition was that of the Ritter Theodor Georg von Karajan, in his *Frühlingsgabe*, pp. 85–98, from the Vienna ms. (see above), published at Vienna in 1839. In addition to the text of two Middle High German versions of the dispute, von Karajan appends a learned and interesting discussion of the various European versions.

3. The edition of Thomas Wright, in the work above cited, pp. 95–106, from Harl. ms. 978, collated with von Karajan's printed text. This appeared in London in 1841. Wright likewise adds several other versions and a bibliographical note.

4. The edition of M. Edélestand Du Méril, in the work above cited, pp. 217–230, from the three MSS. which he mentions (see above), and which he considers much superior to the Vienna and Harleian MSS.

A critical edition of the *Dialogus* remains a desideratum.

2. THE WHITE FRAGMENT.

Here follows the text of the White ms.¹ Abbreviations have, as usual, been amplified.

¹ For cordial permission to publish this text and for valuable aid of more than one kind in preparing this paper, I am indebted to my teacher, Professor George L. Burr, librarian of the President White Library, who purchased the ms. from Dr. Hennen and brought it to Ithaca.

- Noctis sub silentio tempore brumali ··
 Deditus quodammodo sompno spiritali
 corpus carens videre spiritu vitali ·
 De quo michi visio fit sub forma tali ·
 5 Dormitando paululum vigilando fessus ·
 Ecce quidam spiritus nouiter egressus ·
 De predicto corpore viciis oppressus ·
 qui carnis cum gemitu sic plangit excessus ·
 Juxta corpus spiritus stetit et plorauit ·
 10 et hiis verbis acriter corpus increpauit ·
 O caro miserrima quis te sic prostrauit ·
 quam mundus te¹ tam prospere prediis ditauit ·
 nonne tibi pridie mundus subdabatur ·
 nonne te prouincia tota verebatur ·
 15 quo nunc est familia que te sequebatur ·
 cauda tua te sequens iam nunc amputatur ··
 non es nunc in turribus de petris quadratis ··
 Sic nec in palacio magne largitatis ·
 iaces nunc in feretro parue quantitatis ·
 20 Reponenda tumulo tibi marmor est² satis ·
 quid valent palacia pulchra uel quid edes ·
 vix nunc tuus tumulus septem capit pedes ·
 quanquam falsa iudicas ammodo non ledes
 per te modo misera est in inferno sedes
 25 ego que tam nobilis fueram [creata]. . . .

fol. 2 r° 155 [Et ita dominium de me] suscepisti
 familiaris proditrix mihique fuisti
 per mundi bla[nditias me post te trax]isti
 et peccati puteo suauiter mersisti ·
 Scio me culpabi[lem nam in hoc errau]i

¹A line is drawn through this word; evidently the word was a scribal error.

² Permitted by the sense; but it obviously spoils the metre.

- 160 *quod cum essem domina te non refrenauī
Sed cum [me] deceperas fraude tam suauī
crede quod deliqueras pena magis graui •
Sed¹ [mun]di delicias dolos adulantis
despexisses fatua sic et incantantis •*
- 165 *de[m]onis blandicias et celi tonantis •
adhesisses monitis essemus cum sanctis •
sed cum tibi pridie mundi quis arrisit •
et viam diutinam firmiter promisit
mori nos putaueras sed mors hec elisit •*
- 170 *quando de palacio tumulto te misit
hominum fallentium mundus habet morem •
quos magis amplectitur qui [= cui] dat honorem •
illos fallit cicius per necis rigorem •
et dat post delicias vermes et fetorem •*
- 175 *qui tibi cum vixeras amici fuere
iacentem in tumulto uolunt² te uidere •
corpus hoc intelligens stapat³ cepit flere •
et verbis simplicibus ita respondere •
Qui uiuendo potui multis inperare •*
- 180 *aurum nummos predia gemmas congregare
castellas construere gentes iniudicare [= iudicare]
putas ne quod credidi tumultum intrare •
[non ;] sed modo video et est michi clarum
quod nec auri dominus nec diuitiarum •*
- 185 *nec vis nec potencia nec genus preclarum
mortis possunt fugere tumultum amarum •
ambo dico possumus a christo culpari
quod debemus utique sed non culpa pari
Tibi culpa grauior debet imputari •*
- 190 *multis rationibus potest hoc probari •
a sensato quolibet hoc non ignoratur •
tuque scis peroptime litera testatur
quod cui maior gracia virtutis donatur •
ab eo vult ratio quod magis exigatur*

¹ Read *Si*.² Read *nolunt*?³ For *statim*, in anticipation of *cepit*.

- 195 *vitam et memoriam sic et intellectum ·*
tibi dedit dominus et sensum perfectum ·
quibus tu comp[escer]e deberes effectum
prauum · et diligere quidquid erat rectum ·
postquam tu virtutibus dotata fuisti
 200 *et cum fatue mihi pronam te dedisti*
meisque blandiciis et non resti[ti]sti ·
satis patet omnibus quod plus deliquisti ·
Corpus dixit iterum corde cum amaro ·
Dic michi si noueris argumento claro
 205 *exeunte spiritu carnem quid sit caro ·*
mouet se ne sepius postea uel raro ·
videt ne uel loquitur non est ergo clarum
quod spiritus viuificat corpus prodest parum
Si haberet anima deum suum carum ·
 210 *nunquam caro vinceret vires animarum ·*
Si deum cum vixeras amasses perfecte ·
et si causas pauperum iudicasses recte ·
Si prauorum hominum non¹ adhesisses secte ·
non me mundi vanitas decepisset nec te ·
 215 *tamen quia fueram tibi viuens ficta ·*
ea que non respicis mihi sunt relicta
putredo cum vermibus et hec domus stricta ·
quibus sum assidue firmiter afflicta ·
Scioque preterea quod sum surrectura ·
 220 *In die nouissimo tecumque passura ·*
penas que in perpetuum o mors plusquam dura
 fol. 2 v° *[mors interminabilis f]ine caritura*
 ¶ *Ad hoc clamat anima voce cum obscura ·*
heu quod vnquam suberam rerum in natura ·
 225 *cur permisit dominus quod essem creatura*
Sua cum prenouerat quod essem peritura
O felix condicio pecorum brutorum ·

¹ So also Wright; the better reading *Nec prauorum hominum adhesisses* is found in Du Mér. and v. Kar. Cp. v. Stökken.

- cadu[n]t cum corporibus spiritus eorum
 nec post mortem subeunt loca tormentorum
 230 Talis esset vtinam finis impiorum
 ¶ Corpus adhuc loquitur anime tam tristi ·
 Si [tu] apud inferos anima fuisti ·
 dic michi te deprecor quid ibi vidisti ·
 que spes sit miseris ¹ de dulcore christi ·
 235 Dic si quid nobilibus precatur personis ·
 illis qui dum vixerant sedebant in tronis ·
 Si sit illis aliqua spes redemptionis
 pro nummis uel prediis ceteris que donis
 ¶ O corpus hec questio caret ratione
 240 que semel intrant baratrum quecunque persone
 mortales subaudias pro transgressione ·
 non es spes ulterius per redempcione ·
 nec per elemosinas nec oracione ·
 Si tota deuocio fidelium oraret ·
 245 Si tota religio ieiuniis vacaret ·
 Si mundus pecuniam totam suam daret ·
 In infernum positum numquam liberaret ·
 quia dei gracia quamuis illic caret ·
 non daret dyabolus ferus et effrenis ·
 250 vnam entem animam in suis catenis ·
 pro totius seculi prediis terrenis ·
 nec quandoque sineret quod careret penis ·
 Ad hoc quod interrogas si aliquid precatur
 personis nobilibus non lex quoque datur ·
 255 quod in tanto quis seculo magis exaltatur
 Tanto cadit grauius si transgrediatur ·
 Diues ergo moriens qui viuus sublimatur ·
 grauius pre ceteris penis implicatur
 postquam tales anima dixisset merores ·
 260 Ecce duo demones pice nigriores ·
 quorum turpitudines totius scriptores ·

¹The scribe probably intended *miserrimis* but failed to write it. Wr.
 and v. Kar. both have *si qua spes*; Du Mér. has *si quidquid sit*.

- mundi · non describerent nec pingerent pictores ·
 ferreas fustinulas manibus ferentes
 ignem sulphureum · per os emittentes ·
 265 Similes ligonibus sunt eorum dentes ·
 Ex eorum naribus prodeunt serpentes ·
 sunt eorum oculi vt pelues ardentes ·
 Suis sunt in frontibus cornua gerentes ·
 per extrema cornuum venena fundentes ·
 270 aures habent patulas sanie fluentes ·
 Digitorum vngule vt aprorum dentes ·
 Isti cum fustinulis animam ceperunt ·
 quam mox apud inferos inpetu traxerunt ·
 quibus iam dyaboli paruuli occurrerunt ·
 275 qui pro tanto socio gaudium fecerunt ·
 et illi cum talibus ludis applauserunt ·
 Quidam vinculis ferreis ventrem ligauerunt
 nodatis corrigiis eam ceciderunt ·
 quidam os stercoribus suis impleuerunt ·
 280 quidam plumbum feruidum¹ intro proiecerunt ·
 et in eius oculis quidam commixerunt ·
 quidam suis dentibus frontem corroserunt
 quidam suis ungulis latera ruperunt ·
 quidam suis cornubus eam compunxerunt
 285 et a toto corpore pellem abstraxerunt ·
 post hec dicunt demones fere fatigati ·
 hii qui nobis seruiunt sic sunt honorati ·
 nundum

3. A TRANSLATION OF THE POEM.

The following translation is based on the text of Du Méril, which is the fullest and most correct of the four printed texts and probably represents the later and completer form of the poem. In general I have tried to make

¹ The scribe first wrote *ferreum*, then drew a line through it.

the translation interpretative rather than literal. The ordinary numerals refer to the lines of Du Ménil's text; the starred numerals refer roughly to the lines of Wright's text.

Long ago there was a certain man, a recluse, Fulbert, born a Frenchman, whose fair life, while he lived in the world, was thus spent apart; and verily the words he spake were words of wisdom. He was, indeed, a king's son, who for the whole space of his earthly life withdrew himself from the evils of the world. And this was the vision which appeared to him.

10 "In the stillness of a winter's night, while little devoted to sleep, with spiritual sight I beheld a body bereft of the breath of life, of whom the following vision was granted me. While I was sleeping a little, weary with vigils, lo, a soul, lately come out of the body I have spoken of, weighed down by sins, with groans was bewailing the vile deeds of the
10* body. Near the latter it stood, weeping, and with these words bitterly upbraided the body:

"Oh, wretched Flesh, who hath brought thee thus low—
20 thee, whom the world enriched with so many estates? But yesterday did not the world lie beneath thy feet? Did not the whole province stand in awe of thee? Where now is the troop of slaves that followed at thy heels? Thy flourishing tail, is it not now cut off? Thou art not now in castles of squared stone, nor in splendid palaces; thou who, borne
20* away on a small bier, now liest in a tomb full narrow. Of
30 what avail are thy palaces, or thy temples? Thy grave now takes in scarce seven feet. The man whom thou didst unjustly condemn thou wilt now harm no more. Through thee a dwelling has been given us in hell. I, who was created so noble, in the likeness of the Lord, and destined to bring forth good fruit with thee,—I am sore disfigured by thy crimes. Oh, accursed flesh! with me thou art damned. If thou knewest the torments that have been made ready for
30* 40 us, truly thou couldst say, *Alas! why was I born?* Would

that I had been borne at once to the grave! It is not strange, I grant, that while thou wast alive thou wouldst let me do nothing good, but didst ever tempt me to the basest crimes, for which we shall dwell in grief forever. In the sharpest pains I am and ever shall remain. Not a tongue in all the
40* world could describe the least single one of the torments which unhappy I endure; yet however much I sorrow, I can hope for no forgiveness.

“Where are now the estates which thou hast got together,
50 or the lofty palaces and castles which thou hast built, or the rings begemmed which have adorned thy fingers, or the hoard of gold which thou hast too greatly loved? Where are thy rich beds, inviting to calm sleep, thy changes of richly colored robes, thy toothsome spices, thy cups, thy table, thy garments
50* of snowy whiteness? Where, pray, are thy birds, or thy choice wines, or thy noble fish ponds, or thy deer? Not of
60 swans, not of cranes doth thy kitchen now savor; thou art now the food of worms—this is heaven’s law. How does thy house now please thee? Doth not its peak lie above thy nose? No member now remains to hoard money; at last thine eyes are shut, thy tongue is still. Whatever wealth according to thy wretched habit thou hast been able with the
60* hard labor of years to amass through craft, fraud, usury, or fear of thy harsh rule, all this the destiny of a single hour hath swept away. No longer art thou surrounded by bands
70 of thy friends, for by death the flower of thy glory hath fallen; every bond of love hath been shattered; even the tears of thy wife have now dried. Henceforth hope no more in thy kinsfolk; thine heir but a moment grieves over thy
70* death, for to him are still left lands, wine, and goods, and treasure in abundance, for which thou wilt suffer torture. Think not that thy wife or thy children would give five acres of upland or meadow that we, who have now been removed from
80 middle earth, might be redeemed from the pains we must suffer.

“Now thou knowest, wretched Flesh, how far from secure is the worthless glory of the world, how deceitful, how

bestrewn with afflictions, how polluted with vices, how
 80* wretchedly infected with the poison of devils. Thou art
 not now clad in costly robes; thy cloak is worth scarce two
 farthings; thou liest wrapped in a paltry sheet; not now do
 even beggars bring thee tribute. And while thou art now
 90 allowed to be free from torture, thou shalt never be released
 from punishment; for the authority of all the prophets testi-
 fies that soon thou shalt suffer torments with me. Since thou
 90* wast not a father but a robber of the poor, the worms are
 now eating thy rotting flesh. But I can not stand here
 further; I must now go back. Thou canst not, methinks,
 answer these arguments.'

"After the soul had spoken these words, at length the body
 raised itself as if it had come back to life. After it had
 100 uttered many groans it asked who had spoken such words.

"'Is it thou, my Soul,' it said, 'who speakest thus? Not
 wholly true are the things thou chatterest; for I shall prove
 100* more fully, with clear arguments, that though some things
 may be true, on many points thou speakest nonsense. Many
 times, I grant, have I made thee to stray from the path of
 good deeds. But if the body causes the soul to err, the
 greater is the fault of the soul. Listen and I will tell
 thee why.

110 "'The world and the devil have made a pact and have
 leagued with them wretched flesh; ¹ now if the energy of the

¹ The same idea is similarly expressed by Peter of Blois, archdeacon of
 Bath, in his *Cantilena de Lucta Carnis et Spiritus*, stanza 5:

Mundus et dæmonium
 Fidem sanxere mutuam,
 Fraudis ad consortium,
 Carnem trahentes fatuam:
 Sic per proditorias blanditias
 Insidias procurant:
 Et in mortem animæ miserrimæ
 Nequissime conjurant.

The complete poem may be found in Migne, *Patrologia*, cccvii. cols. 1127-
 1130.

- soul ceases to hold the flesh in check,¹ both in truth fall into
- 110* the slough of sin. But, as thou hast just said, God created thee both good and noble, endowed thee with sense, and at the same time formed thee in his own likeness, and gave me to be thy maidservant. Therefore, if thou wast created
- 120 mistress, and wast endowed with reason, by which thou shouldst rule us in the world, why didst thou smile upon my unlawful pleasures and not protest? Not the body, but the soul, doth justice condemn, since the soul, who should be
- 120* mistress, allows itself to become the servant. For the soul, if it would rule as mistress, must vanquish the body through hunger, thirst, stripes. The body can do nothing without the soul, by whose aid it is kept alive. If, therefore, the body is not held in check by the soul, it soon becomes infatuated with the delights of the world. The body signifies
- 130 nothing without the soul. From thee whatever I have done first issued. If I persecute just men, thy fault is the greater.
- 130* The body without the soul sleeps the sleep of death. If the will of the soul in action is led by its handmaid the body, why should the body be blamed? The fault attaches to the soul, by whose order is performed whatever the frail body does in life. After all, he sins the more deeply, I say, and believe me, who follows the desire of a weak and contemptible body.—But the worms are devouring my flanks here in
- 140 this abode: what shall I say further? Yield thee, Soul!’
- “To this the soul replied: ‘I will maintain the contest
- 140* with thee, and, if I can, will reconsider thy words, however bitterly thou speakest to me, Body, wishing to lay the whole fault at my door. Oh, wretched Flesh, who living wast foolish, idle, weak, from whom hast thou learned such bitter words as those thou hast now used? Nevertheless, in some
- 150 respects thou didst say truly. It is true, I know, that I ought to have opposed thy will; but thy weakness, prone to

¹ Here I follow Du Ménil’s suggested emendation, reading *coercere*, which, it will be noticed, is the reading of von Stökken’s text.

pleasure, given up to the joys of the world, would not suffer
150* this. When I wished, Body, to subdue thee with the rod, or
with vigils, or with hunger, anon the vanity of the world
began to loose thy bridle and compelled thee to give thyself
up to its worthless trifles. And thus thou didst assume
dominion over me; but thou wast a traitress of mine own
household; for through the allurements of the world thou
160 didst draw me after thee and plunge me into the delightful
pit of sin. I know I am to blame; for in this have I
160* erred, that though I was mistress, I did not check thee. But
when thou didst deceive me with such sweet fraud, I believe
thou didst earn the heavier penalty. If thou, foolish one,
hadst despised the pleasures of the world, the snares of the
Plotter, as well as the cunning of the enchanting Evil Spirit,
and hadst heeded the warnings of the God of heaven, we
should now be with the saints. But when the fraud of the
170 world smiled upon thee, only a little while before, and surely
promised thee length of days, thou thoughtest not to die;
170* but death shattered this hope when he sent thee from the
palace to the grave. The world has the custom of deceptive
men: those whom it the more fondly embraces, on whom it
showers the more honors, them it traps the more speedily
through the rigor of the law, and after delights it gives
them worms and stench. Those who were friends in thy
lifetime refuse to look upon thee lying in the grave.'

180 "On hearing this the body at once began to weep, and in
humble words replied thus:

180* "'I, who in life could command thousands, could heap
together gold, gems, estates, money, could build castles, could
administer laws to nations, dost thou believe I ever thought
to enter the tomb? No; but now I see, and it is clear to
me, that neither the possessor of gold or riches, nor might,
nor power, nor lordly race can escape the bitter tomb.

190 "'We are both worthy to be condemned by God, and both
ought to be, but not with equal blame. The greater fault
190* should be ascribed to thee: this can be proved with many

reasons. No sensible man ignores the fact, attested alike by law and by reason, that from him who is endowed with the greatest wealth of powers the most wisdom is to be demanded. The Lord endowed thee not only with life and memory, but also with intellect and complete sense; with these thou
 200 shouldst have held in check thy depraved affections, and straightened that which was crooked. Since thou wast
 200* adorned with so many virtues, and yet foolishly gavest thyself over to me and too feebly resisted my blandishments, it is clear enough to all that thou wast all the more at fault. Moreover,—and I am now allowed to speak with a sad heart of what, at length disclosed to me, is a clear argument,—when the soul has left the body, what is the body? Does it move itself afterward either forthwith or seldom? Does
 210 it see, or does it speak? This is therefore plain: the soul gives life, while the body has little strength. And if the
 210* soul held its God dear, the body would never overcome the powers of the soul. If while living thou hadst loved God perfectly, and if thou hadst judged the lawsuits of the poor with justice, and not clung to the life of evil men, the vanity of the world had deceived neither me nor thee. I, who lived clad in splendid silks, behold, what there is left me of
 220 it all: rottenness, with worms and this narrow house, to which I am doomed after the delights of the world! And I
 220* know, moreover, that I shall arise with thee at the last day, and shall with thee suffer eternal death; alas! grievous is that death, interminable, knowing no end!’

“To this replied the soul in a choking voice: ‘Alas, that ever I lived in the realm of nature! Why did the Lord allow me to be created, since I was marked out to perish?
 230 Oh, blessed condition of the brute beasts! For with their bodies die also their souls, nor after death do they pass to
 230* the place of torments. Would that such were the end of the wicked!’

“The body now spake to the sad soul: ‘If thou wast among the dead, Soul, tell me, I pray thee, what sawest thou

there? Is there among the wretched ones aught of the sweetness of Christ? What is there prepared for the nobles who, while they lived, sat on thrones? Have they any hope of redemption on account of their money, their estates, their other goods?’

240* “‘Thy question, Body, is without sense. When the damned enter the country of the dead, there is no further hope of redemption, either through alms or through prayer. If all the pious faithful should pray forever, and should give themselves up to perpetual fasting, if the world should lay down all its wealth, never would it free one placed in hell. The Devil, fierce and ungoverned, would not give up a single soul bound in his chains for a hundred thousand earthly estates, nor would he allow it a moment’s respite from punishment.

250, 250* “‘Dost thou ask what is prepared there for persons of noble rank? This is the law: the more one is exalted in the world, the greater is that man’s fall if he sin. The rich man dying, therefore, if he is damned, is visited with grievous pains far beyond other men; for the greater was his delight in worldly joys, the more severe the penalty meted out to him.’

260* “After the soul had uttered these bitter words, behold, two devils blacker than pitch, whom all the writers in the world could not describe fully nor all the painters clearly paint, bearing in their hands iron goads, from their mouths belching sulphurous fire, having teeth like grub-axes, from whose nostrils snakes seemed to dart, whose eyes were like lavers of fire, whose huge ears were flowing with gore, and who bore on their brows horns which poured forth poison from the tips—these devils seized the soul with tongs and bore it groaning with them to hell. Soon malignant demons rushed up on all sides and as they danced around gnashed their teeth at it; and while they were mocking it in this wise, some bound it tightly with leather thongs, some tore it on iron hooks, some poured melted lead into it, some threw in fetid dung, some emptied their own bowels into its face, some

gnawed it with their teeth, and finally they tore the skin from the body. At length, when they had tired, the demons said to the soul :

290* “ ‘ Thus are those in our service chastised. Thou couldst now speak as did the toad to the harrow ; but thou shalt suffer a hundred fold worse torments than these.’ ”

290 “ A little after this the soul groaned and in feeble tones murmured, as it passed the threshold of the pit, and he to whom praise resounded was ‘ Jesus, son of David ! ’ ”

“ But the demons with loud clamoring replied :

300* “ ‘ Too late dost thou call upon the name of thy God ; little avails now thy *Lord, have mercy on me !* ; no further hope hast thou of pardon or of rest. Thou shalt never see the light of another day. The grace of thy figure shall be transformed. Henceforward thou shalt be joined to our
300 ranks ; for thus are the damned consoled in the world of hell.’ ”

“ When I had seen these things, in my sleep, I became greatly terrified and, carried out of myself, I forthwith awoke ; and uplifting my hands, I cried out to God, praying that He would protect me from a punishment so terrible.
310* And I put away the world with its empty trifles ; gold, gems, and estates I counted worthless ; I renounced all transitory things ; and I commended myself wholly to the hands of Christ.

310 “ Lo,¹ the world is dead ; it is buried in sin ; the right ordering of life has been overturned ; the wise man is a fool ; Justice is an exile ; the worship of God has ceased ; pain and strife are ever in the world. In these days the earth is coming to its end ; Jupiter and Phœbus are again worshipped ; for whoever has money and abounds in wealth, he is worshipped as Christ, and is sheltered behind armies. And the divine virtues of faith, hope, and charity are almost

¹ The next section, ll. 309–360, is found, in the printed editions, only in von Stöckken and Du Ménil ; it is probably a late addition to the poem, tacked on by a pious monk for whom the times were out of joint.

320 choked up; deceit and avarice and their offspring, at length rule throughout the earth.

“If thou be of noble family and calm in demeanor, kindly and humble, and have had the best of breeding, these things shall avail thee nought if thou art in want, for only wealth gives position and family. If only I be clad in splendid robes, and be surrounded by a multitude of servants, I am prudent and clever and affable; I am thy favorite and thy kinsman.¹

330 When these things disappear, at once vanishes our relations, love grows cold, recognition ceases; he now knows me not, who while I was rich, rose obsequiously to give place to me. Oh, marvelous vanity! Oh, deplorable love of wealth! Oh, bitter poison! Why dost thou slaughter so many noble men, by making dear to them that which vanishes more quickly than a blaze of tow? If wealth could give the rich three things, the bloom of youth, escape from death, and issue fair
340 and long-lived, then the rich might well amass wealth. But think, wretched man! Death fetters all; what, from the beginning of the world, hath not yielded to death? He who lives to-day, to-morrow perchance rots in his grave; death knows not how to spare any man.

“When the roof of the house lies above the nose, then the whole joy of the world is as pleasing as the mire. Not then has one leisure for trifles or sports; then truth appears, and deceit is utterly silent. Then craft is not deemed prudence,
350 nor is the will of the rich man then law; then every one is rewarded according to his deserts, since the race of men is doomed to death.

“No one knows whither he goes after death, wherefore every wise man speaks thus of himself:

“‘I tremble continually when my mind ponders what I am, and whither I hasten, and what is prepared for me. When I think upon death, I become sad and weep; one [the first] thing is that I shall die, but the time [the second

¹ Von Stöcken's text is possibly better here: “and thou my kinsman.”

360 thing] I know not; the third thing is that I know not to
 what company I shall be joined; but I pray that I may be
 added to the people of God. Amen.'"

Through¹ Moses learn of the law, through Elijah learn
 of the prophets; the former was a law-giver, the latter a
 prophet. By their sayings, if thou understandest the sacred
 words, are taught the passion, the resurrection, the glory of
 Christ. The rich hath brought the poor, and the vine which
 was cultivated at divers times hath borne fruit. Those the
 first hour holds; these, the third; the sixth hour, those
 following; the ninth, the new ones; the last hour, the others;
 370 the first, the milk of infancy; the third, down on the cheek;
 the sixth, sense; the ninth, gray hairs; the last, quivering.

CLARK SUTHERLAND NORTHUP.

¹The last ten lines of Du Ménil's text do not appear in any of the other printed editions, and Du Ménil remarks that they are not found even in the Brussels MS. Written in a different metre, they clearly have no organic connection even with ll. 309-360, to say nothing of the main part of the *Dialogus*; to which, I am inclined to think, it was never intended that they should be attached.

APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, HELD
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENN-
SYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA,
PA., DECEMBER 27,
28, 29, 1900.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

The eighteenth annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., December 27, 28, 29, 1900. This meeting was incorporated in a

“Congress of Philological and Archæological Societies :

The American Oriental Society, organized 1842.

The American Philological Association, organized 1869.

The Spelling Reform Association, organized 1876.

The Archæological Institute of America, organized 1879.

The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, organized 1880.

The Modern Language Association of America, organized 1883.

The American Dialect Society, organized 1889.”

The entire Congress was held in the rooms of the University of Pennsylvania.

The Societies of the Congress met for the most part separately in a series of sessions, except on Thursday, December 27th, when they united in two General Meetings. The programme of these General Meetings was as follows :

Thursday, December 27, 2.30 p. m.

Provost C. C. HARRISON, *University of Pennsylvania*,
Address of Welcome.

Professor GEORGE F. MOORE, *Andover Theological Seminary*.
“Some Oriental Sources of the Alexander Myth.”

President B. I. WHEELER, *University of California*.
“What is the Cause of Phonetic Uniformity?”

Professor J. R. S. STERRETT, *Amherst College*.
“A Ruined Seljuk Khan compared with Anatolian Khans of to-day.”

Professor F. A. MARCH, *Lafayette College*.

"A Survey of the Growth of Modern Language Work in America."

Professor GEORGE HEMPL, *University of Michigan*.

"Calling to Cows."

Professor PAUL HAUPT, *Johns Hopkins University*.

"Suggestions for Future Oriental Congresses."

Professor BRANDER MATTHEWS, *Columbia University*.

"The Importance of the Folk-Theatre."

Professor ALLAN MARQUAND, *Princeton University*.

"The Morgan Collection of Gold Objects recently presented to the Metropolitan Museum."

Thursday, December 27, 8.30 p. m.

Professor BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, *Johns Hopkins University*.

Address: "Oscillations and Nutations of Philological Studies."

FIRST SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27.

The first regular session of the eighteenth annual meeting of the Association began at 10 o'clock a. m., Thursday, December 27. Professor Thomas R. Price, the President of the Association, presided.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor James W. Bright, submitted the following report, which was accepted by vote of the Association:

I beg to submit for approval the fifteenth volume of the *Publications* of the Association.

Early in this year (1900), in pursuance of a unanimous vote of the Executive Council, the Modern Language Association of America was regularly incorporated under the laws of the State of Maryland. With the assistance of George Whitelock, Esq., acting as Attorney for the Association, a Charter was first obtained in the City of Baltimore; this Charter was then amended by an Act of Assembly at Annapolis, Md., so as to remove local restrictions, and so as to render the corporate rights of the Association perpetual.

The Treasurer of the Association, Professor Herbert E. Greene, submitted the following report:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, December 26, 1899,		\$1,295 76
Annual Dues from Members, and receipts from Subscribing Libraries:—		
For the year 1896,	\$ 9 00	
" " " 1897,	15 00	
" " " 1898,	39 00	
" " " 1899,	119 60	
" " " 1900,	1,377 20	
" " " 1901,	78 10	
		\$1,637 90
Sale of <i>Publications</i> ,		21 10
Advertisements,	112 50	
Interest on deposits,	28 30	
		\$ 140 80
Total receipts for the year,		\$3,095 56

EXPENDITURES.

Publication of Vol. XV, No. 1, and Reprints,	\$ 224 51	
" " " " 2, " "	262 37	
" " " " 3, " "	276 04	
" " " " 4, " "	339 53	
		\$1,102 45
Contribution to the Furnivall Testimonial,	25 00	
Paid George Whitelock, Esq., Attorney, for legal services in incorporating the Association,	120 37	
Supplies for the Secretary: stationery, postage, mailing <i>Publications</i> , etc.,	66 69	
Supplies for the Treasurer: stationery, postage, etc.,	33 47	
The Secretary,	200 00	
Expenses of Delegate to the Brinton Memorial Meeting,	4 00	
Job Printing,	18 25	
Binding a copy of Vol. XIV for Mrs. Bartlett,	3 50	
Bank Discount,	3 81	

Services of Janitor,	1 00	
The Central Division,	9 54	
		<hr/>
		\$ 485 63
Total expenditures for the year,		\$1,588 08
Balance on hand, December 26, 1900,		1,507 48
		<hr/>
		\$3,095 56
		<hr/>
Balance on hand, December 26, 1900,	\$1,507 48	

The President of the Association, Professor Thomas R. Price, appointed the following committees:

- (1) To audit the Treasurer's report: Professors E. S. Sheldon and James T. Hatfield.
- (2) To nominate officers: Professors F. M. Warren, A. R. Hohlfeld, F. N. Scott, C. G. Dunlap, and M. D. Learned.

On behalf of the President of the Central Division of the Association, Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, the President also announced the following committees to serve for the Central Division:

- (1) To nominate officers: Professors W. H. Carruth, E. P. Baillot, A. G. Canfield, C. F. McClumpha, and M. W. Sampson.
- (2) To determine place of meeting: Professors Raymond Weeks, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, A. R. Hohlfeld, E. E. Brandon, and George Hempl.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "The Home of the *Heliand*." By Professor Hermann Collitz, of Bryn Mawr College. [Printed in *Publications*, xvi, 123 f.]

This paper was discussed by Professor W. T. Hewitt.

2. "The Problematic Hero in German Fiction." By Professor A. B. Faust, of Wesleyan University. [Printed in *Publications*, xvi, 92 f.]

This paper was discussed by Professors F. M. Warren and A. R. Hohlfeld.

3. "English Influence upon Spanish Literature in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century." By Dr. J. D. M. Ford, of Harvard University. [Printed in *Publications*, xvi, 453 f.]

4. "*The Faire Maide of Bristow*. Comedy, 1605." By Dr. Arthur H. Quinn, of the University of Pennsylvania.

5. "Researches in Experimental Phonetics." By Professor E. W. Scripture, of Yale University. [Compare *Studies from the Yale Psychological Laboratory*. Vol. vii, 1899.]

(1) The usually accepted theory of the nature of spoken words must be modified. The mouth-tone characterizing a vowel is not an overtone of the chord-vibration, but is one that may remain fixed, or may vary independently of the chord-tone. (2) The action of the chords consists of a series of explosive openings, and not of more or less harmonic vibrations. The vocal apparatus is probably not a reed-pipe but a cushion-pipe. (3) The chord-tone in a vowel is nearly always changing in pitch from moment to moment. The mouth-tone frequently remains fixed in pitch, but may change according to phonetic requirements. (4) A diphthong is an organic union of two sounds, and not a mere succession of two distinct ones. (5) Speech-sounds are never twice exactly alike, even with the same speaker. (6) American speech has some pure long vowels. (7) American speech has some exaggerated glide-endings that make them resemble diphthongs. (8) The unity of English verse is the line, or the phrase. A line of verse cannot be divided into feet, as the curve of speech runs on with vowels, consonants, and pauses, and there is no regularity of pause-division. (9) Syllables cannot be classed as long and short. (10) English verse is a flow of speech-energy with a certain number of *maxima* and *minima* of energy per line.

This paper was discussed by Professors C. H. Grandgent, J. W. Bright, F. N. Scott, O. F. Emerson, E. B. Davis, and T. R. Price.

The following motion was then adopted by the Association :

"That a committee of one be appointed to represent this Association in a joint-committee for collecting and preserving records of speech, song, and similar material in various languages and dialects by means of speech-recording and speech-transmitting apparatus; and that power to act be given to the committee, with the restriction that no expense to this Association is to be incurred without its express consent."

Professor E. W. Scripture was appointed to serve the Association in accordance with the terms of this motion.

6. "Some Popular Literary Motives in the *Edda* and the *Heimskringla*." By Professor Gustaf E. Karsten, of the University of Indiana. [Read by title.]

7. "The Language of Luther's *Ein Urteil der Theologen zu Paris*, 1521." By Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, of the University of Chicago. [Read by title.]

8. "*Dialogus inter Corpus et Animam*." By Dr. Clark S. Northup, of Cornell University. [Read by title.] [Printed in *Publications*, xvi, 503 f.]

9. "Guiding Principles in the Study of Literature." By Professor Th. W. Hunt, of Princeton University. [Read by title.]

SECOND SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The second regular session of the meeting was convened Friday, December 28, at 9.30 a. m. President Thomas R. Price was in the chair.

The following report of the Committee on International Correspondence (cf. *Proceedings* for 1899, pp. xiv-xviii) was presented by Professor E. H. Magill, Chairman of the Committee:

Your committee on International Correspondence respectfully presents the following report:

(1) A pamphlet of fifty-four pages entitled *La Correspondance Inter-Scolaire et les Correspondances Internationales* has been published in Tarbes, France, by Prof. Paul Mieille, the originator of this system. He quotes

favorable opinions from French, German, English, and Italian sources, and shows the rapid progress that the plan has made in these countries during the past year.

(2) The International Correspondence was very favorably considered by the "Congrès International de l'Instruction Secondaire" at the Paris Exposition. The very able and exhaustive report on the subject by Mlle. Scott, of the Lycée Molière, was enthusiastically received. The names of the founders and initiators were heard with applause, and a resolution was unanimously adopted commending the correspondence to the good will and care of the different departments of Education in France.

(3) A series of 100 prizes has been offered by Mr. W. T. Stead, of the *London Review of Reviews*, for excellence in the department of the International Correspondence, thirty for each of the three countries, England, France, and Germany, and ten for America, these prizes to be awarded by rules which he has set forth in a circular; and the names of the 100 prize-winners in the four countries are to appear in the first number of an *Inter-National Correspondence Annual* to appear in the three languages, English, French, and German, next spring.

That this correspondence may have the encouragement and support of the Modern Language Association, and that our own country may have a central bureau, as have the other three countries named which are more especially engaged in the correspondence, your committee have agreed to recommend to the Association the adoption and distribution among the teachers of French and German of the following circular letter:—

THE INTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

FOR STUDENTS AND TEACHERS.

Recognizing the educational value of an exchange of letters by the students and teachers of the different nations, those interested in the idea have in the last few years organized several Committees or central Bureaus for the purpose of promoting the plan and of giving it stability and regularity.

Such central organizations now exist in England, France, Germany, and Italy. The Modern Language Association of America has appointed a Committee with a similar purpose in view.

With the generous aid of several influential journals, these committees now bring, annually, a small army of students and teachers into interesting personal relations with each other, thereby greatly stimulating interest in the study of modern languages. The service is, and will remain, a gratuitous one, the only expense incurred being that of postage.

METHODS.

The method of entering upon and continuing the correspondence is very simple. Lists of names are sent to the central committees. At as early a

The first recourse was naturally to the Bibliothèque Nationale. My previous experience in the the world's most extensive library had been almost exclusively in the Department of Manuscripts, where the service is prompt and accommodating; so that in undertaking to utilize the library's facilities for studying a present-day question I was not quite prepared for the delays and disappointments I was destined to encounter. But upon these I will not dwell further than to say that only after repeated attempts in the National Library to accomplish my purpose; only after resorting in vain to the library of the Sorbonne, the Arsenal and Sainte Geneviève; only after personally visiting the bureaux of two recently established bibliographical institutions in Paris; and only, at last, after myself sending by post to Brussels, seat of the International Institute of Bibliography, was I able to procure a copy of the *Annuaire de l'Institut international de bibliographie pour l'année 1899*. And after all my inquiries in Paris, it was not until I had received this work from Brussels, that I succeeded in learning of the existence in Paris, since 1896, of a French section of the *Institut international de Bibliographie*, and, since 1899, of a *Bureau bibliographique de Paris*. Little by little it had begun to dawn upon me that this curious difficulty of orienting myself in the burning subject of Bibliography was at least to some extent due, as the publisher of one of the new bibliographical undertakings frankly avowed to me, to the emulation, not to say the rivalry, of the various bibliographical enterprises now represented in Paris.

Two of these I have just named; and to two others I have alluded above. The latter are, the *Bibliothèque des Bibliographies critiques*, begun in the present year, and published under the auspices of the *Société des Études historiques*; and the organization which calls itself, at the head of the title page of its prospectus, *L'Institut de Bibliographie*, and, at the foot of the same, prints: "Paris: Institut International de Bibliographie, 93 Boulevard Saint-Germain."

This last institution is a private business enterprise, claiming anteriority of date to all the other recent bibliographical movements. Its plan of operations is so broad and its equipment so extensive that, before passing to the genuinely international systems of coöperation, I may well begin here with a brief account of its manifold appliances.

The *Institut de Bibliographie* of the Boulevard Saint-Germain was projected as early as 1893 by Dr. Marcel Baudoin, of Paris, and has reached a development and a degree of material prosperity which renders a visit to the various departments of the establishment highly interesting and instructive. The Institute is a joint-stock company with a capital of 350,000 francs, and is installed in central quarters near the great schools of Paris. On January 1, 1900, it became the publisher of the monthly *Bibliographia Medica*, a continuation of the American *Index Medicus*, which, for reasons unknown to me, ceased to appear about the middle of the year 1899.

In theory at least, and to a limited extent in fact, the outfit of the Institute is ideally complete. The entire resources of the place are at the disposal of all applicants, in consideration of a lump-sum general subscription, or of a series of partial payments. These resources consist of:

I. A (so-called) Universal Bibliographical Repertory, composed of a classified bibliographical card catalogue. The cards or slips (French, *fiches*) of this branch of the service are distributed in packages by mail to subscribers, in France or in foreign countries, at the rate of one cent a card, plus the annual subscription of two dollars for France (four dollars for other countries). Subscribers wishing to be notified monthly of everything currently published on a given subject, may be supplied by subscribing to the regular service.

II. An Analytical Repertory, consisting of

(a) slips giving a brief analysis of books and articles on a given subject; (b) slips giving the bibliographical indication of the analyses of books and articles on the subject in question that have appeared in periodicals; and (c) a repertory of clippings from periodicals.

III. A collection of documents, consisting of photographs and other illustrations, lantern slides, plans, maps, translations, copies, etc., which may be subscribed for in the same manner as the preceding.

IV. A general Circulating Library, the volumes of which are delivered in foreign countries as well as in France.

The general subscription to all these departments combined is ten dollars a year, plus the tariff charged for the individual loans.

As a matter of fact, the equipment of the Paris Institute of Bibliography, in its present stage of development, is chiefly available to the members of the medical profession, but is by no means restricted to this branch of knowledge. On the other hand, the *Bibliothèque de bibliographies critiques*, mentioned above, consists of a series of pamphlets, each devoted to a distinct topic in history, literature, sociology, or art, averaging in price about one franc each. Of these, some half a dozen numbers have already appeared, and seventy-five or eighty are announced as in preparation, at the hand of competent specialists.

Thus it will appear that there are already in operation in Paris two extensive bibliographical enterprises, one of them, at least, offering in theory to its subscribers almost every conceivable bibliographical facility. No one, however, who is at all familiar with the stupendous problem of universal bibliography will for a moment imagine that such institutions are in a position to cope with the vast contemporary output of scientific and literary productiveness.

It is precisely this tremendous world-problem that is held in view by the *International Institute of Bibliography* (*Institut International de Bibliographie*), established with headquarters in Brussels, as the outcome of an international conference held in that city in 1895. The ramifications of this organization have already become so wide-spread that its *Annuaire*

for 1899, which is scarcely more than a prospectus of the work in progress, fills 119 pages, and should be read by anyone wishing to be informed of the present status of bibliographical endeavor. It may be had for two francs, by addressing the Institut International de Bibliographie, No. 1 rue du Musée, Brussels, Belgium. Only a few words here as to the general working of the institution. In the first place, coöperation is sought in all parts of the world, on the basis of the Decimal system of classification originally devised by Melvil Dewey in America. In a sense both the strength and the weakness of the entire scheme may be said to centre in this much-controverted system of classification. Suffice it to say that the battle is still raging in the bibliographical world. It is interesting to note that the Paris Institute of Bibliography is organized likewise on the basis of the Dewey classification and the uniform standard card of the American Library Association, and that, on whichever side the imitation lies, as between the Brussels and the Paris Institutes, there is an undoubted relation between their modes of procedure. With some difference in details, the system of subscription to the two Institutes, it may be added, is one and the same. In the list of members of the Brussels Institute I have noted between fifteen and twenty names of American librarians or institutions.

Among the important enterprises affiliated with the Brussels Institute, in the way of coöperation, may be mentioned the *Concilium Bibliographicum* of Zürich, which publishes *Bibliographia Zoologica* (an annual repertory printed both on standard cards and in collected volumes) and the similar *Bibliographica Physiologica*, and *Bibliographica Anatomica*; the *American Library Association*, which publishes *Bibliographica Americana*, a repertory of books published in the United States; the *Rome Insegnante di Musica*, which publishes *Bibliographica Musicalis Italica*; and various other societies, too numerous to mention.

Should there be a proposition made to the Modern Language Association at its approaching meeting, looking to an appropriation for bibliographical purposes, I take it for granted that the movement will assume the form of some sort of coöperation or affiliation with the work of the Brussels *Institut International de Bibliographie*. Much has already been done in America in this general direction, which it might be profitable to review here, if there were time, and if I had the necessary material at my command. Let me mention only one feature—which, because of its private nature, may not have become known to all the members of the Modern Language Association. I refer to the fact that a few of the leading American University Libraries, by coöperation in furnishing copy and by contributing to cover the necessary expense, are at present supplied with printed title cards to the current contents of a large number of *learned* (as distinguished from popular) periodicals, which they regularly incorporate in their general card catalogues. Smaller libraries could easily obtain duplicates of these title cards at comparatively moderate expense, and it may be that, recently,

more advantage has been taken of this opportunity than I am personally aware of.

In conclusion, I must say that there are of course a great many points of interest appropriate to the present theme that I have not even touched upon. The unmentioned topic that looms up largest in my mind is the series of international conferences that have been held since 1896 (the latest of them in June of the present year in London) under the auspices of the British Royal Society, in the interest of the publication of an *International Catalogue of Sciences* (mathematical, physical and natural); not to speak of the recent Bibliographical Congress held under the auspices of the Paris Exposition.

But I have perhaps said enough to meet the purpose you had in mind in requesting me to make the present communication. Personally, I have already, on other occasions, had so much to say on the importance of bibliographical facilities to the successful prosecution of higher scholarship, that I could scarcely be regarded as offering strictly impartial testimony in a case involving such a project as that at present under consideration.

Very cordially yours,

H. A. TODD.

PROFESSOR JAMES W. BRIGHT,

Secretary Mod. Lang. Ass'n of America.

The subject of Coöperative Bibliography thus brought to the attention of the Association was referred for further consideration to the following committee:

H. A. TODD, *Chairman*,

JAMES W. BRIGHT,

CALVIN THOMAS.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

10. "The Book of the Courtyer: A Possible Source of Benedick and Beatrice." By Dr. Mary Augusta Scott, of Smith College. [Printed in *Publications*, xvi, 475 f.]

11. On the Latin Sources of *Thèbes* and *Énéas*. By Professor F. M. Warren, of Western Reserve University. [Printed in *Publications*, xvi, 375 f.]

12. "Lessing's Treatment of the Story of the Ring, and its Teaching." By Professor W. H. Carruth, of the University of Kansas. [Printed in *Publications*, xvi, 107 f.]

This paper was discussed by Professor Calvin Thomas.

13. "The Principles of Hermeneutics." By Professor Julius Goebel, of the Leland Stanford University.

The author of the paper not being present, the paper was read by Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, Secretary of the Central Division of the Association.

This paper was discussed by Professors James T. Hatfield, A. R. Hohlfeld, F. N. Scott, and J. W. Bright.

The President of the Association called to the chair Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, President of the Central Division of the Association, who presided over the remaining portion of the Session.

14. "The Semasiology of Color-Words and their Congeners." By Professor Francis A. Wood, of Cornell College.

This paper also was read for the absent author by Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg.

15. "Johann Christian Krüger's *Lustspiele* [1722-1750]." By Dr. Albert Haas, of Bryn Mawr College.

Krüger, a writer of comedies before Lessing's time, tried to enlarge the scope of German comedy beyond the limits accorded to it by Gottsched's theories. He succeeded in doing so, first, by reintroducing the Arlequin and the less refined forms of humor, thus following Holberg's example who also influenced him in minor details; and, secondly, by using the form of the traditional French comedy for social satires. These social satires are directed against the clergy and the nobility and their tone is clearly the same as that of the writers of the French Revolution.

One of Krüger's comedies shows close resemblance to Beaumarchais' *Mariage de Figaro*, although the author was in no way directly influenced by him. In other respects, his comedies contain simply the stock-figures and stock-motives of the French comedy and the *comédie larmoyante*.

Krüger attains the high literary standard of his French models only in his first two comedies: *Die Geistlichen auf dem Lande* and *Die Candidaten*. Owing to his financial difficulties, his later comedies and farces were, in the main, the products of necessity.

This paper was discussed by Professor C. C. Ferrell.

16. "The English Chronicle Play." By Professor Felix E. Schelling, of the University of Pennsylvania. [Read by title.]

17. "The Sources of *Titus Andronicus*." By Dr. Harold De W. Fuller, of Harvard University. [Read by title.] [Printed in *Publications*, XVI, 1 f.]

18. "The Trobador Bertran d'Alamanon." By Professor Hugo A. Rennert, of the University of Pennsylvania. [Read by title.]

THIRD SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28.

The third session was called to order by the President, Professor Thomas R. Price, at 2.30 p. m., Friday, December 28.

Professor O. F. Emerson offered the proposition that hereafter the American Dialect Society be allowed to contribute one paper to the programme of the annual meeting of the Association. This proposition was accepted by a unanimous vote of the Association.

The Auditing Committee reported that the Treasurer's accounts were found to be correct.

In accordance with the report of the Committee appointed to nominate officers, the following officers were elected for the year 1901 :

President : Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University.

Secretary : James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University.

Treasurer : Herbert E. Greene, Johns Hopkins University.

Executive Council.

Adolphe Cohn, Columbia University.

Francis B. Gummere, Haverford College.

George T. Files, Bowdoin College.

Charles W. Kent, University of Virginia.
A. R. Hohlfeld, Vanderbilt University.
C. C. Ferrell, University of Mississippi.
W. H. Carruth, University of Kansas.
Charles Bundy Wilson, State University of Iowa.
E. A. Eggers, State University of Ohio.

Phonetic Section.

President : A. Melville Belle, Washington, D. C.
Secretary : George Hempl, University of Michigan.

Pedagogical Section.

President : F. N. Scott, University of Michigan.
Secretary : W. E. Mead, Wesleyan University.

Editorial Committee.

C. H. Grandgent, Harvard University.
H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago.

For the Central Division of the Association the following officers were elected for the year 1901 :

President : James T. Hatfield, Northwestern University.
Secretary : Raymond Weeks, University of Missouri.
First Vice-President : C. W. Pearson, Beloit College.
Second Vice-President : E. P. Morton, University of Indiana.
Third Vice-President : B. L. Bowen, Ohio State University.

Council.

F. A. Blackburn, University of Chicago.
Eugénie Galloo, University of Kansas.
D. K. Dodge, University of Illinois.
C. C. Ferrell, University of Mississippi.

The committee appointed to select the place for the next meeting of the Central Division of the Association named the University of Illinois, at Champaign, Ill. By vote of the Association this selection was confirmed.

19. "The Legends of Cain and his Descendants in Old and Middle English Literature." By Professor O. F. Emerson, of the Western Reserve University.

Starting with the passages in *Beowulf* referring to Cain (11,107,1261), which have been somewhat variously explained, the paper presented an extended study of the legends associated with the first murderer and his descendants. For this purpose, the first part of the paper was devoted to Hebrew traditions which modify and extend the biblical history before the flood. Special attention was called to traditions relating to Cain's birth, the quarrel with Abel, the curse and the sign set on Cain, the death of Cain, and various classes of his descendants.

A second part of the study contained numerous quotations from early Christian writers, showing that these Hebrew traditions were early adopted and utilized by medieval writers, in both explanation and extension of the brief account in the Bible.

By far the larger part of the paper was taken up with the numerous allusions to Cain and his descendants in medieval writers, mainly those of Old and Middle English times, though with some examples from Old Saxon, Old High German, and Old French writings. The allusions in English are especially numerous and often need special elucidation, owing to their fragmentary character or other obscurity in detail. Especially interesting in all periods are the references to the descendants of the first murderer, and the writer showed that some previous interpretations were to be considerably modified.

In the discussion of this paper Professor W. E. Mead suggested a possible connection between the Cain-legend and the Devil Parliament in the *Romance of Merlin*. Professor W. T. Hewitt referred to the 'Bad Boy' in Hans Sachs and elsewhere. The expression 'raising Cain' was a confirmation, Professor Emerson thought, of Professor Hewitt's suggestion.

The Secretary of the Pedagogical Section of the Association, Professor W. E. Mead, of Wesleyan University, presented the following report:

THE GRADUATE STUDY OF RHETORIC.

About two months ago the Pedagogical Section of the Modern Language Association suddenly developed a very unusual, if not alarming energy, the credit for which belongs entirely to Professor Scott, the President of the Section. As a result of this new activity, somewhat more than a hundred circulars containing the following questions were sent to teachers of English and to others who might presumably have an opinion on the topic under investigation:

1. Is Rhetoric, in your opinion, a proper subject for graduate work?
2. If so, what is the proper aim, what is the scope, and what are the leading problems of Rhetoric as a graduate study?
3. If Rhetoric, in your opinion, should not be admitted to the list of graduate studies, what do you regard as the strongest reasons for excluding it?

Of the sixty-three reports that were returned, all but seven attempted answers more or less detailed to the questions. Most of the colleges and universities represented in the reports are northern institutions, but they are situated in nearly all of the principal states from the Atlantic to the Pacific.¹

The most striking fact that I have noted in reading the reports is that men of apparently equal ability and equal interest in the subject take diametrically opposite views of the fitness of Rhetoric as a graduate study. This may be due in part to the lack of agreement in the definition of the term Rhetoric, which was purposely left without interpretation or limitation in the questions, with a view to drawing out from various sources a statement as to the proper scope and aims of the subject. One thing, however, the investigation may fairly lay claim to have settled, and that is that the term Rhetoric should either be abandoned for one less equivocal, or that it should be more strictly defined. Owing to the prevalent vagueness of conception as to what Rhetoric really is and should cover, the various reports read a little like debates on a question in which the meaning of leading terms has not been agreed upon. Yet in this very fact there are some compensations; for there have been called out a variety of suggestions as to the possible extension of the field of Rhetoric, and the introduction into our graduate courses of an organized group of related subjects that have not hitherto been systematically combined.

With these few words of preface, I now turn to the actual reports. You would be interested, I am sure, to have a considerable number of the arguments on both sides of the main question, but the time allowed for this matter is so brief that I can do little more than outline the positions that

¹ About one hundred and fifty circulars have also been sent to representative European scholars and writers, but reports from them have not yet arrived in sufficient numbers to be included in this survey of opinion.

have been taken, and read a few of the more detailed reports.¹ There is, as might be expected, more or less repetition.

I.

A decided majority of the writers hold that the subject, as they define it, has a legitimate place as a graduate study. To clear the ground, I therefore present the negative view first. It is only fair to say, however, that possibly some of those who most object to the inclusion of Rhetoric as a graduate study would heartily favor as graduate studies some of the subjects suggested below, only they might prefer not to regard them as branches of Rhetoric. The narrowness of meaning given to the term in some of the reports is as remarkable as the vast extension of its meaning in others.

The principal objection urged against Rhetoric, considered as a graduate study, is that it is primarily an art rather than a science; that mere knowledge of what has been the practice of great writers, what has been the history of the development of the theory, in short, mere knowledge of the subject as at present taught, or as it has been taught in the past, is a matter of comparatively small practical importance. The main thing is practical assimilation of a few fundamental principles. But all this and more is brought out in the reports, and I therefore present these without further delay, and let the advocates of either side speak for themselves² :—

(a) "I cannot conceive any form of rhetorical science or rhetorical art as having sufficient body; as having any interesting field for exploration and discovery; as having adequate interior organization; as being under the government of general laws; as being free from the tyranny of dogma and authority; I say I cannot imagine any single rhetorical entity which is not a mass or an assemblage of dicta in no way interdependent, and which may not at a thousand points be discussed as a matter of opinion, but never decided by any energy of investigation."

(b) "I think that Rhetoric is only useful in so far as it is practically helpful to the student in enabling him to write better; and further, it may, in *some small measure*, be useful in helping him to appreciate good literature.

"Unless the eye is kept fixed on these two aims, Rhetoric, it seems to me, may easily grow into a large scheme of divisions and definitions, which may give an impression that something is really being accomplished, but which is about as desirable for the student as a revival of the metaphysics and logic of the school men."

¹ It has been thought desirable on various grounds to publish no names in connection with the reports, but the aim has been to make the presentation of opinion practically complete on both sides of the main question. Many excellent reports have been crowded out owing to lack of space, though the trend of the arguments has been carefully followed in the general statement.

² For the sake of brevity I dispense with connective words, and arrange the individual reports under the letters (a), (b), (c), etc.

(c) "If by Rhetoric as graduate study we mean 'criticism,' 'philosophy,' 'logic,' or 'aesthetics' my answer is that we already recognize it under these several titles, and that the return to an antiquated use of a word will gain nothing. If by 'Rhetoric' we are to mean, as popularly, composition, I think that the place of that study is in the college, not in the university. I see no sphere for 'Rhetoric' as a graduate study except in a trespass upon literature, aesthetics, logic, or pedagogy—if it attempt the art of teaching how to teach composition."

(d) "The chief reason (for excluding Rhetoric) would be that Rhetoric, as a compendium of general principles, can be easily expounded in a single volume. If the study involves diction and style, it is usually included in the department of Literature."

(e) "My experience has tended to show that the personal element plays too large a part in rhetorical study for anything like accurate or scientific results to be obtained."

(f) "The object of teaching Rhetoric is, in my judgment, not theoretical but practical, as propaedeutic to composition and literature, and the undergraduate course should suffice for this. The graduate course should be literature itself, which has no limit."

(g) "I am sure that I do not believe in making Rhetoric a subject for graduate study, but I find some difficulty in expressing my reason. The practical part of Rhetoric ought surely to be studied before graduation; and what I may call the learned part of Rhetoric has always seemed to me to be a peculiarly unprofitable study with which I should not be inclined to do much, either after graduation, or before it."

(h) "Rhetoric seems to me wholly unprofitable, and therefore an improper subject for graduate investigation. On the other hand, a course in English composition, as training in thought and expression, may often be profitable to a graduate student; and such a course may be of much assistance to the study of English literature."

(i) "Rhetoric, as distinguished from criticism, is merely the formulation of certain principles of good writing. Since writing which produces literature is one of the fine arts these principles are of necessity few and very general. As soon as these principles are reduced to a rigid and scientific system they become misleading and mischievous, for the essence of every fine art is individuality of conception and of execution. Tabulation of facts and generalisation in such matters very rarely produce anything except results which were already obvious, or rules whose very rigidity condemns them."

"Regarding Rhetoric as the art of speaking and writing correctly, I am of the opinion that it is an unsuitable subject for graduate study. When a man has obtained his A. B. degree he ought to be able to write his language with sufficient correctness to be responsible in the future for his own style. If he has not thus learned to write reasonably well he probably never will learn."

"Regarding Rhetoric as a science, that is, an enquiry into the why and wherefore of the effect of words and the like, etc., or as a subject for historical treatment, I should think the material rather slight for graduate work, except as some individual might care to take it up. The material furnished by the XYZ school, for example, which has gone as far as any into the science of the thing and is excellent in its way, if not very suggestive or exact, would furnish an intelligent student with material for only a fortnight of study, and is wholly worthless as a practical aid to an advanced and capable writer. From this so-called scientific point of view, Rhetoric ought to be regarded as a mere detail of psychology or linguistics and be treated as such. Historically, Rhetoric affords small material, and that of the most academic and arid kind; what has heretofore been said about the subject from Aristotle to Whately, should not occupy a serious man a great while. He would have to study it for his own curiosity rather than as an addition to his teaching equipment."

(j) "Though I should hesitate to say that any subject is not suitable for this purpose, Rhetoric strikes me as anything but particularly adapted to it. I should regard it as a better subject of study for a person interested in philosophy than for one interested in English. For such a one I should even consider it dangerous, one in which he was likely to become mazed—to the great disadvantage of the luckless freshmen he will later, probably, have to teach. Of men who fling Aristotle every few minutes at beardless youths, of men so infested with the aesthetic bee in their bonnets that they try to make dull undergraduates theorize instead of teaching them to write, I have seen enough to warrant this statement. For the teaching of English composition, I consider the advanced study of Rhetoric almost if not quite useless; I should regard it as suitable for study in the same spirit as Logic."

(k) "In my opinion, Rhetoric, in so far as it concerns itself with principles deduced from the practice of good writers and speakers and applied to a student's own composition,—useful though it is to everyone who would perfect himself in the art of expression,—is not a proper subject for graduate work leading to a degree.

"A graduate student should, of course, be able to present in appropriate literary form the results of labor in his chosen field; but he should have done preparatory work to that end before he became a graduate. If he has not mastered the general principles of Rhetoric and learned how to apply them to his own writing before he enters a graduate school, he should supply his deficiency as soon as he can,—should supply it as he would supply a deficiency in arithmetic or in any other subject that belongs in the school or the college curriculum; he should make Rhetoric a supplementary study. It is hardly necessary to add that a graduate student should use his knowledge of Rhetoric as an aid in all his written work. From Rhetoric thus used he will get far more advantage than could be obtained in any other way; for it will be to him not an end in itself but a means to a higher end, not a matter of knowledge but a source of power

in the use of knowledge. He will thus avoid the danger which besets those who study Rhetoric by itself or who write essays on subjects in which they take a languid interest,—the danger of valuing style for style's sake, of setting form above substance, of treating good English as something apart from the daily work of life.

"In so far as Rhetoric may be regarded as a science, it does not seem to me of sufficient importance to be entitled to a place among studies leading to a graduate degree. Under this head, a possible subject is The History of Rhetoric, Ancient and Modern; but a graduate student would not be likely to discover anything new in a field which has been so thoroughly explored, nor would he probably put the old facts into better shape. The study of purely theoretical Rhetoric would, I fear, in the hands of a graduate student lead either to vague generalities or to pedantry in one form or another,—such as technical terms, confusing diagrams, statistics of words in sentences or of sentences in paragraphs. Between metaphysical subtleties on the one hand, and mechanical devices on the other, he would lose sight of those living and life-giving qualities in a great writer which make him great.

"If, however, Rhetoric be held to include the study of a great author or group of authors, with special reference to style as affected by subject matter, individuality, and contemporaneous influences, it may, under favorable conditions, be a subject leading to a graduate degree. Those conditions imply a student of exceptional literary taste and talent, a professor willing and competent to oversee and direct work of a very high grade, and a committee willing and competent to pass judgment on a thesis which embodies the results of such work.

"My conclusions are confirmed by the testimony of the members of a small class in English Composition, to whom I read without comment the questions under consideration, and who answered them in writing. Of the sixteen men who wrote, eleven are graduates, and several of them have taught English in secondary schools. The eleven graduates, taken together, hold diplomas from fourteen or fifteen colleges, three or four having received them from two or more institutions. Of the undergraduates, one was prepared for college at an English public school. All, undergraduates and graduates, are students well on in life and mature in mind. As a whole, the class may be fairly regarded as representing—to the extent that such a small class can represent—the opinions of advanced students in English on the questions in hand.

"Of these writers every one discussed the main question as if Rhetoric were to be understood to mean English Composition as a whole or in part. Not one seriously considered the possibility of making Rhetoric a study by itself. Those who answered the first question in the affirmative contended that a graduate who had had no instruction, or next to none, while in college, or who had failed to profit by the instruction provided, should be allowed to use a part of his work leading to a graduate degree as a means of making up for lost time. Some of these writers seemed to think that a graduate

school might be made to serve as a school for critical or creative genius; but their plans for the conduct of such a school were not very definite. Those who answered the first question in the negative maintained that there is no more reason for putting Rhetoric among the studies leading to a graduate degree than for putting arithmetic, political geography, or table etiquette there; that Rhetoric, as even undergraduates discover early in the college course, ought to be studied not for itself primarily, but for its value to the student in all his other work in English, and that to give it 'the false dignity of isolation' would be to diminish rather than to increase its importance."

II.

In reply to all this the advocates of the subject maintain that there are many legitimate topics for graduate study within the field of Rhetoric. In general, they propose three or four main lines of inquiry—historical, psychological, or philosophical, and pedagogical.

On the historical side they suggest (1) the history of Rhetoric and the development of rhetorical theory, particularly in the writings of the great masters from Aristotle down to the present; (2) the historical study of English Syntax; (3) the history of usages and the study of the usage of given authors; (4) comparative historical study of forms of expression in kindred languages and exhaustive classification of the existing material; (5) the history of English literary criticism.

Philosophical or psychological study of the subject would involve an investigation of the problems of literary art, of the principles underlying expression, of the relation of logic to Rhetoric; a study of the theory of literary criticism, of aesthetics, of the basis for niceties of style; and, in general, what may be included under the term philosophy of style.

On the pedagogical side some hold that the future instructor in Rhetoric should be trained in methods of teaching the subject. Some urge, too, that practical exercise in composition should be included in the graduate work, though several were careful to exclude that as counting for a degree.

I now take up as before the actual reports and will read as many as time permits:—

(a) "The only reason I can see for excluding Rhetoric is that it is not an individual subject, but a composite of parts of grammar, psychology, logic, literary criticism, and perhaps other studies. But though Rhetoric borrows its fundamentals, it applies them in a way that is its own. This fact, it seems to me, justifies its existence as a subject of higher study. I recall a thesis for the degree of Ph. D. on the development, philosophy, and use of the English paragraph. Every one will no doubt agree that this subject is well worthy of research, yet I doubt if any department of psychology or of English literature would encourage its students to choose it for a doctor's thesis. There are many similar subjects which will not receive the scholarly attention they deserve if Rhetoric is not recognized as a graduate study.

"Rhetoric is not, however, equal in importance to those subjects that have an independent existence, and if it is to be pursued as a graduate study its relation to other branches of knowledge must be fully realized. It would be nonsense to plan graduate work in Rhetoric which should simply continue the mixed lessons given under that name in elementary text-books."

(b) "I believe Rhetoric to be a proper subject for graduate work leading to a degree, if logic and literature and psychology are.

"I regard Rhetoric as essentially a branch of psychology; it is the psychology of the creative activity applied to the processes and problems of literature. Its practical utility as a graduate study arises from the fact that it deals with the form of mental activity with which men have most to do in life, either as production or as appreciation; it introduces men to the true inwardness of literature with which, as matter of refining culture, they are to be conversant all their lives. As to scope, it covers all the field of literature in the making; and its problems are analogous to the problems that arise in learning the technique of any art.

"With this view of Rhetoric, I am inclined to put it later in the college course than is sometimes done; for fair appreciation of its significance I think we must go as late, at least, as Junior year.

"I give no reason for excluding it; but I think I know, in part, why the question of retaining it was raised at all. Rhetoric has been pursued merely as composition, that is, with the object of making writers; and now it is discovered that writers are not made either by going through certain paces in a strait-jacket of refined grammar, or by jotting down daily what the student saw on his walk to the post-office,—in fact it is beginning to be suspected that writers are not made at all. But in view of this discovery I should not advocate throwing the whole study overboard. I should interrogate the study more closely to see what it contains worth keeping, and revise my methods to correspond. For myself—after considerable study of Rhetoric, and experience in teaching it to undergraduates—I have much faith in the study and its capabilities, though these are not so exclusively utilitarian as they have been regarded; I believe it may be just as practical, just as interesting, just as profitable, just as liberally educative, to study literature constructively (in other words, rhetoric), as to study it historically."

(c) "Most certainly Rhetoric is a proper subject for graduate work leading to a degree.

"(1) Aim: investigation into the nature and functions of discourse, its proper conditions and results, definition of the various kinds of discourse in psychologic terms, determination of the aesthetic basis for certain rhetorical effects, etc. The historic development of rhetorical theory should also be traced.

"(2) The scope of graduate work in Rhetoric is bounded neither by present rhetorical dogma nor even by the developing history of rhetorical

theory from the Sophists and Plato down. It touches for subject-matter both literature and linguistics; for method psychology, aesthetics, and sociology.

"(3) Problems: some suggested under (1). The nature and function of figures of speech in general, of specific figures. Prose rhythms. The relations of argument to formal and real logic. The psychologic basis for descriptive writing, narrative structure in its aesthetic bearings, etc.

"Ignorance on the part of its opponents, as to the real nature of the subject of Rhetoric and the meaning of its study, is the only reason for excluding it which can be offered.

"Note: My own experience as graduate student and as director of graduate courses has convinced me that the field of rhetorical investigation is rich in opportunity for original, thorough, philosophic work. Without a fairly complete training, however, in modern psychology and aesthetics, as well as in literature and language, only dilettante work is possible, and that has long discredited the name Rhetoric in our colleges and universities."

(d) "Admitting that our current terms 'literature' and 'Rhetoric' overlap even to the extent of some confusion, I think that courses such as the following are both properly graduate and properly Rhetoric:

"(1) *Courses in the theory of criticism.*

"(2) *Courses in poetics* (though for practical reasons Rhetoric may well be confined to prose).

"(3) *Courses in a particular prose form* (e. g., the novel), where the aim is not so much to show the historical development as to expose the scope of the form and appreciate various treatments of it. The fundamental theory of narration, the fundamental classification by epic (or realistic) and romantic, the exploration of a distinct and widespread form such as the short story, and finally, the analysis of a particular method such as George Meredith's, seem theoretically to be matters of Rhetoric and practically not to be otherwise provided.

"(4) *Courses in verse-forms.* These are purely rhetorical, beginning and ending in form as such. (But cf. note on (2).)

"(5) *Courses to train teachers* in the presentation of theory, and especially in handling essays.

"(6) *Courses in research, 'methodology.'*

"So far for theory. In practice a given department is not to be divided *a priori*, with certain men strictly for 'literature' on one side of an imaginary line, and certain men for 'Rhetoric' on the other. This, being entirely a matter of organization, seems not to affect your question. Again, it is often unwise for a student that has pursued several undergraduate courses in writing to go on after graduation with further courses in writing. On the other hand, since every graduate school has students evidently in need of further practice, either special courses in writing should be provided for graduates alone, or undergraduate courses should be

open to graduates. The latter being usually the more economical solution, I am doubtful whether there should be, at least in universities whose undergraduate courses in the practice of composition cover four years, strictly graduate courses to the same end. I am regularly called on for help in the ordering of doctoral dissertations; but that is usually because the candidates have had no adequate undergraduate instruction, and the difficulty would hardly be met by a separate course.

"In sum, then, I think the theory of Rhetoric is distinctly a subject proper for graduate work leading to a degree; the practice of composition not so distinctly, if at all. I should say not at all, if I did not bethink me of a year's work with a playwright, a year of hard practice, very profitable to me and, I venture to think, to him. Certainly, in spite of exceptions easily made, the proper field for the particular education that comes through systematic practice under systematic criticism is undergraduate.

"*Note.*—I have made no reference to aesthetics; for in practice that seems more naturally to belong to the psychology-philosophy group. On the other hand, in certain universities, as Princeton and Michigan, I suppose Rhetoric has its foot firmly planted there. As to the correct theoretical division I am quite incapable of pronouncing judgment."

(e) "Rhetoric, in my opinion, is a proper subject for graduate work leading to a degree, but not in so far as it is composition, which should be an undergraduate study, or, if graduate, should not count toward a degree.

"In so far as it is theory, Rhetoric is as proper a study for graduate work, in my opinion, as any other art of the linguistic field. Not of course the elementary side of the theory, which is for undergraduates alone, but the history of Rhetoric, the fundamental principles, if there are any, tested by psychology, philosophy, etc. Now that our students and professors of Rhetoric are beginning to have a good philological training, I hope to see the form-side of English prose covered as well as the form-side of English poetry is being covered. But Rhetoric is a horrid name for the theory of word-usage and style, and I wish we could drop it, including the whole higher field under some such general term as linguistics or philology. I am giving, myself, a graduate course in the history of theories regarding word-usage. Students seem to like it, and it has at least the effect of giving them a new conception of the scholar's and the good citizen's attitude towards words and of knocking out of their heads the foolish dicta of the popular text-books on Rhetoric."

(f) "I believe that the strict aims of Rhetoric as a graduate study should be pedagogical in their nature. Paidology, the aesthetics of prose, the history of language, and the history of Rhetoric, are proper fields of that research which shall discover a scientific basis for teaching an efficient use of the mother tongue. The psychology of childhood and youth as related to problems of language-teaching, and the history of language as throwing light upon those problems, are matters very imperfectly understood as yet. Even the dry history of Rhetoric, a subject closed to students

who have small Latin and Greek, is profitable unto humility. It at least saves the student from some of the crude dogmatism of them who in each generation reinvent theories tried by Corax and Tisias, and by them found wanting."

(g) "If regarded as a science it would be conducted on the same lines as Grammar or Language. The History of Rhetoric—the History of Rhetorical Treatises—Comparative Rhetoric, etc., would be proper objects of research.

"If regarded as an art there would need to be a change in the interpretation of the advanced degrees. For the Oxford doctorate in music the candidate must present a musical composition as part evidence of proficiency. I do not see why a rhetorical composition, an essay, a novel, a poem, or other literary kind, should not count toward a degree in literature. In that case graduate Rhetoric would be simply an extension of the theme system now used with undergraduates."

(h) "I find there is as much ground for investigation in 'Rhetoric' as in any other branch of English work, and as, I believe, in any other subject pursued in universities. We have here considerable classes working upon problems connected with the evolution of present prose modes and styles, and also investigating experimentally into what may be done in characterization, nature-work, etc. I confess I do not see why a degree may not be earned by achieving knowledge of how present literary form has been evolved, or by acquiring the power to use the modes of the masters consciously and confidently and with scientific selection."

(i) "It seems to me the value of Rhetoric as a subject for graduate work depends upon whether it be regarded as an art or as a science, if these distinctions will be allowed. Rhetoric should be mastered in its practical aspects before the student completes his undergraduate study; but as a science I believe it is eminently suited for graduate work. It should be regarded in this latter sense as a phase of psychology; and its problems should be looked upon as psychological at bottom. In general the study should relate to the outcome of various modes of language-expression upon the behavior of men; the minor questions falling under this general problem would relate to the effects of particular qualities or characteristics of expression. I think the study should be on one side historical, aiming to discover what manner of discourse men have employed in the past to influence their hearers and readers, and if possible to trace the outcome; as a phase of the historical study, perhaps, students should analyze the the qualities of expression of great works which have endured for a long time and have exerted a marked influence on human conduct, as well on account of their style as of their content. I think there is a place too for the experimental study of rhetoric, the aim of which should be to determine by test the influence upon people of different modes of expression of the same idea. If we could get anything like an accurate account of the effect which various modes have upon men as they are subjected to them in their

practical lives there would not be such need for accurate experiment, but thus far we have been unable to do this.

"I am convinced that not enough attention has been paid to the psychological aspects of rhetoric; the attention has been devoted too largely to treating the subject from the standpoint and according to the method of linguistics, which is all right as far as it goes, but it seems to me that finally all the principles of rhetoric rest upon principles of psychology of the individual and of the social mind. A graduate student ought to be led up to a way of looking at rhetoric from the psychological point of view, and subjecting all rhetorical principles to the psychological test. I think grammar can be treated by the linguistic method much more effectively than can rhetoric; the former is more or less arbitrary in respect of psychological law, while the latter is at every point vital and dependent upon psychological law. I should say that the undergraduate should be made familiar with rhetoric mainly on its art side, while the graduate should master it on its psychological and philosophical sides."

(j) "Mere Rhetoric, understood as the teachings of technical treatises called Rhetorics, is hardly in itself a subject for graduate study. The history of rhetorical theory, as a branch of the history of criticism, is a proper subject. Investigations into the psychology of rhetoric and style (e. g. Herbert Spencer's 'economy of attention') or scientific study of the history of style (whether as the rhetoric of prose or the rhetoric of poetry) are proper subjects. Rhetoric in this sense is a part of the study of the history of literary form. It should not be admitted, however, except in close and constant connection with the copious and extensive study and reading of the body of literature itself and with the study of literary history. There should be no separate curriculum of graduate study in Rhetoric.

"Mere theme-writing, however sublimated or raised even to the *n*th power, ought never to be a part of the credits for a higher degree. If this is understood to be a part of Rhetoric then Rhetoric, so far, should be excluded."

(k) "I know no field so unexplored and so profitable for graduate work as Rhetoric. The relation of Rhetoric to Psychology deserves exhaustive investigation; is full of problems of interest and practical significance. The relation of Rhetoric to Logic, the history of Logic and Rhetoric, the philosophical implications of Rhetoric, are all crying for treatment and discussion. A comparison of the methods of the new logic and rhetoric would be a most valuable study. I believe in formal Rhetoric *per se* there is a most spacious field for work. Our text-books have been confined to too practical ends and have obscured the larger issues involved in rhetoric as an art as well as a science.

"A study of Rhetoric on liberal lines I believe may have the highest disciplinary value for graduate learning and does offer problems of profound interest for research."

(l) "In the highest conception of the study Rhetoric is, in my opinion, a proper subject for graduate work leading to a degree.

"The proper aim, the scope, and the leading problems of Rhetoric as a graduate study are:—

"1st. The study of the historical grammar of the English language, so as to reveal to advanced students, especially from the literary side, the meaning and association of words and construction and elements of style.

"2d. The study of logic, both deductive and inductive, so as to reach the principles of composition; the methods of proof and the arrangement of topics and arguments.

"These are the two chief aims to be kept in mind in the intellectual training of the advanced students. Their thesis-work shows only too clearly how much they stand in need of these two special disciplines."

(m) "Rhetoric is or is not a proper subject (I should prefer the term 'field') for graduate study, according to the side approached. If Rhetoric be approached as a theory, a discussion of what ought to be a comparing of methods, an appreciation of forms, then it is, in my judgment, useless for graduate study. Perhaps even worse than useless. I doubt the value of rhetorical study even for undergraduates, beyond a certain point. What the young need is practice in actual composition, with a minimum of theory and a maximum of correction.

"What the graduate is going to do with the debatable questions of style, the so-called analytics of style, is to me a mystery.

"On the other hand I am always glad to see any one investigate the actual historical growth of forms. I have in mind such work as Lewis's *Growth of the English Paragraph*, an admirable bit of scholarship, and no less practical. I hope that we may live to see similar attempts at elucidating the use of the relative pronouns (*who, which, vs. that*), the *shall*—will business thoroughly sifted, the growth of *dialogue* in prose story-telling, the vicissitudes of the *short story*. In truth, there are dozens of questions upon which we need the enlightenment of history. Why then waste time and brains in thrashing over again something which is after all only subjective opinion? Mere aesthetic theorizing should be left to the magazine writer or to the really gifted critic who feels himself competent to tread in the footsteps of Lessing.

"My view has always been that the college (university) is a place for research, for scholarship, for finding out something hitherto unsuspected. Such is the object of our libraries and our seminary methods. The outside world hasn't the time to investigate; *we* must do the investigating. For instance, is any one prepared off-hand to state accurately the growth of the ceremonial terms of address: Your Majesty, Your Grace, Your Holiness, etc.? The procedure is old; there are abundant traces of it in Bede. But where did it begin? With the Greeks? Or with the Romans! What are the steps in the fashion? Through what forms has it passed in English? Now that is what I should call rhetorical study fit for the ablest graduate.

But for one may I be spared all doctrinal disquisitions upon style! I have had only one here, in ten years, and that one satisfied me of the uselessness of such work. Henceforth, I accept only research."

To the foregoing expressions of opinion there is little that I need add. A dogmatic decision by this Committee as to the merits of the main question would be unlikely to further any of the interests involved; and the divergence of opinion as to the proper field of Rhetoric is too wide to permit more than an impartial presentation of the arguments on either side. As a matter of personal opinion, however, the Committee may venture to suggest that the term Rhetoric as heretofore generally employed, may well be enlarged in meaning so as to include much more than practical composition and that the field thus opened will afford abundant opportunity for investigation by the serious student.

This report was discussed by Professors F. N. Scott, James W. Bright, Herbert E. Greene, E. H. Magill, and Calvin Thomas.

20. "The Primitive *Prise d'Orange*." By Professor Raymond Weeks, of the University of Missouri. [Printed in *Publications*, xvi, 361 f.]

21. "A Note on the Prison-Scene in Goethe's *Faust*." By Professor James T. Hatfield, of the Northwestern University. [Printed in *Publications*, xvi, 117 f.]

22. "On the Middle English Religious Lyric." By Dr. J. Vincent Crowne, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The paper discussed two groups of poems on associated themes of frequent occurrence: the Joys, and the Complaint, of Mary. The first group is larger than is commonly stated, there being at least ten, perhaps eleven, lyrics on the subject of the Five Joys, besides those that celebrate a different number. The usual series of Joys is: Annunciation of Gabriel, Birth of Christ, Resurrection, Ascension, Assumption of Mary. In two instances the Epiphany is substituted for the Ascension. The number Seven is sometimes made up by adding the Visit to Elizabeth, and the Finding of Christ in the Temple. The content, structure, language, and metre of the individual poems were discussed, and it was seen that there is no evidence of literary contact between them. With the exception of a courtly and erotic *pastourelle*, the tendency is to the simple form and unadorned diction of the Latin models. Brandl's statement about this series, "Gaudia—in England sind es regelmässig fünf, auf dem continent sieben," is inaccurate

in both particulars, though near the truth in the former. Though numerous variations from the number five in England are cited, the fact remains not only that the general subject of the Joys was more popular in England than elsewhere, but that the number five was the favorite there. Rev. T. R. Bridgett's explanation of the popularity of the theme—its association with the name of Becket—is satisfactory. The fondness for the number five is accounted for by its association with the wounds of Christ, and the letters in the name *Maria*, but above all by the fact that from the eleventh century the English people, and for a considerable period they alone, kept five great yearly holidays in honor of Mary. The subject of Mary's woe produced during the M. E. period an important Latin prose dialogue attributed to Anselm, a thirteenth century Anglo-Norman poem, at least sixteen English lyrics, and lyrical scenes in five religious plays. The lyrics having a variety of forms: Debate between Christ and Mary, or between Mary and the Cross, complicated dialogue, including lyric and narrative, between Mary and the poet, and most frequently pure lyric in the form of complaint. While the poems follow certain traditional incidents and motives, based on St. Bernard and St. Anselm, there is little evidence of verbal relation between the English poems themselves. The main points brought out in the paper are: a demonstration of the immediate dependence of a long Lament in the *Cursor Mundi* on a sermon of St. Bernard; a suggestion of a further source of Maidenstoon's Lament in Anselm's *Dialogus de Passione*; the probable borrowings in the Digby *Good Friday Play* from some English lyrics; the remarkable absence of any influence of the *Stabat Mater*; the absence of any evidence of a musical drama or monodrama on this subject, as on the continent; the lack of evidence of any immediate contact between the lyrics and the scenes in the Mystery Cycles.

23. "The *Medea* of Euripides and the *Medea* of Grillparzer." By Professor C. C. Ferrell, of the University of Mississippi. [Printed in *The Sewanee Review*, July, 1901.]

24. "Literary Manners in the Nineteenth Century." By Mr. Charles M. Magee, of Temple College.

25. "*Laocoön*, and Lessing as a Connoisseur of Art." By Dr. K. D. Jessen, of the University of Chicago. [Read by title.]

26. "*Der mynnen chrieg mit der sel*: an inedited Dialogue in the Alemannic Dialect of the Fifteenth Century." By Professor F. G. C. Schmidt, of the University of Oregon. [Read by title.]

The dialogue printed below is found in the library of Maihingen in Bavaria. [A detailed account of German manuscripts in the library of Maihingen I have given in *Alemannia*, Vol. xxiv, pp. 51-86, and in *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, Vol. xv, No. 123, pp. 40-42.] It is contained in a paper manuscript in quarto of the year 1464, and catalogued III. Deutsch I. 4^o, 8. The entire volume of 404 leaves contains three divisions: I. Das Büchlein von der Liebhaltung Gottes, ll. 1^a-124^b; II. Geistliche Betrachtungen eines Karthäusers, ll. 124^b-352^b; III. Geistliches Gespräch zwischen einer Fürstin und einer Kramerin von einem Paternoster aus Edelsteinen, ll. 353^a-404^b. [See my article in *Alemannia*, Vol. xxvi, pp. 193-229.]

It is the second division of this volume in which this short dialogue is contained. It is preceded and followed by a number of chapters on various subjects that have no relation to each other, as will be seen from some of the following titles:

- Ein fasnachtchrapff; ll. 136^a-141^a.
- Wie man zu der Ee greifen sol; ll. 142^a-163^a.
- Du solt dich also halten, etc.; ll. 168^b-179^b.
- Habitabat agnus cum lupo ursus et leo et agnus pascentur simul et puer parvulus minabit eos, etc.; ll. 179^b-194^b.
- Vom redenn; ll. 194^b-197^b.
- Vom Schweigen; ll. 197^b-202^a.
- Dicz sind die vier angeltugend, etc.; ll. 202^a-206^b.
- Der sel regel; ll. 206^b-208^b.
- Von sibem gedenccken; ll. 208^b-212^a.
- Bernhardus; ll. 212^a-213^a.
- Augustinus; ll. 213^a-216^a.
- Diss sind die zaichen, etc.; ll. 216^b-217^a.
- Die sibem almüsen, etc.; ll. 217^b-218^b.
- Von dem stilston in den Sacrament; ll. 218^b-219^b.
- Die wüking des hailigen sacrament; ll. 219-220^b.
- Berenhardus spricht; ll. 220^b-222^a.
- Augustinus; ll. 222^a-224^a.
- Von dem weichprunnen; ll. 224^a-229^a.
- Von ainer efrawen; ll. 229^a-235^a.
- Das sindt die sibem zeit des pater nosters; ll. 235^a-236^b.
- Der mynnen chrieg mit der sel; ll. 236^b-238^a.
- Die guldin regel hat syben cappitel; ll. 238^b-239^a.
- Do vnnser herr zue himel fuß; ll. 239^a-239^b.
- Sibenerlay mynne vnd liebin; ll. 240^a-241^a, etc.

Some of the chapters are mere abstracts or fragments of larger works. Whether this is also true in regard to our dialogue it is difficult to determine. The character of the contents is such as to make it impossible to

offer any definite theories. The subject matter is so general that even a comparison with similar works of previous or contemporary writers leads to no certain results. With the exception of a few thoughts such as are found in the second part of the Anglo-Saxon *Soul and Body*,—that soul and body will meet in heaven after the body has paid its penalty upon earth where it once upon a time was exalted nobly, etc.,—there is but little in the dialogue that resembles the Anglo-Saxon. Whether this slight resemblance is to be considered merely accidental or actually due to some larger original work which the copyist may have used, is a theory that would not reward a lengthy discussion. It is possible—to judge from the style and language of the writer—that the author of some of the preceding and following chapters was also the writer of this dialogue. Some of the above mentioned chapters, “Der sel regel; Die guldin regel,—Sibenerlay mynne vnd liebin, etc.,” resemble the works of Evehardus Cersne, a poet of whom we only know that he lived at Minden at the end of the fourteenth and at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and that he wrote a number of allegorical poems and prose dialogues about “minne” and its relation to other virtues. Whether this material,—after having been changed by a later Southern German writer,—is to be ascribed to Cersne or to Peter Suchenwirt, who lived in Austria (chiefly in Vienna) in the latter half of the fourteenth century and who was likewise the author of numerous allegorical dialogues on “minne, staete, tugend, sel,” etc., is a conjecture that suggests itself merely by the fact that the dialogues of these authors were rather common at that time and that they were made use of by inferior writers of the fifteenth century. How much the author of the dialogue borrowed from older writers can, however, not be determined with certainty, since the material seems fragmentary. A comparison of the manuscript with others on kindred subjects might be of some assistance in coming to a conclusion as to its authorship. Some of the more important manuscripts of the fifteenth century, belonging to the same class, are: A Nuremberg manuscript, treating of “Seele und Leichnam.” It contains 175 strophes, four lines each, and begins: “In nachtes stil zu winter zeit.” See Goedeke’s *Grundriss*, Vol. I, p. 238. A low German dialogue, mentioned as “Wolfenbüttler Handschrift aus Helmst. Nr. 1233. 4,” is entitled: “Gespräch zwischen der Seele und dem toten Leibe.” It begins:

“In eynem jare dat gescach
Dat eck an eynem drome lach,”

and closes:

“duth ys der zele clage
Got verlate vns alle vnse plage.”

But these and a few other dialogues, apparently treating the same subject and mentioned in Goedeke, Vol. I, p. 471, were not accessible to me. Most of the writers of such dialogues,—as has been pointed out by

Goedeke,—borrowed from older documents, probably of the thirteenth century, and very likely from patristic writers who again were familiar with a Latin version of the Anglo-Saxon dialogue.

The dialect of our manuscript is Alemannic as is all the material contained in the volume in which the dialogue is found.

Die sell spricht: du hast mir alles das genomen, daz ich vff ern ich ye gewan.

Die mynne spricht: fraw sel ir handt ainengünnen getan.

Die sel: ir hand mir genomen mein chinthait.

Die mynn: dawider hann ich euch geben die himlisch frewhait.

Die sel: ir hand mir genomen all mein tugend.

Die mynn: fraw sel, da wider han ich euch geben menge hailige tugend.

Die sel: fraw mynn, ir hand mir genomen güt frund vnd mag.

Die mynn: fraw sel, daz ist ain clain snöd clag.

Die sel: ir hand mir genomen die welt vnd weltlichere vnd allen reichthum.

Die mynn: dz wil ich ew mit des hailigen gaistes gaben bezalen.

Die sele: ir hand mich so ser bezwungen, das mein leib ist krank worden.

Die mynn: dawider hab ich ew gegeben vil wenig grosse bechannuss.

Die sel: ir hand verstört meines leibes flaisch vnd plüt.

Die mynn: damit sind ir geziert an allen tugenden.

Die sel: ir send ain raberin, Ir sullend mir wider gelten.

Die myfi: nw nement mich an die schuld.

Die sel: nw hand ir mich wolbezalt.

Die myn: die bezalung ist auffgeslagen bis in das himelreich.

27. "Goethe and Pindar." By Professor M. D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania. [Read by title.]

EXTRA SESSION.

The Association met in an extra session Friday evening, December 28th, at 8.30 o'clock, in McKean Hall, to hear the annual address of the President of the Association. Professor Thomas R. Price, President of the Association for the year 1900, delivered an address on "The New Function of Modern Language Teaching." [Printed in *Publications*, XVI, 77 f.]

FOURTH SESSION, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29.

President Price called to order the fourth regular session of the meeting, Saturday morning, December 28, at 9.30 o'clock. This session was planned to celebrate the memory of Chaucer.

Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, in a brief address commented on the study of Chaucer in America, paying special tribute to the memory of Francis James Child. The Secretary of the Association supplemented this address with special reference to the scholarship and influence of Professor March himself.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

28. "A Friend of Chaucer's." By Professor G. L. Kittredge, of Harvard University. [Printed in *Publications*, xvi, 450 f.]

29. "The Date of *Palamon and Arcite*." By Professor John M. Manly, of the University of Chicago. [The author being absent this paper was read by title.]

30. "Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*." By Dr. W. H. Schofield, of Harvard University. [Printed in *Publications*, xvi, 405 f.]

31. "Is Chaucer to be reckoned as a Modern or as a Medieval Poet?" By Professor F. B. Gummere, of Haverford College.

Among the many characteristics which sunder modern poetry from the poetry vaguely known as medieval, there are two which may be put in the foreground. Medieval poets differ from modern poets in the quality of their sentiment and in the nature of their humor. In the middle ages sentiment and humor were largely impersonal; sentiment either lay in solution with the material of the poem, or else belonged to a guild, as in the case of the hymn. Humor, too, was an affair of communities rather than of persons: see Burckhardt, *Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*, 6th ed., I, 167.¹ On the other hand, both modern humor and modern sentiment are overwhelmingly individual, a quality which first comes sharply into view, for continental poetry, with Villon, and may be studied by any reader in a poet like Heine. Turning to Chaucer, and applying these two tests, the critic is fain to say that this great poet is tentatively modern in his sentiment, triumphantly modern in his humor, and distinctly modern in the

¹See also Gaston Paris, *Poésie du Moyen-Age*, II, 232, and the fourth chapter of my *Beginnings of Poetry*.

attitude which he takes toward his own work. Distinguished from the ruck of medieval poets, impersonal as they are, and mainly mouthpieces of some guild or profession, Chaucer looms up as one of the first great artists. Ten Brink (*Studien*, p. 1) calls him "the real creator of the poetry of art" in English literature. Professor Lounsbury (*Studies*, III, 291 ff., 323 ff.) is to the same purpose: the poet is a conscious artist, a critic even; and his pervasive individuality appeals to one on every page. These general considerations could be reinforced by many particular examples. A famous passage in the *Nonne Prestes Tale*, ridiculing Vinesauf's lament over Richard I, shows Chaucer's detachment from any guild, his easy satire on quite artistic and personal grounds, and, in sum, a sharp recoil against medieval and communal sentiment. The minor poems display a tendency to individualize large issues of time and fate and humanity,—that almost sure test of the modern lyric. I use the word tendency, for that is the most that one can say; the medieval habit is still strong with Chaucer, and on every page, instead of this easy step from personal to cosmic, so common in modern lyric, Chaucer appeals to his *bokes*, to his authorities. "Tullius kyndenesse" is held up to Scogan in the Envoy; all the more modern seems the contrast in the preceding stanza, which strikes a note less common with Chaucer than critics seem to believe:

Ne thynke I never of sleep to wake my muse
That rusteth in my shethe stille in pees;
While I was yong, I put hir forth in prees;
But al shal passen that men prose or ryme,
Take every man his turne as for his tyme,—

a sentiment borrowed from Chaucer's own Wife of Bath in a passage (*Prol. Wife of Bath's Tale*, vv. 469-476) which is perhaps the most representative of the poet's genius in all his works, and which, touching as it does the enduring qualities, defies critical classification in terms of time and environment.

Notwithstanding all these cases of detachment and individual attitude which could be brought from the poet's works, one will find that Chaucer is not only in the medieval world, but of it. Like Petrarch, he looks both forward and backward, and the backward gaze is the surer of the two. Chaucer, as everybody knows, has three claims upon his readers which make him immortal; he excels in narrative, in humor, in the drawing of characters. The narrative poem is not a modern achievement; and one may therefore turn, for a decision of the question proposed in this paper, to those other excellent differences.

Modern humor is a kind of sentiment in recoil; and of this there are very few traces in Chaucer. True, his humor is not of the helpless sort so common in the middle ages. It is sharp enough, personal enough, even, in one sense, for it is Chaucer's own; but it is not individual sentiment

reacting on itself. What makes it irresistible is the finish of a masterly art which nevertheless works in medieval materials and in the medieval manner. Chaucer is a sound churchman who still feels free to make fun of the priest, and does it with a suavity as distinct as Dante's ferocity of hate. He puts his age at arm's length; but while he sees the humor of it in part, he belongs to it, and is unconsciously medieval in a dozen ways. He is proud of the authorities whom he can adduce, uses the common stock of medieval lore, and has the awe of *gramarye*. "In stories as men fynde," or "I fynde eek in stories elleswhere," is the constant phrase. He loves to parade these authorities, and treats poetry, quite in Dante's spirit, as a kind of guild. So at the end of *Troilus*:—

Go, litel book . . .
 But, litel book, no making thou n'envye,
 But subgit be to alle poesye!
 And kis the steppes wheras thou seest pace
 Virgile, Ovide, Omer, Lucan, and Stace!

To feel this medieval side of Chaucer at its best, one must read neither the early poems nor yet the *Canterbury Tales*, but a fairly mature work like the *House of Fame*. The lists of persons, the sights in temple and hall, the allegory, the explanations—

For in fight and blod-shedyng
 Is used gladly clarionyng . . .

are all distinctly medieval in manner and even in spirit, with a certain touch of that helplessness which cannot always be charged to the account of humor. Even personal and clever interruptions of the story—

As fyn as ducat of Venyse,
 Of which to litel in my pouche is . . .

remind one not so much of the modern poet as of the medieval reciter and minstrel; although the jocose reflections of the poet as the eagle bears him aloft are far too good for any such source. Even Chaucer's great humorous achievements, where he warms to his work and has no peer in all verse, still cling to a type, a formula; compare the regrets of the Wife of Bath, in that superb passage already noted, with the wholly modern note of Villon's *Belle Heaulmiere*.

It is, however, in his drawing of characters that Chaucer, great as his triumph must be regarded, is still medieval in at least one important characteristic. The characters are still types, and so bear the stamp of class and even guild. In one sense, to be sure, these men and women are splendidly individual; but a comparison of the Wife of Bath,—this name

is significant,—with Mrs. Quickly of Eastcheap, of the Squire with Romeo, of the Merchant with Antonio, will reveal a difference of conception not to be explained by the passage from epic to drama, or even from Chaucer to Shakspeare. It is rather a passage from medieval and partly communal conditions to a world which, in Burckhardt's phrase, has brought about the emancipation of the individual. Judged by his genius, Chaucer, like any great poet, belongs to no one period; judged by the conditions which governed the making of his poetry, he is mainly medieval.

32. "The *Prologue of the Wife of Bath's Tale*." By Professor W. E. Mead, of the Wesleyan University. [Printed in *Publications*, XVI, 388 f.]

33. "The Development of Middle English Final -ich, -ig, -y." By Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan.

In the development of Germanic *-īc-* into Middle-English *-ic*, *-ich*, and *-y*, the last form arose before a consonant. As the great majority of words begin with a consonant, this form gradually got the upper hand. In the *Ormulum*, the phonetic condition is still clearly shown: *ērplic lōff* D 244, 403, *ērplic kære* 4563, but *ēorplic āhhte* 4673, 10222, also spelled *ēorplike āhhte* with silent *-e* 5667; but the form in *-ig* had begun to assert itself at the end of a line, even if the next line began with a vowel: *hæpelig* | *Off* D 79. The adverb—northern *-lik(e)*, southern *-lich(e)*—fell in with the adjective, as did also *everich*, and had *-ic* or *-ich* before vowels, and *-y* before consonants (which usage is still reflected in Chaucer's *everichon*, *everydeel*, *everywhere*; but in all, the form in *-y* ultimately prevailed. The inflected adjective and the full adverbial form in *-like*, *-liche*, continued in use (1) when the meter demanded the stress on the *-i-* and the retention of the weak syllable *-e* (*gastlike lác* 6711, but *gástlig lác* 6706); (2) when a poet like Chaucer wanted a rime for *riche*. The pronoun *ic*, *ich*, *y*, had essentially the same development, but the fact that the syllable constituted a whole word,—which was often used alone and not infrequently stressed,—led to an earlier break-up of the original phonetic status. It thus appears that Old Norse is not responsible for *-ly* and that "the weak form" is not the explanation of either *-ly* or *I*. Furthermore, these forms are as indigenous in the South as in the North; hence, texts with *ich* and *I* side by side are not on that account to be charged with a mixed dialect.

34. "The Rhetoric of Verse in Chaucer." By Professor James W. Bright, of the Johns Hopkins University.

"There are never two equally good ways of reading a sentence," says Coventry Patmore,¹ "though there may be half a dozen of writing it. If one and the same sentence is readable in more than one way, it is because it has more than one possible meaning." In a strict sense this is true, but it is also true that there are often several "good ways of reading a sentence," as is perhaps implied, and experience teaches that good readers do not invariably hit upon the one best 'way.' Thomas Sheridan² was led to remark that the Church Service is usually read with misplaced emphasis and pause, although "at first view," he says, "one would be apt to imagine, that in a settled service, open to all to be studied and examined at leisure, every one, by suitable pains, might make himself master of the proper manner of reading it." He then shows how the frequently heard manner of reading the following verse fails to give to it its full meaning:

"Enter not into judgment with thy servant O Lord, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified."

"Here," he says, "the words, *not, servant, sight, justified*, between which it is impossible to find any connexion, or dependence of one on the other, are principally marked. By these false emphases, the mind is turned wholly from the main purport and drift of the verse."

Of the Lord's Prayer it is said,

"Nothing can shew the corrupt state of the art of reading, or the power of bad habit, in a stronger light, than the manner, in which that short and simple prayer, is generally delivered."

If it be so easy a matter, even in our prayers, not to find the emphasis which best conveys the intended meaning of phrase and sentence, it may safely be assumed that the emphasis of poetry is all the more subject to misplacements. Every one will at once recall lines about which there has been controversy as to the required emphasis. Mrs. Siddons is reported to have put a falling inflection on the last "fail" of

Macbeth. If we should fail?

Lady Macbeth. We fail.

Macbeth, Act I, sc. vii.

and thereby, in the judgment of Mrs. Jameson and others, revealed the true punctuation of the passage. It might also be argued that in the following lines from the first scene of the second act of the same play;

"Thou marshall'st me the way that I was going;
And such an instrument I was to use."

¹ "Essay on English Metrical Law," appended to the collective edition of his poems. 6th. ed., London, 1897.

² *Lectures on the Art of Reading*. 3d. ed., London, 1787; see also W. Faulkner, *Strictures on Reading the Church Service*. 2nd. ed., London, 1813.

the best rendering would in each line make "was" emphatic. Again, there are those who could not be persuaded to give up the strong emphasis of "that" in

To be, or not to be: *that* is the question.

It might be vain to argue that the proof of emphasis may be the indispensable meaning of the emphatic word, and that in the case of the line just cited the sense is not impaired (that it may even be thought to be heightened) by the elimination of the word in question. Other readers find their chief joy in the 'choliambic hitch' of such a line as

That dogs bark at me as I halt *by* them.

Rich. III, Act I, sc. i, 23.

The fundamental principles of English versification are best studied in Chaucer's lines. His art blends the features of the old and new systems, and when it is once thoroughly understood all the complexities of the following centuries will be easily resolved.

By the rhetoric of verse, or the rhetoric of poetry, is meant the emphasis elicited by verse-stress when it is at variance with the usual (prose) emphasis. Thus, for example, the verse of Chaucer will teach how significant in 'artistic expression' are the usually unemphatic members of compound words and many of the derivative and inflectional elements of the language. We are thus brought to see a new category of 'meaning' and of 'notional' suggestion. To this category an important contribution is made by the verse-stress of particles, prepositions, etc. It is therefore necessary to recognize a verse-rhetorical counterpart to the accepted figurative use of language in verse.

"Lavinia, live; outlive thy father's days
And fame's eternal date, for virtue's praise!"

Titus Andr., I, 1, 166.

Here Warburton changed 'And' to 'In' for the sake of sense, and Johnson observed that "to outlive an eternal date is, though not philosophical, yet poetical sense." Such a quarrel with the poet's 'philosophy' helps to reveal the attitude of mind in which is waged the wider quarrel with the poet's rhetoric. When Chaucer writes,

He was war of me how I stood "

B. of D., 515.

And that her deeth lyth in my might also "

K. T., 937.

I am yong and unkonning, as thou wost "

K. T., 1535.

he employs stresses that would not be agreed upon as appropriate to the prose-reading of the lines; the appeal is to a more delicate perception of the articulations of the thought. Grammar and Rhetoric in the most intimate combination disclose the true import of the declaration

“ He mused his matter in mesure.”

The Plowman's Tale, 89.

35. “Chaucer's *Prologue* and Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*.”
By Professor Ewald Fluegel, of the Leland Stanford University.

Upon the recommendation of the Executive Council the Association elected to Honorary Membership in the Association Professor Rudolf Haym, of the University of Halle, who is now celebrating the close of his fiftieth year of academic service; and Professor Adolph Mussafia, of the University of Vienna, who has just completed the fortieth year of his Professorship.

The Association approved by vote the proposition, That hereafter no title of a paper should be accepted for publication in the programme of an annual meeting of the Association that is not accompanied by a brief statement of the argument, or of the purpose, of the paper.

A vote of thanks was unanimously extended to the Provost and other officers of the University of Pennsylvania, and also to the members of the Local Committee, for the entertainment of the ‘Congress of Philological and Archæological Societies.’

The Association adjourned at 5.30 o'clock.

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- Wylie, Dr. Laura J., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
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W. M. BASKERVILL, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1899.]
DANIEL G. BRINTON, Media, Pa. [1899.]
HENRY COHN, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1900.]
WILLIAM COOK, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1888.]
SUSAN R. CUTLER, Chicago, Ill. [1899.]
A. N. VAN DAELL, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1899.]
EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES, Baltimore, Md. [1894.]
W. DEUTSCH, St. Louis, Mo. [1898.]
FRANCIS R. FAVA, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. [1896.]
L. HABEL, Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont. [1886.]
GEORGE A. HENCH, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1899.]
RUDOLPH HILDEBRAND, Leipsic, Germany. [1894.]
JULIAN HUGUENIN, University of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, La. [1901.]
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SAMUEL P. MOLENAER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
[1900.]
JAMES O. MURRAY, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [1901.]
C. K. NELSON, Brookville, Md.
W. M. NEVIN, Lancaster, Pa.
CONRAD H. NORDBY, College of the City of New York. [1900.]
C. P. OTIS, Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1888.]
W. H. PERKINSON, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]

- RÉNE DE POYEN-BELLISLE, University of Chicago, Chicago. [1900.]
CHARLES H. ROSS, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Auburn, Ala.
[1900.]
O. SEIDENSTICKER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1894.]
M. SCHELE DE VÈRE, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]
MAX SOHRAUER, New York, N. Y.
F. R. STENGEL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
H. TALLICHET, Austin, Texas, [1894.]
E. L. WALTER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1898.]
MISS HÉLÈNE WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1888.]
MARGARET M. WICKHAM, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [1898.]
R. H. WILLIS, Chatham, Va. [1900.]
CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1889.]
JULIUS ZUPITZA, Berlin, Germany. [1895.]
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CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

I.

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

III.

The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures.

IV.

The officers of this Association shall be a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and nine members, who shall together constitute the Executive Council, and these shall be elected annually by the Association.

V.

The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Association, such as the election of members, calling of meetings, selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

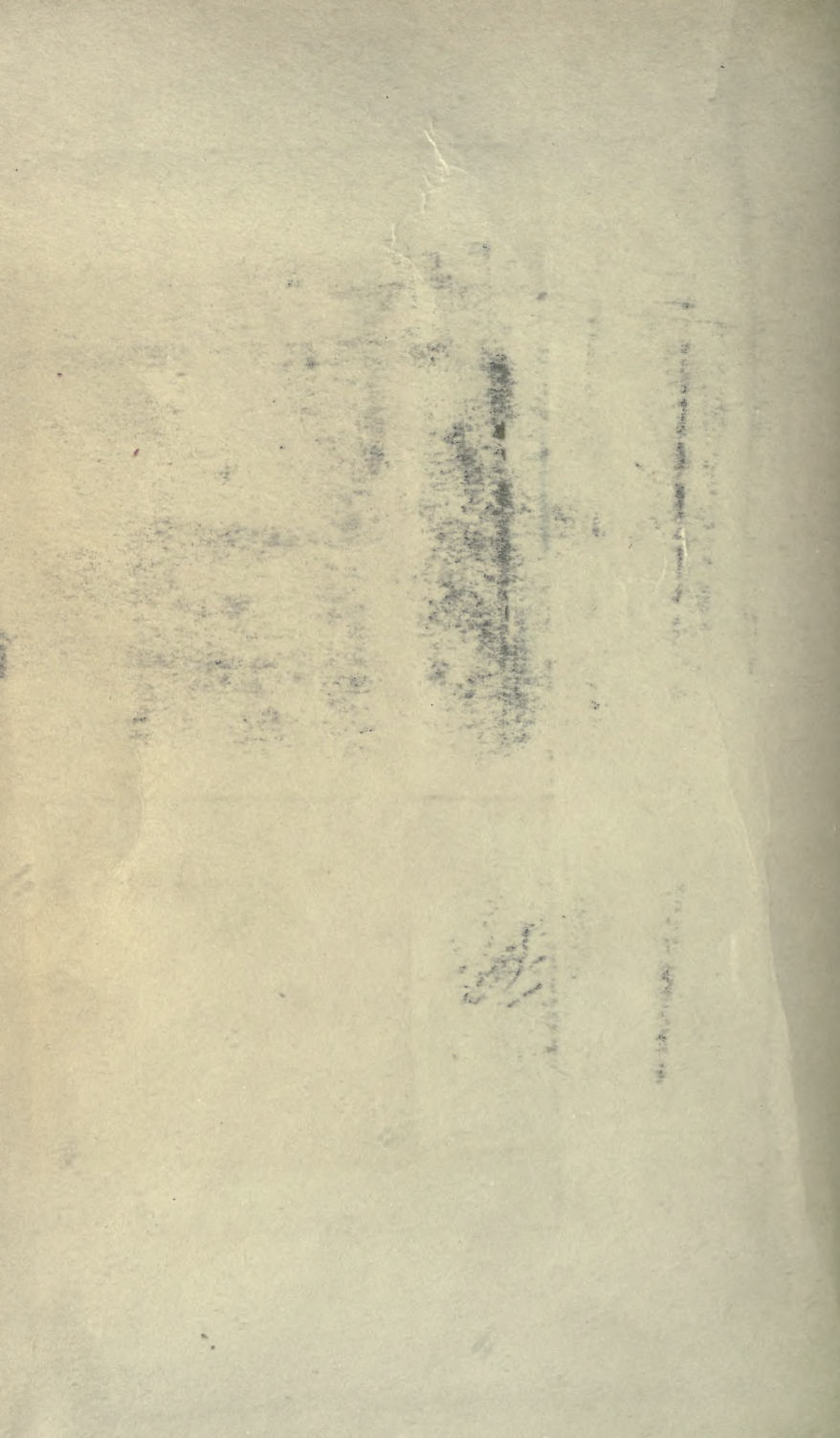
This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of the Executive Council.

*Amendment adopted by the Baltimore Convention,
December 30, 1886.*

1. The Executive Council shall annually elect from its own body three members who, with the President and the Secretary, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Association.

2. The three members thus elected shall be the Vice-Presidents of the Association.

3. To this Executive Committee shall be submitted, through the Secretary, at least one month in advance of the meeting, all papers designed for the Association. The said Committee, or a majority thereof, shall have power to accept or reject such papers, and also of the papers thus accepted to designate such as shall be read in full, and such as shall be read in brief, or by topics, for subsequent publication; and to prescribe a programme of proceedings, fixing the time to be allowed for each paper and for its discussion.



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